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## The Development of Cooperative Enterprises in Cache Valley 1865-1900

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATIVE ENTERPRISES

IN CACHE VALLEY 1865 - 1900

A Thesis

Submitted to the

Department of Religion

Brigham Young University

Provo, Utah

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

219117

Joseph Carl Felix

June, 1956

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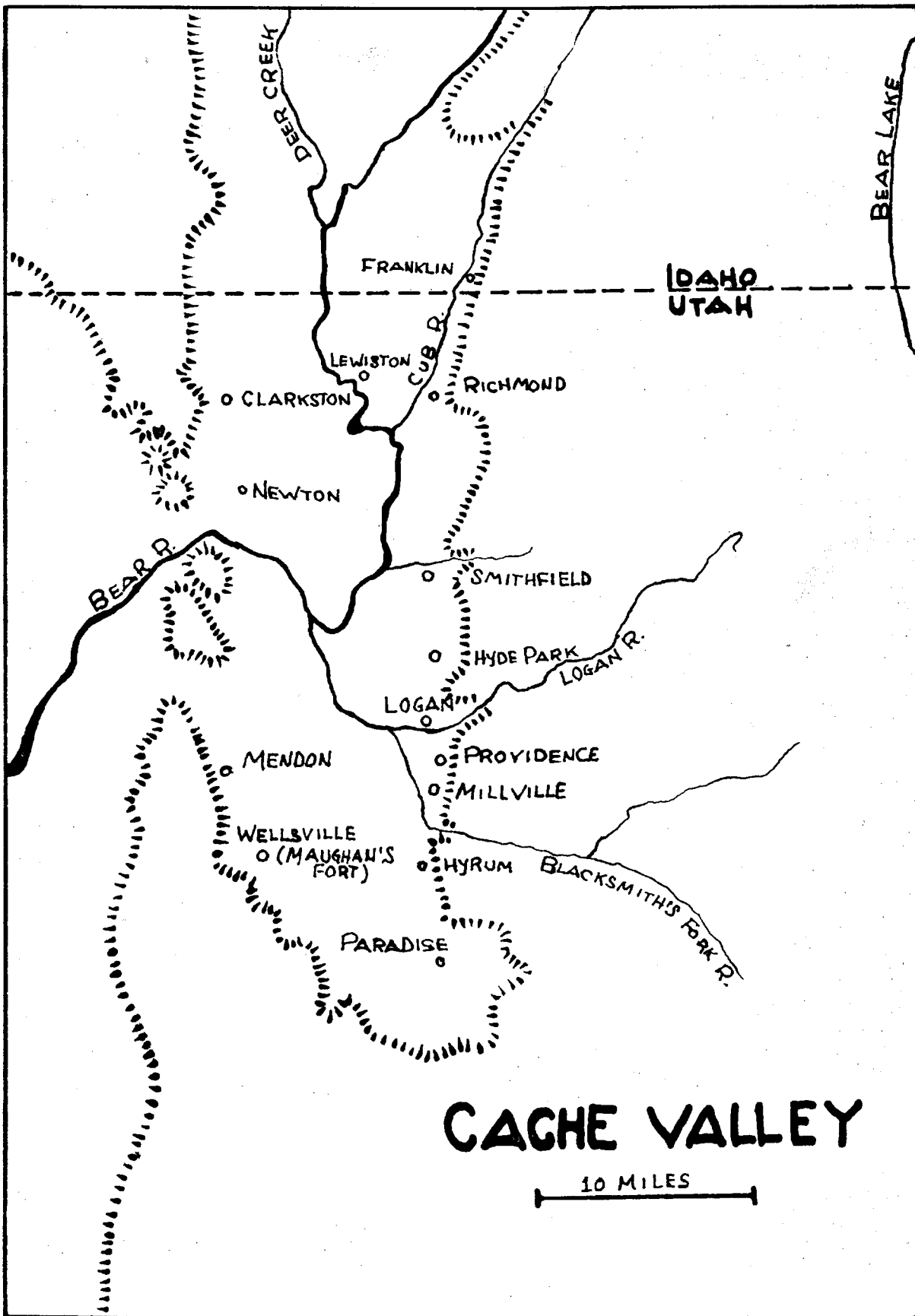
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Figure 1





## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem. -- In the colonization of the Great Basin, there began in 1868, a period of economic development that might be entitled, "Cooperative Enterprise." Reaching into every section of the Utah Territory, the "Mormon Cooperative" found especially fruitful soil in Cache Valley where the system flourished for nearly two decades and continued even beyond that, though considerably weakened from its former state.

Today, as one tours the confines of beautiful Cache Valley, there can still be found the mute remains of old cooperative stores, canals, and factories. Were they able, they could no doubt, tell an interesting story of their golden days. It is the attempt of the writer to take the segments of history that remain and evaluate the place and contribution of pioneer economic cooperatives in the settlement of Cache Valley.

Analysis of the Problem -- The problem may be analyzed by consideration of the following questions: (1) How did cooperatives develop in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints? (2) How extensive was the cooperative movement in Cache Valley? (3) What were the early forms of cooperatives? (4) How important was cooperative merchandising in contrast with those concerns that were privately owned? (5) What was the Cache Valley Board of Trade? What were its functions? (6) What is the history of the cooperative mercantile institutions in Cache Valley? (7) What is the history of the United Order enterprises in Cache Valley? (8) Why did the Church instigate a boycott against the

Gentile merchants? (9) How did a cooperative institution operate?

(10) What brought about the decline of the cooperative?

Significance of the Problem -- Many writers have written of the heroic efforts of Brigham Young and the colonizers of the Great Basin. It has been referred to as an "American historical epic."<sup>1</sup> Those of us living in the mountain states today see the results of that colonization all about us and take it for granted. Only occasionally do we reflect upon the toil and suffering that won over the wild desert to the tameness of a flower garden. Yet when we are so moved and proper contemplation in retrospect is given, one cannot be constrained from rising up and calling the name of his pioneer forefathers, blessed.

What we enjoy today would not be possible but for a highly developed practice of doing things cooperatively. One man, or divided groups of men, working in their own interests, could not have conquered the desert. From humble beginnings, cooperation became a magnificent experiment through the faith of its participants. Under the leadership of Brigham Young, other men became strong leaders, for as the spirit of cooperation grew, so did they. Each community had its church-sponsored cooperative store or industrial concern. The members of the community were the heart and soul of the whole movement for they were the owners, directors, and clients of each store. The good of the group was the main policy of each business. While the plan was not as lofty as the Law of Consecration under Joseph Smith, it met the needs of the times remarkably well. Cache Valley provides a model study of the stress of times and how the people's

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<sup>1</sup>Milton R. Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer, (Independence: Zion's Printing and Publishing Company, 1945), p. ix.

economic problems were met and overcome through cooperative effort.

Formalized cooperation, under church control, faded away in the latter part of the 19th century. The reasons for the decline of this movement will be discussed later. It is not to be supposed that cooperation is a dead principle to the present generation. The Latter-day Saints still participate in activities that keep the principle alive. The recent stress on the construction of temples and chapels requires sacrifice and unanimity of purpose. The welfare plan of the church is noteworthy as an example of modern day cooperation and Christian brotherhood.

Formalized cooperation, however, does not exist in the church today in the economic field to the extent that it has in the past. The cooperative store or factory is gone but has left to us the lessons of these pioneer economic and social ventures. Here lies the true significance of studying this problem. How can we, in the midst of our present chaotic conditions, receive light and help from the cooperative experiences of Brigham Young and the pioneers?

The significance of the problem is therefore twofold -- to preserve the history of the cooperative movement in Cache Valley and to provide a guide for cooperative Christian effort to the present generation.

Delimitation of the Study -- The purpose of the study has not been to provide a comprehensive study of cooperation as introduced throughout the Great Basin in 1868 by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. If this were the object of the study, it would be required of the writer to present the individual story of cooperation in each settlement of the Utah Territory as well as that of the parent institution in Salt Lake City.

A brief account of cooperation among the Mormons is given in

Chapter two, however, to provide the background and setting under which the cooperative plan of Cache Valley was born. It is interesting to observe that in cooperation, as in other activities and organizations of the Latter-day Saints Church, uniformity was a basic principle of organization. Each cooperative store, whether large or small, had similar organizations, goals, objectives and problems. Each looked to the leadership of the Church for direction and control. The central supply point was the Salt Lake City Z.C.M.I. and its branch stores. This made a cooperative store in Cache Valley a full cousin to one in St. George because they belonged to the same family tree. A brief account of Mormon cooperation is important as providing the stage upon which the drama of cooperation in Cache Valley will unfold.

This writing is not a study of modern day cooperatives. While there exists several well organized cooperative institutions in Cache Valley today, no attempt has here been made to write concerning them. These are largely organizations that have banded together, such as a farmers group, to better perform some specific function such as marketing of products, collective buying or improvement of quality in products. While these functions are similar to those of the Church-sponsored cooperatives considered in this study, the problem has been limited to those institutions in operation before the turn of the century.

There has been no effort to compare this with any other study. While there have been some excellent studies made in recent years on Mormon cooperation, home industry, economics and colonization, the writer believes this to be the only study that has been made on cooperatives in Cache Valley.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Related studies are discussed on p. 8.

The very nature of the subject has not been one that lends itself to comparison with other similar studies, even if they were available.

This study concerns itself with the period from 1865 to about 1900. The first cooperative store was established in Cache Valley in 1865 at the settlement of Franklin. The most significant year for number of stores being established was 1869 following the launching of the Church-sponsored plan in October of 1868. On the whole, cooperation flourished about twenty years in the valley. The late "eighties" found most of the stores and mills, that were formerly part of the cooperative movement, either disbanded or in the hands of private groups or individuals. It is these two decades that will receive emphasis as the most important period.

There were some concerns still in operation after the turn of the century. These were, however, isolated cases that were not under the Church plan that had long since languished and passed away. Some stores still carried the name of "cooperative," but in reality had converted to private ownership or joint stock concerns.

Sources of Data and Methods of Research -- The attempt has been made to rely chiefly on primary sources for research data. There has been very little written concerning the localized situation of cooperatives in Cache Valley. Because of this, the primary sources of information are the best sources. The Historians office of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has been a most valuable source for original records. Unfortunately business records of the cooperatives themselves have been largely destroyed or otherwise lost. The Church Historian's office has a valuable collection of Ward and Stake records that are very helpful for facts concerning organization, officers and business policy. This may be attributed to the fact that the cooperatives were usually sponsored by the ward and in

some cases, the auxiliaries, such as the Relief Society or a Priesthood Quorum of the ward.<sup>1</sup>

Equally helpful in the Historian's office, was "The Journal History," which is a day by day account of the history of the Church as compiled by Andrew A. Jensen, assistant Church Historian. This is a valuable compilation of newspaper articles, extracts from Ward and Stake Histories and field notes taken by Historian Jensen. In addition to these sources the Historian's office has many business records, journals, theses and other accumulated material that have proven invaluable.

Newspapers and other periodicals have been most valuable sources. Perhaps the two most fruitful have been the Logan Leader and the Deseret News. The former was first published in Logan, Cache County, Utah, September 11, 1879. It had succeeded the Northern Light, a paper which had run a few months but was so poorly produced that the Junction Printing Association of Ogden bought it out for \$100.00 in order to cease its publication. This company was owner of the Logan Leader, which was produced weekly as a highly respectable paper until August 1, 1882.<sup>2</sup> Because this paper was published during the important period of development of Cache Valley cooperatives, it provides the most valuable source of periodical information. This paper was then sold to new owners and was called the Utah Journal. It continued under this title until 1889 when it was again sold and became the Logan Journal. The Logan Journal was sold to the Scripps Howard Syndicate in 1931 and became the Herald Journal, under which name it is still being

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<sup>1</sup>The Provo Relief Society's "West Co-op," and the Salt Lake 15th Ward were good examples.

<sup>2</sup>J. Cecil Alter, Early Utah Journalism (Salt Lake City: Stevens and Wallis, Inc., 1938), p. 100.

published.

The Deseret News is very good for providing both news about Cache Valley cooperatives and cooperation throughout the Church. It was first published on June 1, 1850, as a weekly paper. In 1865, the paper was published semi-weekly and finally became a daily paper on November 20, 1867. At this time the name was changed to the Deseret Evening News. This was the name used during the period of the cooperative movement. The Evening News has been a most important source of information for that period. On June 3, 1920, the name was again changed to the Deseret News, which name continues to the present time.<sup>1</sup>

Other important periodicals include the Millennial Star, published in Liverpool, England from 1841-1888; the Daily Union Vedette; the Corinne Daily Journal; the Salt Lake Tribune; the Ogden Daily Herald; and the Ogden Junction, operated by Richard Ballantyne, who is also known as the "Founder of the L.D.S. Sunday School."

Interviews with Mormon Pioneers or the descendants of pioneers have been very helpful. Interviews with Mrs. Jane Tidwell who was born in the old Smithfield Fort and Mrs. Annie Jardine who worked as a girl in the Clarkston Cooperative store, are examples of contacts that have helped the writer to feel the spirit of the period.

It has been a privilege to read the journals of many of the pioneers of Cache Valley. Some have been very helpful in getting a personalized picture of a cooperative store. Bishop Henry Ballard, the first Bishop of the Logan Second Ward, has given interesting information concerning the amazing economic efforts of that ward. Others were very good and

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 280-306.

had the dual effect of providing information for this study and imbuing the writer with a greater appreciation of the faith of the pioneers, his ancestors among them.

Secondary Sources have proven very helpful as background material. Volume II of Tullidge's Histories contains much material on Cooperatives in Cache Valley. The historians, B. H. Roberts, Andrew Love Neff, Hubert Howe Bancroft, Leland Hargrave Creer, Hamilton Gardner, Joseph A. Geddes, Andrew Jensen, Orson F. Whitney, Levi Edgar Young and others have been especially good references. The wonder of micro-film has made research even more interesting than it already was. The writer has had opportunity to peruse exact reproductions from Bancroft's library, or from the library of congress and other materials that heretofore were not so readily accessible.

Other agencies such as the Utah State Historical Society, Cache County records, Logan City Corporation minute books, Utah State Agricultural College Library, Utah University Library, Brigham Young University Library and private businesses have all added their bit.

Related Studies -- Several pertinent related studies have been made. Arden Beal Olsen, The History of Mormon Mercantile Cooperation in Utah, was written as a Doctors dissertation for the University of California in 1935. It provides a comprehensive study of Utah cooperation. Another study entitled "Cooperation among the Mormons," by Feramorz Young Fox is also an excellent study. Willis A. Dial of Logan, Utah, has produced a thesis on the development of industry in Cache Valley. This is a fine study that is pertinent as the cooperative institutions of Cache Valley were prominent in industrial affairs. A Masters Thesis entitled "The History of the L.D.S. Temple in Logan, Utah," by Melvin A. Larkin gives a picturesque



story of the building of the Logan Temple. It was accomplished by cooperation of the wards and stakes in the District and business was frequent between the Temple company and the various cooperative concerns. Dr. Leonard J. Arrington, professor of Economics at the Utah State Agricultural College, is undoubtedly our best authority on the history of Mormon Economic and Business development. Among his prolific writings are found articles entitled, "Trends in Mormon Economic Policy," "Zion's Board of Trade," "Property Among the Mormons," "Price Control in Early Utah," "Coin and Currency in Early Utah," "Early Mormon Communitarians," and "Economic Policy Crisis in Utah, 1869."

The Centennial History of Cache Valley that is now in the process of being published will come from the press later this year (1956) in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the settlement of Cache Valley. It is to contain writings by various authors on the economic, social, and religious aspects of the development of Cache Valley. Among these writings will be a chapter on cooperatives in Cache Valley, having been written by the author of this thesis.

## CHAPTER II

### COOPERATION AMONG THE MORMONS

#### Early Mormon Cooperative Efforts

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has now been organized and established for a period of one hundred and twenty-five years. The Church has always tried to provide for temporal (earthly) as well as spiritual blessings for its members. The theorem that "you cannot convert a man to the Gospel if he is hungry" seems to have been the guiding star of Mormon economics. Various economic schemes have come to the fore in the Church's efforts to satisfy this need. That most of them have been short-lived, cannot be denied. Many fulfilled the purpose for which they were intended and others failed far short of their objective.

Reasons for failure may be traced to a number of factors. Among these are the grim reapers of frequent movings, poor organization, mob action, invading armies, and in some cases, selfishness of the members.<sup>1</sup> In the main, however, we must conclude that these were successful in accomplishing what the Church leaders intended them for - temporal salvation and success in providing the material necessities of life. This was accomplished through cooperative efforts. History affirms that the Latter-day Saints have achieved modern miracles of economic growth and development. Nauvoo, Illinois, the Great Basin, and other places that have been made to "blossom as the rose," stand even today in mute testimony of the cooperative faith

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<sup>1</sup>A more detailed exposition of the decline of the cooperatives is given in Chapter VI, Section entitled "The Decline of Cooperatives."

and efforts of the early Latter-day Saints who combined faith in God with hard work and careful planning to build the Kingdom of God on earth. Undoubtedly it was this close relationship of temporal and spiritual things that led the historian Tullidge to proclaim: "Cooperation is as much a cardinal and essential doctrine of Mormonism as baptism for the remission of sins . . . ." <sup>1</sup>

One cannot overlook another factor in these early cooperative efforts. It produced leaders. Men who were relatively unknown prior to joining the Church, received positions of responsibility in formal cooperative efforts, while others became responsible through informal cooperative action. Through Church-sponsored cooperatives of one form or another, many men have been able to develop and grow as they never could have otherwise. It had the effect of bringing out talents and abilities that might have remained dormant forever but for the influence and requirements of Mormon economics. Even more subtle than this was the growth that came to individuals by cooperating in all activities. Latter-day Saints believe that next to loving the Lord, loving one's neighbor is truly the second greatest commandment. Loving one's neighbor as one's self provides opportunity for a person to develop patience, unselfishness, service, and other Christ-like attributes. All of these received encouragement in the early cooperative efforts among the Mormons. Whether through formal or informal cooperative efforts, all had and still have the opportunity for growth and development in this manifestation of the "pure love of Christ."

Community of Goods and the Law of Consecration -- During a conference of the Church in September, 1830, Oliver Cowdery and Parley P. Pratt were

<sup>1</sup>Edward A. Tullidge, Tullidge's Histories, Vol. I (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Press, 1889), p. 364.

sent on a mission to the Indians of the western frontier.<sup>1</sup> In the course of their travels, Cowdery and Pratt stopped in the City of Kirtland, Ohio. Here they were successful in converting a number of people from the "Campbellite" or "Disciples of Christ" Church. While yet in the Campbellite faith, these people had been living under a practice known as a "Community of Goods." The community held all property in common and lived as one big family. There was a common dining hall, a common laundry, etc. The new converts studied the Book of Mormon and New Testament and felt these scriptures to be sufficient sanction for the practice. As a branch was formed in Kirtland, this practice remained with the new converts who apparently expected the Prophet Joseph Smith to approve their practice. In this they were disappointed. The Prophet commended them for their brotherly spirit, but persuaded them to abandon the enterprise as not being patterned after God's law for such societies. The Saints were anxious to know God's will concerning the matter and the Prophet inquired of the Lord through prayer. The answer received was presented to the people of Kirtland on February 9, 1831. The new revelation was called the Law of Consecration.<sup>2</sup>

Edward W. Partridge was called as the first bishop of the Church and given direction and control of the consecration of properties of the Church in Kirtland. Under the plan, the members of the Church were to deed their property to the bishop of the community. The bishop, as trustee of the property, would then deed the property back to the individual in the amount of his wants and needs. As the individual accumulated any surplus, it was

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<sup>1</sup>Joseph Smith, History of the Church. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1951) Vol. I, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup>Doctrine and Covenants, Section 42.

turned over to the bishop who used it for the benefit of the group. Theoretically, this prevented any class formation for there were neither rich nor poor. Business relationships were carried on in the usual manner. Simplicity, frugality, cleanliness, industry, and honesty, were expected from all. If a member was excommunicated or left the order, he could take with him only his inheritance, no surplus. The heart of this law proclaimed that the earth was the Lords' and members had been made stewards over that which they received.<sup>1</sup> The system was short-lived, not because of lack of brotherhood, but rather because of the newness of the Church and the lack of experience in such things.

The Law of Tithing -- The Law of Consecration was not widely practiced. With its cessation, the Church was financed by contributions from the members in whatever amounts matched their dispositions. As early as 1834, Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery set the example for the Church by covenanting with the Lord that they give one-tenth of all they received for the support of the poor. In Far West, Missouri, the prophet inquired of the Lord, "O Lord, show unto thy servants how much thou requirest of the properties of thy people for a tithing?" On July 8, 1838, the answer was received that they should give "all their surplus property . . . and after that one-tenth of all their interest annually."<sup>2</sup>

This was the beginning of tithing in the Church. Ten days later, another revelation was received concerning the disposition of properties thus received. They were to be "disposed of by a council, composed of the

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph A. Geddes, The United Order Among the Mormons. (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1924), p.

<sup>2</sup> Doctrine and Covenants, Section 119:1-3.

First Presidency of my Church, and of the Bishop and his council, and by my High Council; and by my voice unto them . . . ."1 The law of tithing was given as substitute to the Law of Consecration, and to act as a "School-master" to train the Saints. This law is still in practice and provides revenue to operate the Church.

Cooperation at Mt. Pisgah and Garden Grove -- During the westward movement of the Mormons from Nauvoo, Illinois to the Salt Lake Valley, Brigham Young had opportunity to display his genius for organization. He foresaw that the exodus might continue for many years and laid plans to provide for those who would come after. Garden Grove arose almost as if by magic on the Grand River in Iowa. One hundred men were appointed to make rail fences; forty-eight to build houses, twelve to dig wells, ten to build a bridge and the rest ploughed and planted seven hundred acres of grain.<sup>2</sup> The grain was planted by those passing through each spring and then harvested and stored by later immigrants that came along. Large flocks of cattle and sheep were also maintained as were cooperative stores. This policy of "planting that others may harvest," proved to be the literal salvation of subsequent pioneers on their way across the plains to Utah.

Land, Timber, and Water Laws -- The day following the arrival of the first pioneers into the Salt Lake Valley, services were held. Though weak from an attack of "mountain fever," Brigham Young spoke briefly and in that first sermon, proclaimed the first "land law" of Utah:

No man should buy or sell land. Every man should have his land measured off for him for city and farming purposes, what he could

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Section 120.

<sup>2</sup> Wilford Woodruff's Journal, entry for July 25, 1847.

till. He might till it as he pleased, but he should be industrious and take care of it.<sup>1</sup>

It must be remembered that this was still officially Mexican territory. It became U. S. territory at the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on February 2, 1848. A territorial enactment of March 6, 1852, gave the right of one party to transfer land to another. Another act in 1854, gave one the right to enclose his land by fencing. The first fencing was done cooperatively by the enclosing of a number of farms in one field. The surveyor Gunnison says:

A section on the south of the city, six miles square, called the "Big Field," was fenced at public cost, and divided up into five acre lots, with convenient lanes between, and those who would actually work them, were allowed to choose, or receive by lot, from one to eight of these. A poor farm of forty acres is in the center, controlled by the bishops. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Later it was announced that there should be no private ownership of the water streams. Wood and timber were to be considered community property. Only dead timber was to be used for fuel as timber was very scarce in the Great Basin. These early forms of control over the natural resources were unique in their scope and prevented a certain few from gaining ownership of all the wealth of the area.

The Perpetual Emigrating Fund -- Prior to leaving Nauvoo, Brigham Young and other members of the Church had pledged themselves to do everything in their power to assist other members of the Church in making their way to the place of settlement in the West. In September of 1849, the leaders of the Church submitted a plan calling for a revolving fund for the purpose of helping the poor Saints to Salt Lake City. The plan was accepted unanimously at the October Conference and the Saints donated

<sup>1</sup>William Clayton's Journal, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup>John W. Gunnison, The Mormons or Latter-day Saints in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott & Co., 1856), pl45.

liberally to the fund. The immediate purpose of the fund was to bring west those Saints still in Iowa. Later it helped those abroad and those in the more distant places of the United States.<sup>1</sup>

Under the plan, the company was to furnish finances to members of the Church for immigration to Utah. Upon arrival, the immigrant was to make himself productive just as quickly as possible and repay the company that which he borrowed in order that others might receive similar help. Many did not repay their loans as per agreement. This had the result of placing the company in debt \$56,000 by 1855.<sup>2</sup> By 1877, the year of Brigham Young's death, the fund was in debt \$1,000,000. Three years later, in 1880, the Church celebrated its Jubilee year. President John Taylor announced that the Church would cancel one half of the debts to the fund and encouraged Church members to do likewise with those owing them money. All in all, the total number of European emigrants alone, who were aided by the fund, exceeded 85,000.<sup>3</sup> It is estimated that expenditures reached \$5,000,000. The Perpetual Emigrating Fund was disincorporated by the Edmunds Tucker Anti-Polygamy Act of 1887. "While the fund did not operate as ideally in practice as it did in theory, it did accomplish a tremendous work of economic and spiritual emancipation."<sup>4</sup>

Early Enterprises by Donation -- Many of the early developments in Utah would not have been possible but for cooperative contributions of

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<sup>1</sup> Frontier Guardian, January 23, 1859.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of Discourses, III:5.

<sup>3</sup> Gustive O. Larson, Prelude to the Kingdom (Francestown: Marshall Jones Company, 1947), p. 234.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.



labor and money. In 1850 the newspaper called the Deseret News, was started through contributions of Church members. After the completion of the transcontinental telegraph line in October of 1861, the Deseret-Telegraph Company was organized for the purpose of providing a convenient means of communication to the settlements from Salt Lake City. Early in 1866 Brigham Young sent a circular to the bishops of the territory asking them to have their people unite in providing money and labor to build the line from St. George on the south to Rich County on the north. The line, 600 miles long, was completed by January of 1867. The materials were all paid for through the contributions collected from the Utah people. It was this spirit of cooperative effort and donation that made possible the rapid progress of the Mormon colonization.<sup>1</sup>

The Iron Mission -- In 1849, the Southern Exploring Company, under the direction of Parley P. Pratt, had found iron ore in Southern Utah. Iron was more precious than gold in Utah at that time, and Brigham Young endeavored to develop this industry. George A. Smith and Ezra T. Benson were selected to lead an expedition of one hundred men to the Little Salt Lake Valley, about two hundred fifty miles south of Salt Lake City. Here, in 1851, the iron industry of Utah began. After much hardship, the first molten iron poured from the furnace, September 30, 1851. Iron was never produced very extensively during this first attempt. The industry completely failed with the coming of Johnston's army, and the later advent of the railroad. Perhaps the last work done at the furnaces was the transformation of seven wagonloads of cannonballs from Camp Floyd into mill rollers. The iron industry, nearly a century later, became successful beyond the pioneers'

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<sup>1</sup>Nels Anderson, Desert Saints, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), p. 362.

wildest dreams.<sup>1</sup>

The Cotton Mission -- The establishment of the Iron Mission provided a base for establishing the "Cotton Mission." The missionaries to the Rio Virgin Valley noted the squash and melons the Indians were growing and become encouraged at the prospects of growing other crops there. In 1857, settlements were made on the Virgin River. Among those settlements were some converts to the Church from the southern states. These people had brought a small amount of cotton seed with them which was planted and a small amount of cotton raised. This was spun into crude cloth and caused sufficient excitement in Salt Lake City that Brigham Young was moved to send additional families south for the purpose of improving irrigation and raising cotton.

The Church allotted \$40,000 for the construction of a cotton mill which operated successfully for a time. Lack of locally raised cotton forced the importation of raw cotton to keep the mill operating. The coming of the railroad in 1869 brought cheap imported cotton goods which provided competition that could not be matched by the local industry.<sup>2</sup>

These various cooperative efforts are all phases of home industry. President Brigham Young was the champion of "producing what you consume." Our prior discussion is only representative of a great variety of cooperative efforts in attempting to solve economic problems. Others equally interesting include the leather, flax, sugar, silk, wool, stock raising, and agricultural industries. All were instrumental in assisting the more formalized cooperative movement.

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<sup>1</sup> Milton R. Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer, (Independence: Zion's Printing and Publishing Company, 1945), pp. 187-194.

<sup>2</sup> Larson, op. cit., p. 181.

## Early Utah Cooperatives

Brigham City Mercantile and Manufacturing Association -- In 1864, Lorenzo Snow and others introduced a unique system of cooperation in Brigham City, in northern Utah. The initial goal of the organization was to establish a cooperative mercantile store. Stock was sold, directors were chosen, and a small store was opened and thus was born an era of formal cooperation in the territory of Utah. This organization eventually became known as the "Brigham City Mercantile and Manufacturing Association."

As the store expanded, the officers and stockholders organized a rather extensive program of integration. Cows, sheep and cattle herds were the initial projects. To this was added a dairy, a tannery, and later, a shoe shop, and a woolen mill to accommodate the raw products of their "home industry produced" materials. To these were added a blacksmith shop, a hat factory, lumber mill, and various departments within each of these. Whenever tradesmen were needed in any of the departments, "the Perpetual Emigrating Fund company was appealed to for aid in supplying the deficiency. In this way many a skilled tanner, shoemaker, iron monger, etc., was 'sent for' through the fund."<sup>1</sup>

The store had been started with a capital of around \$3,000. Growth was immediately successful. Lorenzo Snow writes:

As the enterprise prospered, we continued to receive capital stock, also adding new names to the list of the stockholders, until we had a surplus of capital, or means, and succeeding in uniting the interests of the people and securing their patronage. We resolved then to commence home industries and receive our dividends, if any, in the articles produced.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 250.

<sup>2</sup>Eliza R. Snow, Biography of Lorenzo Snow, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1884), p. 291.

This was a pattern to be followed very often in later organizations of cooperatives throughout the territory. Especially during the advent of the United Order in 1874, the mercantile stores were expanding their operations to include extensive home manufacturing and the payment of dividends to the stockholders in goods often gave the organization a "lift." Wages were also paid in stock or goods that were produced. A financial statement of 1876 reports:

The past two or three years we have paid our employees five sixths in home products, one sixth in imported merchandise, amounting in aggregate, at trade rates, to about \$160,000. In the year 1875, the value of products in trade rates from all industries reached about \$260,000.<sup>1</sup>

The Brigham cooperative enjoyed excellent success for a number of years and established a pattern that was followed by the many cooperative enterprises later established.

The Franklin Cooperative Mercantile Institution -- Organized in the winter of 1865, the Franklin Cooperative is also worthy of brief mention as a forerunner of the Church-sponsored cooperative plan of 1868. The historian Tullidge tells us that the store was started in the winter of 1865 but only lasted until the following fall.<sup>2</sup> The organization was re-organized in 1869 with a capital of \$2,400 and under the managership of S. R. "Samie" Parkinson, operated successfully for many years. Expansion of the concern included a large woolen mill, saw mill, a furniture shop, butcher shop, and a blacksmith shop.

Collective Buying and Marketing Experiments -- Another interesting forerunner of the Church cooperative plan was the experiment in collective

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> Tullidge, op. cit., p. 480.

buying and marketing of products. A farm price convention had been held August 9, 1864, in an effort to safeguard the people of the territory against private exploitation through price control.<sup>1</sup> This was an attempt by representatives of the wards throughout the territory to establish prices on a more equitable basis. The Mormons felt that the Gentile merchants were charging exorbitant prices for their goods.<sup>2</sup> This attempt failed and sterner measures had to be employed.

Numerous criticisms from the pulpit failed also, and the leaders of the Church determined to "turn merchants ourselves." The plan next employed was to simply pool the buying and selling power of the Mormons that the group might reap the benefits of buying in the lowest markets and selling in the highest. This movement seemed to be launched during the October Conference of 1865, at which time Brigham Young said:

I wish the brethren, in all our settlements, to buy the goods they must have, and freight them with their own teams; and then let every one of the Latter-day Saints, male and female, decree in their hearts, that they will buy of nobody else but their own faithful brethren, who will do good with the money they will thus obtain.<sup>3</sup>

This form of collective merchandising became very popular during the "Sixties." Wagon trains left periodically for Colorado mining camps, California, or the East, bearing the butter, eggs, and grain of the Mormons and returning with goods purchased. Men such as William S. Godbe became stellar supporters of the practice of purchasing for others as a sideline to their personal business pursuits. Thus the Latter-day Saints provided for themselves a successful system of protection from profiteering

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<sup>1</sup>Deseret News, August 10, 1864.

<sup>2</sup>See Chapter VI of thesis, section entitled "Enforcement of the Church Boycott."

<sup>3</sup>Deseret News, November 2, 1865.

middlemen.

### Launching the Cooperative Plan

The Conference of 1868 -- During the fall of 1868, the matter of establishing a **central** cooperative wholesale and retail store was common discussion throughout the territory. The fifty-eighth general semi-annual conference was held October 5-8, 1868, at which time the subject was referred to in many of the sermons. The day following the close of the conference, a council of the leading men of the Church was called to discuss the matter. The report states that "it was decided to take immediate steps to establish a cooperative mercantile business, wholesale and retail, to supply the wants of the people of the territory. Over \$70,000 were subscribed in the council."<sup>1</sup> During the next few days, representatives were sent to the various wards in Salt Lake City and those in the nearby communities to present the plan and gain the support of the people. On the 16th another meeting was held for the shareholders of the contemplated store, in the City Hall in Salt Lake City. There were about one hundred present at this meeting which elected as officers to the organization the following: Brigham Young, president; W. H. Cooper, vice president; William Clayton, secretary; David O. Calder, treasurer; George A. Smith, George Q. Cannon, Horace S. Eldredge, H. W. Lawrence, William Jennings, and John M. Bernheisel as directors. A committee under the direction of Franklin D. Richards was appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws for the "Zions Cooperative Association."<sup>2</sup> Despite this auspicious and energetic beginning

<sup>1</sup>"History of Brigham Young," Ms., 1868, p. 1178.

<sup>2</sup>Deseret News Weekly, October 21, 1868.

the movement in Salt Lake City lagged a great deal in its development. Mormon businessmen were slow to make the change. Each day of delay meant one more day of financial gain and opportunity to unload their stock before turning such into the cooperative association.

While cooperation dragged in Salt Lake City, it had become the fad in nearly every other community in the territory -- this even though they were not facing the problem of Gentile merchants in their communities. In addition to those previously mentioned, St. George had its cooperative association as early as December 8, 1868. The Deseret News of June 7, 1866, tells us that "the cooperative store in Richmond is still thriving." It had been organized a few months earlier. Lehi and American Fork also had flourishing institutions. Concerning the latter, we read the following in a Deseret News editorial:

Now is the time to act as the inhabitants of American Fork have acted, and as the people of other places are doing, cooperate, sell shares so low that all who earnestly desire can become shareholders, and let the entire people become merchants on the cooperative principles.<sup>1</sup>

The Provo Cooperative Institution -- Following the October Conference of 1868, Church and business leaders in Provo immediately held meetings to establish cooperation in that city. On December 4, 1868, an organization was effected in preparation to opening a store. January 5, 1868, saw a store opened which was called the "Provo Cooperative Institution."

The Provo movement developed so rapidly that it appeared that it would become the headquarters for the general movement.<sup>2</sup> There is good

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., October 7, 1869.

<sup>2</sup>Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah, (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, Pub., 1893), Vol. II, Chapter 13.

reason to believe that Brigham Young recognized this success as an opportunity to shake the Salt Lake merchants out of the doldrums. His presence at a Provo Cooperative stockholders meeting on February 8, 1869, lends support to this hypothesis. While in attendance with Henry W. Lawrence, Apostles George Q. Cannon, Joseph F. Smith, Franklin D. Richards, and other leaders from Salt Lake City, he advised the institution to buy their goods directly from the east rather than from the Salt Lake merchants. Further support was given when President Young purchased \$5,000 worth of Provo stock and Henry W. Lawrence offered the new store building of Kimball and Lawrence just completed in Provo.

Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution -- The above action was all that was required for the Salt Lake merchants to take hold of the situation for none of them wanted Salt Lake City to lose its hold on the commercial leadership of the territory. On March 1, 1869, the wholesale branch of Z.C.M.I. was opened in William Jennings "Eagle Emporium" building.<sup>1</sup> A few days later another wholesale branch was opened in the old "Constitution Building" that was owned by the merchants Eldredge and Clawson. Finally, on April 21st, a retail branch was opened in the former Ransohoff and Company building.<sup>2</sup> It was not long until branch wholesale stores had been established in Logan, Ogden, and Provo. Retail stores were soon established in every small community in the territory and the wheels of cooperation began to roll. The Deseret News optimistically reported:

We have never witnessed in peaceful times among us a more willing, unselfish and magnanimous spirit, than has been exhibited by many of our merchants in aiding the establishment of this cooperative institution. They have been ready and desirous to do all

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<sup>1</sup>Deseret News, March 1, 1869.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., April 21, 1869.



that could be asked of them. What might be looked upon as their own personal interests, viewed from the standpoint generally occupied by men, have not been considered; but when it was fully decided that it was wisdom to establish this institution, they arranged their own business in such a manner that it would not interfere in the least with the successful carrying out of the proposed plan. This change, to those who do not understand the principles in which the Latter-day Saints believe, and upon which they act, must, to say the least, have been surprising. To see men in the full tide of success perfectly willing to invest largely in the cooperative institution, to change their business, or even retire from it altogether, and rent their buildings, and do all in their power to make the plan a success, which, according to the ideas that prevail in the world, if successful, must inevitably result in injury to their business, is so remarkable that it cannot escape comment. It is only another proof, however, added to the many which the world has already received, of the devotion of the Latter-day Saints to principle.<sup>1</sup>

On July 10, 1875, the Z. C. M. I. issued a circular containing the constitution and by-laws of the cooperative that had been formulated by the committee of 1868. The avowed objectives of the institution were to:

1. Keep down prices.
2. Foster home industries.
3. Consolidate the material interests of the settlers in the face of strong competition.
4. Distribute general merchandise to the people at a small margin of profit.

Section 20 of the constitution made the institution a Mormon concern by the collection of tithing:

No person or persons shall be eligible for membership, except they be of good moral character and have paid their tithing according to the rules of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

The directors of this institution shall tithe its net profits prior to any declaration of dividend, according to the rules of the church mentioned in the preceding section.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deseret News, April 21, 1869.

<sup>2</sup> Edward A. Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Company, 1886), pp. 728-732.

The original organization was incorporated for a period of twenty-five years. Fixed capital was set at \$3,000,000 with provisions for expansion to \$5,000,000. Stockholders had one vote for each share of stock subscribed.

Boycott against "Enemy" Gentile Merchants<sup>1</sup>-- The Z. C. M. I. met with tremendous success commercially. At the end of twenty-one years of operation, 1892, total sales for the institution totalled \$69,146,881 and dividends had been paid to the stockholders totalling \$2,059,847. In 1876 they erected new buildings on South State and Main Streets, housing both the wholesale and retail departments. The retail store is still located at this address. In recent years, the wholesale departments have been moved to new, large quarters on Redwood Road in West Salt Lake City.

A boycott had been implemented against the "unfriendly" Gentile merchants in 1865-6, a distinction being made between those and others who were called "friendly" and considered good citizens. During the later boycott of 1868, Latter-day Saints were forbidden to trade with all non-Mormons. Though this seems somewhat unjust, the reasons for so doing were quite valid as we shall see in a later section of this thesis concerning the matter.

The immediate results of the boycott were disastrous to the Gentile merchants and many of them were forced out of business. Those that had the tenacity to remain through the thin years have prospered and are some of the leading merchants in Utah today. The firms of Walker Brothers and Auerbach's are good examples. From the Mormon standpoint, the boycott plus the introduction of cooperation, proved immediately successful. During

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<sup>1</sup>See thesis, Chapter VI, section entitled, "Enforcement of the Church Boycott."

the first year of the Church-sponsored cooperative plan, prices dropped from 20 to 30 per cent. Home industries flourished and the territory as a whole, enjoyed increased economic fluency. There were storm clouds ahead, however.

Cooperation Branches Out -- Cooperation for the little man saw tremendous growth in the initial period after the 1868 organization. President Brigham Young encouraged this growth at every opportunity. On April 8, 1869, the following counsel was given:

I want to impress one thing on the minds of the people, which will be for their advantage if they will hear it. When you start your cooperative store in a ward you will find the men of capital stepping forward, and one will say, "I will put in ten thousand dollars;" another will say, "I will put in five thousand." But I say to you, bishops, do not let these men take five thousand or one thousand, but call on the brothers and sisters who are poor and tell them to put in their five dollars or twenty-five, and let those who have capital stand back and give the poor this advantage of quick-trading.<sup>1</sup>

At the time President Young made this statement, there were then 150 cooperatives organized in Utah, including Z. C. M. I. and its branches.<sup>2</sup>

Each ward had its small cooperative store. Most of them engaged only in retail activities. A typical "coop" store became the center of business and social activities in the smaller communities. Some of the larger stores branched into some rather extensive industrial and manufacturing attempts. Although many never succeeded in fulfilling the destiny intended for them, their development as an economic experiment is a notable chapter in the history of the Great Basin.

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<sup>1</sup> Deseret News Weekly, June 16, 1869.

<sup>2</sup> Arden Beal Olsen, "The History of Mormon Mercantile Cooperation," Ms., Dr. of Philosophy Dissertation, University of California, 1935.

## Decline of the Cooperative

Cooperation Loses Ground -- It is ironic that a basic principle of the cooperative plan was the thing that brought about the downfall of the institution. The idea of having many small shareholders was the thing that caused rapid growth in the cooperative store. It is not difficult to get the members of a ward to invest a few dollars in the "coop" store. For a time things went very well and the stores were cooperative in every sense of the word. Two fatal provisions were usually included in the constitution or articles of Incorporation. The one granted voting power according to the number of shares owned; the other allowed the transfer of stock.

It was not long until some of the stockholders began letting their stock go. We can only imagine the reasons. Perhaps there was a bill pressing or some disagreement with the management and it was easy to avoid trouble by simply selling one's stock. There were always those who recognized the stock as a good thing and were willing to buy. Little by little the stock became held by fewer and fewer people until eventually the concern would take on the characteristics of a joint stock company, and in many cases, individual control was accomplished. This situation is felt in an article written in March of 1886:

The great drawback of narrowed cooperation, as combined or personal stores, is that the primary object is to make money. It is not a percentage simply upon investment that is expected or desired; big profits and fortune is the ultimatus (sic); and the closer we come to cooperation, if this selfish spirit prevails, the greater the evil, for the assumption and presumption is, that such a store or organization possesses a claim upon the town or settlement and so if ill regulated it becomes a monopoly as grasping and avaricious as the most exacting could desire. Is it not because of this that the so-called coops have lost prestige and that in little towns where one jealously guarded store would have been ample for necessity, there are now from ten to twenty, dividing the interests, feelings, and working against the progress of the body temporal

in almost every sense?<sup>1</sup>

In some cases, the stockholders were known to have sought special privileges in their buying at the store on the basis of their holdings in the company. Whenever this was allowed and practiced, downfall was inevitable. There were other cases of mismanagement that took toll. Undoubtedly, the coming of the railroad bringing Gentile miners, speculators and businessmen, had its effect on the cooperative. The great decline in cooperation came during the decade of the "Eighties," the years of the great polygamy agitation. The passage of the Edmunds Anti-Polygamy law of 1882 called for the fine and imprisonment of polygamists and denied them citizenship rights. This was followed by the Edmunds-Tucker Law of 1887, which dis-incorporated the Church and took over all Church property. Many of the leaders of the cooperative movement were polygamists and their being forced into hiding or placed in jail, seriously impaired cooperation.

A few cooperatives survived until the nineties and some were even operating after the turn of the century. Where they have existed since the turn of the century, though they still be called a "cooperative store," they exist only as a corporation or a joint-stock company. Z. C. M. I., formerly the parent institution, has survived as one of these. It still stands as a landmark of a great era of economic endeavor from which our present Great Basin Empire has evolved.

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<sup>1</sup>Z. C. M. I. Advocate, March 15, 1886.

## CHAPTER III

### THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN CACHE VALLEY

#### A General Survey

"Cooperation is the spirit of the times!"<sup>1</sup> This was the brief summarizing report of President E. T. Benson, then president of the Cache Stake of Zion, to the shareholders of the Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution on April 20, 1869. This group formed the first cooperative that was organized in Cache Valley under church sponsorship. There had been others in operation as early as 1865 but they had been sponsored by local groups with no direct authorization from the church ecclesiastical authority in Salt Lake City. The church-wide cooperative movement had begun the year before with its announcement at the October General Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In Cache Valley, each town had a formidable and adequate cooperative store. The historian Tullidge, in reviewing the spread of the cooperative movement in Cache Valley, reports that "the Paradise and Hyde Park Co-ops have each maintained the traffic of their respective towns and have been managed in a general way successfully and satisfactorily. The same may be said of Clarkston and Newton. Each may be said to be a typical co-op store."<sup>2</sup>

In 1872, the Cache Valley Board of Trade was organized to promote and further the commercial activities of the cooperative stores. At that

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<sup>1</sup>"Minutes of the Logan Co-operative Manufacturing and Mercantile Institution," MS, (typed copy in possession of Dr. Leonard J. Arrington, Logan, Utah), April 20, 1869.

<sup>2</sup>Tullidge, op. cit., p. 386.

time, every community that was then settled, had at least one cooperative store. The cooperative store became the hub of the cooperative movement. Indeed, it almost became a community center, many of them acting as the town post office as well as providing the most convenient place in the community for disseminating news and gossip.

In 1874, the United Order was established in Cache Valley and the cooperative stores were incorporated into the over-all order. The stores continued to function pretty much as they had in the past and also assumed the additional responsibility of distributing goods that were produced by the United Order factories.

By 1890, most of the cooperative stores had disappeared. However, there were a few of them that continued into the "nineties" and some were operating past 1900. The reasons for the decline of the cooperative will be discussed in a later chapter as will the author's evaluation of the contributions of the cooperatives in the settlement of Cache Valley.

It should be recognized that the Mormon cooperative became the center of a series of unique economic experiments sponsored by the Mormon Church. It provided the foundation for the formation of the United Order and the various Boards of Trade and outlasted both of them for durability. While the plan of 1868 is not in effect today, the same cooperative spirit pervades the modern day Welfare plan and the building of chapels and temples.

The cooperative store was local concern but was governed by broad principles that were established by the church. Even though the stock was owned by local citizens, the sponsoring unit for the cooperative was the ecclesiastical ward. These in turn looked to the directorship of the church. This provided for a controlled economy that was unique in capitalistic America. Mormon leaders felt that there was very little separation

between temporal and spiritual affairs in the church and let their weight be felt in both. It was basic in Mormon theology that the earth was the Lord's and each man was a steward over that property which he held. With property being thus controlled by the church for the interests of all, the laissez-faire concept of absolute property rights so dominant in nineteenth century America, did not characterize the thinking of the Mormon cooperative plan.

#### Early Forms of Cooperative Effort

Settlement Through Cooperation -- When the first settlers entered Cache Valley in September of 1856, so did the spirit of cooperation. Wild Indians and the urgency of protective measures for survival in the oncoming winter, made it necessary for Peter Maughan and his company at Maughan's Fort to live cooperatively. The first three days in the valley were spent in "looking for a site and in cutting hay for their stock and . . . to make corrals for their animals."<sup>1</sup> The next item of business was that of providing shelter against the winter and the Indians who considered the valley theirs for hunting purposes. Two rows of houses, facing each other and running north and south were built.<sup>2</sup> This became known as "Maughan's Fort" and provided a model for the establishment of subsequent settlements in the valley.

As other communities were settled, beginning with Logan in 1859 and ending with Lewiston in 1872, nearly all employed this form of protection. When spring came in 1857, Peter Maughan and his people joined

<sup>1</sup>Joel Edward Ricks, The Beginnings of Settlement in Cache Valley (Logan: U.S.A.C. Monograph series, 1953), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup>Mary Ann Weston Maughan, "Journal" MS, (Typed copy in possession of U.S.A.C. History Department, Logan, Utah), p. 30.



together to plow the soil, dig the ditches and plant and irrigate with such crude tools as they possessed.

The coming of Johnston's Army and the "Utah War" caused the settlers of Maughan's Fort to temporarily abandon their new homes and journey to Salt Lake City. Returning to Cache Valley in 1859, they were soon followed by other settlers and it was not long until settlements dotted the valley.

Cooperative Farming -- In Cache Valley, farming has always been the basic industry. In early times, a definite pattern for farming was usually followed. The first ground to be broken was usually a community field and was surrounded by a community fence. All would unite their efforts in plowing, planting, irrigating and harvesting. Within the community fence, each man was allotted the number of acres that he required to provide for his family. A man could farm as much as he could properly take care of--no more. This had been the policy established by President Brigham Young on Sunday, July 25, 1847, the second day after the original pioneers entered the Salt Lake Valley.<sup>1</sup>

Later, as the threat of Indians was lessened and as the towns became more thickly populated, the farms became more widely dispersed and cooperative efforts were largely replaced by farms requiring individual efforts. This is not to say that the cooperative spirit disappeared, for Mormonism has always been noted for the fine relationships that exist between neighbors and between communities. Especially in the case of disaster, such as loss by fire, whole communities will turn out to rebuild

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<sup>1</sup>"Wilford Woodruff's Journal," MS, (Located in L.D.S. Historian's Office in Salt Lake City, Utah), Entry for July 25, 1847.

a neighbor's home or barn.

As the colonization in the valley progressed, the cooperative spirit was manifest in the form of cooperative farms which were usually owned by the ecclesiastical organization of the community, the ward. These farms were usually maintained for a specific purpose or project. Mendon had a cooperative farm to raise funds for building an addition to their ward meeting house. Clarkston had a farm to raise funds for the building of the Logan Temple. The Logan Second Ward and the Hyrum Ward had cooperative dairies. Others were maintained to provide for the poor.

With the establishment of the United Order in Cache Valley in 1874, many of the communities returned to a system of farming very much like that practiced in the initial settlement days when cooperative farming was a necessity. One notable example is that of Mendon:

All property belonging to a member who joined the Order was consecrated to the Order, and this was done in good faith, the members never thinking to own it as their own again . . . . The members of the Order now went to ploughing together, being organized in companies of 10, a Supt (sic) over all the work, it was an advantage to work this way. The land dried very quick when spring came after the long winter, and when a patch would be dry enough it would be sowed while in good trim. It was a novel sight to witness from 10-20 teams coming into town from their work at noon and night. Each man attended to the watering of the land he had turned over, and he also kept his own sheep and horses for his families use, each days work was credited, and when harvest was over and threshing done, an estimate of all produced, and labor done, was made, and whatever it amounted to each day, was awarded and paid. The man with 25 acres fared the same as the man with 5 acres or the man with none at all. We ploughed and worked together and harvest and this year each man had his grain raised on the farm, but the next year 75 (sic) it was accorded as stated above, all according to labor done.<sup>1</sup>

Farming under the United Order in Mendon lasted only two years

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<sup>1</sup>Isaac Sorenson, "History of Mendon" MS, (Typed copy in possession of the U.S.A.C. History Department, Logan, Utah) pp. 13-15.

and then was discontinued, apparently due to the fact that the majority of the people would not support it to the extent of making it a long range program.

Cooperative Irrigation -- Irrigation had its beginning in Utah in the Salt Lake Valley when Brigham Young and the pioneers turned the waters of City Creek on the hard ground in order to be able to plow and plant the first potato seed. With this beginning, the Mormons have been given the distinction of being the first Anglo-Saxons to practice irrigation on a large scale in America.<sup>1</sup> Cache Valley was an extension of this great irrigation movement that converted much of the desert land of the Great Basin into fertile fields.

The methods used in constructing irrigation canals and ditches were sometimes rather crude but effective under the conditions. The lumbermen felled trees that were used for flumes, bridges and gates. Masons were brought into action in mixing the mortar and stones for the cuts and fills along the hillsides. One crude but interesting method was sometimes used to gain a level for the laying of a canal. A long milk pan would be partially filled with water and when held level, could be used to sight along for a watercourse. Much difficult hand labor was always involved in the construction of early irrigation facilities. Crude hoes and shovels were the first tools used. Later "go-devils" were employed but these still presented a rather rigorous type of labor.

Perhaps the first major irrigation project in Cache Valley was the Logan Hyde Park Canal. Beginning at the mouth of Logan Canyon, it ran along the east bench of Logan and thence northward to the town of Hyde Park,

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<sup>1</sup>Wells A. Hutchins, Mutual Irrigation Companies in Utah (U.S.A.C. Experiment Station bulletins, 183-200)

some four miles.<sup>1</sup> Those who owned land along the canal's route were assessed a certain amount of labor for which they received stock in the cooperative company. New lands were opened up along the canal's course and these were given to those who performed the labor.

In 1865, a more ambitious program was launched, this time extending the canal to Smithfield and its northern neighbor, Richmond. When completed, the new addition made the canal fourteen miles long, ten feet wide, and two and one-half feet deep.<sup>2</sup> As repairs were required, assessments were made to the shareholders who would either make payment by cash or by labor on the canal. The project was not completely successful, however. Lack of planning often caused many troubles. Duplicate ditches, insecure headworks, and over-irrigated fields were frequent mistakes.

The assessment records of Cache County for the year of 1878, show the following land under irrigation: Logan, 5,299 acres; Wellsville, 2,250 acres; Richmond, 2,536 acres; Hyde Park, 1,292 acres; Hyrum, 1,926 acres; Providence, 972 acres.<sup>3</sup> The rapid cultivation of Cache Valley lands was made possible through extensive cooperative irrigation.

Irrigation in Cache Valley was under the sponsorship of the Latter-day Saints Church. The initial plan was simple and rather informal. The Bishop usually managed the affairs of the local water ditch. Any

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<sup>1</sup>"Cache Stake Ward Records," MS, (handwritten record located in the vault in the basement of the Cache Stake house), entry for 1860.

<sup>2</sup>Millennial Star, Vol. 31: pp. 665, 711, 743.

<sup>3</sup>"Cache County Court Records" MS, (Located Cache County Court House, Logan, Utah, 1878)

disputes over water problems were handled by the Bishop's court.<sup>1</sup> Church financial help was received in the time of stress and all worked and shared alike in the benefits. Early planning provided for the ditches to be made much larger than the immediate need required. In this manner, the first settlers were able to accommodate newcomers as they arrived and settled in the valley.

Prior to 1880, there were very few of the cooperative irrigation companies that were incorporated. The passage of the water law of 1880 called attention to the fact that companies might incorporate for irrigation purposes. During the "eighties" and the "nineties," many of the companies took advantage of the new law. One of the main reasons for obtaining articles of incorporation was to provide a means for the enforcing of the collections of assessments. When assessments became delinquent, the by-laws usually provided for the corporation to sell the delinquent shareholder's stock.<sup>2</sup>

The Logan Hyde Park and Smithfield Canal Company became incorporated March 16, 1889.<sup>3</sup> The Articles of Incorporation called for a capital stock of \$50,000 in shares of \$10 each. Signing as officials of the corporation were T. E. Ricks, Ralph Smith, Charles W. Nibley, and Francis Sharp.

Gradually the irrigation institutions of the valley have evolved

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<sup>1</sup>During the first years after the settlement of the Great Basin by the Mormons, the Bishop's court was the principal form of law. There were no municipal law officers or courts and the Bishop not only served as spiritual leader but also officiated in law, government and business matters.

<sup>2</sup>Hutchins, Loc. Cit.

<sup>3</sup>Articles of Incorporation, MS, (Cache County Court House, Logan).

from the original church-sponsored companies to private groups of an independent character. Today many miles of ditches and canals stand as a monument to the cooperative spirit of the pioneers who literally made the "desert blossom as a rose."

Building and Housing -- Upon moving from the forts, the first consideration of the settlers was that of building homes. At first they were only able to construct crude log cabins. These were improved upon as the times and circumstances permitted. It was the custom to build these homes cooperatively. The entire community would turn out and pool their talents and labor in building an individual's home. Henry Ballard, first bishop of the Logan second Ward mentions incidents of this nature:

Monday, March 26, 1860. Group in Logan city turned out in mass and fenced some lots with a willow fence in readiness to plant out some trees as soon as the ground is dry enough. The snow is leaving very fast. (E. T. Benson's fruit trees)

April 2, 1860. We turned out to build President Maughan's cabin. (Peter Maughan had just been appointed Presiding Bishop of Cache Valley and was moving to Logan from Wellsville.)<sup>1</sup>

Cooperative Roads -- With their homes built, the land plowed and irrigation established, the settlers next turned their attentions to the matter of roads and bridges. Commerce between settlements was increasing, immigrants were passing through and the need for free movement of the Militia around Cache Valley, made it expedient to improve the roads. Some were privately owned such as the ferry that was operated by Joel Ricks on the Little Bear River below its junction with the Logan River. Cache Valley had organized as a county and officially granted this right to Mr. Ricks.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Henry Ballard's Journal" MS (typed copy in the files of the U.S. A.C. History Department, Logan, Utah).

<sup>2</sup>Ricks, op. cit., p. 35.

Because of the many streams in the valley, bridges were a serious problem to the county. During its first session, the Cache County Court authorized all the revenue not then expended by the county to be used on county roads and bridges.<sup>1</sup> William B. Preston was authorized to build a bridge across the Logan River, to the south of the city. The bridge was completed by December of 1860 and cost a total of \$400.75. This left the county in debt.<sup>2</sup> It was not long, however, until all the streams were bridged. As early as March, 1860, it was reported that:

Bridges were being built across the Little Bear River, Rush Creek, Smith's Fork, Spring Creek, South and North Logan, Four Mile Creek, Summit Creek, Farmers Creek, High Creek, Cherry Creek, and Beaver or Cub Creek.<sup>3</sup>

Roads developed very rapidly. Perhaps the first to receive attention was the one between Brigham City and Maughan's Fort or Wellsville. This was the route of immigration and therefore received early consideration. Most of the first roads in Cache Valley were built on the higher ground to keep them as dry as possible. Going north from Logan "the summer road lead northward along present fifty east and in the spring when it was wet the road followed the foot of the hill below the college and by way of North Logan."<sup>4</sup>

Real industry was shown in the construction of the canyon roads. A toll was usually charged for the use of the road, usually ten cents for a horse and rider and twenty-five cents for a wagon. If a man didn't have a dime, he would stop and cut a cedar pole which would pay his toll. These funds were used for the maintenance of the road. The construction of the

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<sup>1</sup>"County Book of the County of Cache," MS, (Cache County Court House, Logan, Utah, Book A), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 16-19. <sup>3</sup>Mountaineer, (Salt Lake City), March 31, 1860.

<sup>4</sup>Ricks, op. cit., p. 35.

cooperative road up the Blacksmith's Fork Canyon through the Wasatch Mountains to the Bear Lake Valley illustrates the industry displayed by these early cooperative road builders.<sup>1</sup> The Hyrum Cooperative's effort is representative of the manner in which many of the first roads in the valley were built.

Cooperative effort in building the Logan Temple -- Cooperation

had worked well for the settlers of Cache Valley. Indeed, without it the valley could not have been successfully colonized. We have briefly discussed the value of cooperation in the matters of building roads, bridges, construction, farming and irrigation. The writing that follows later will consider the heart and core of cooperation--merchandising and manufacturing. In addition to all of this, we view the great cooperative effort of the people of Cache Valley in building the Logan L.D.S. Temple. The temple stands today in its magnificence atop the east bench in Logan, a tribute and a monument to the faith and industry of the people.

First indications that there would be a temple in Logan seem to have come in the October General Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Held on October 8, 1876, in Salt Lake City, President Brigham Young called on the people of Box Elder, Malad, Cache, Soda Springs, Bear Lake and Rich Counties and the people on the Bear River to prepare to build themselves a temple in Logan.<sup>2</sup> Subscriptions for labor and money were then taken by wards and stakes. By February 3, 1877, there had been \$37,146 subscribed.<sup>3</sup> Though far short of the required amount, this was

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<sup>1</sup>Tullidge, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 557.

<sup>2</sup>Deseret News, November 1, 1876.

<sup>3</sup>Melvin A. Larkin, "The History of the L.D.S. Temple in Logan, Utah" (Unpublished master's thesis, History Department, U.S.A.C., 1954), p. 25.



rather remarkable for the times. The people of Cache Valley were already required to participate in the building of the Salt Lake Temple, finish the Logan Tabernacle and build the Logan Woolen Factory.

The stakes were then organized to form part of the Logan Temple District and each of the stakes was assigned a particular responsibility. C. O. Card was appointed superintendent of construction, as he had been on the Logan Tabernacle, and James A. Leishman, the clerk. The building committee consisted of Charles C. Rich, Bear Lake; Lorenzo Snow, Brigham City; Franklin D. Richards, Ogden, all of whom were at the time apostles in the church. This organization took place May 21, 1877.<sup>1</sup>

The first activity of the committee was to establish industries that would assist in the building of the temple. Notable among these was the sawmill at Temple Fork and the two rock quarries, one at Green Canyon and the other northeast of Franklin. These not only provided supplies for the actual construction of the temple but the surpluses were sold and provided the money for paying wages to steady workers. From the sawmill at Temple Fork, red pine was taken for the construction of the temple. A few miles below the mill was located a wood camp where firewood for the lime kilns was cut and then floated down the Logan River to the lime kiln which was located near the mouth of Logan Canyon.

At first the work was allotted out to the stakes entirely but it was found to be more practical to maintain a steady crew of about fifty per cent of the laborers. Many of the wards and stakes started projects to raise the money they needed to pay their assessments.<sup>2</sup> Mendon and Clarkston maintained farms, the proceeds of which went to the temple. The

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

Cache Stake contracted the grading and laying of the Utah Northern Railroad extension that came into Cache Valley. The Relief Societies made quilts and outfitted the workmen. All of the church auxiliaries raised funds through various projects. The temple workmen themselves, under the direction of C. O. Card, went into the contracting business. Among the contracts taken, was the building of the Cache County Court House foundation for \$2,900, the building of the Fifth Ward school house and a multitude of plastering jobs. Of the surpluses sold from the temple's many industries, many went to the Logan branch of Z.C.M.I. and the various United Order stores.

Each member of the church in the temple district was asked to contribute a fifty cent cash donation each month. Those who had come to Utah at the expense of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund were allowed to work out that debt in labor on the temple.<sup>1</sup> Although the Trustee-in-Trust of the Mormon Church made some cash donations to the temple fund, there was no tithing used in the construction.

Finally the temple was completed and dedicated May 17, 1884 at the cost of \$607,063. It had taken seven years to build and was done entirely as a freewill offering of labor, merchandise, livestock, produce, and cash.<sup>2</sup> Tithing was not used and the temple was completely paid for at the time of its dedication. This event seemed to mark the end of the great cooperative era that was started in 1868. It is rather strange indeed, that the death of this great movement came about the time of the consummation of its

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<sup>1</sup>For an excellent discussion of the rise and fall of "The Perpetual Emigrating Fund," see Gustive O. Larson, Prelude to the Kingdom (Francestown: Marshall Jones Company, 1947).

<sup>2</sup>Larkin, loc. cit., p. 46.

greatest achievement, the completion of the Logan Temple.

### Cooperative Merchandising

Cooperative merchandising began in Cache Valley several years before its official pronouncement in October of 1868. Perhaps the first cooperative store in Cache Valley was started in Franklin in 1865. The initial opening did not last long and the store soon closed. It was later reopened and operated successfully for many years. The Richmond and Smithfield stores were opened shortly afterward. In quick succession, others were established with Lewiston probably being the last to be established. The Lewiston store was opened in June of 1876.

The purpose of the cooperatives was to "handle the production and marketing of a large number of commodities."<sup>1</sup> The inventories carried by the cooperative stores consisted of two types--the "States Goods" and those that were home produced. The "States Goods" were those that were brought to Utah from eastern markets. Originally these were purchased through a form of collective buying. Each ward was admonished to form a buying agency that would send teams to the large commercial centers to buy goods direct and in large quantities. In August of 1865, President Young gave the following counsel to the Saints of Cache Valley regarding merchandising:

Why not appoint in every ward in the territory a good business-man, who is filled with integrity and truth, to make contracts for the people of the ward, and let convention prices be the rule or not sell. Why not draw money for our grain and spend it ourselves, instead of allowing those who have no interest with us to handle it for us and pocket fortunes which we should enjoy and lay out in redeeming the earth and in building up the Kingdom of God in all the world? We can do this if we will.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Hamilton J. Gardner, "Cooperation Among the Mormons," Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. XXXI (May, 1917).

<sup>2</sup>Andrew Love Neff, History of Utah, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), p. 801.

Collective buying was employed by the residents of Cache Valley to some extent prior to the establishment of cooperatives. Following this, the cooperatives themselves performed the function. Most of the goods were purchased from the central Z.C.M.I. wholesale house in Salt Lake City and later from the branch Z.C.M.I. store in Logan. Some collective buying was also performed by the Cache Valley Board of Trade on behalf of the member cooperatives in the valley.

The goods of the home produced type were those that were fabricated through home industry, either from individuals or the cooperatives themselves. These types of goods were referred to as "Valley Tan," and were made from whatever the settlers could find in its native state or grow on the soil. Upon entering a cooperative store in the late "seventies," one might find shoes and harnesses manufactured in Smithfield, brooms from Millville, woolen goods from Franklin, shingles from Hyrum, doors from the Logan 2nd Ward, hand tools from the Logan First Ward foundry, cheese from the Hyrum Dairy and butter and eggs from everyone.

In spite of this imposing array of home manufacture, there were still large amounts of imported goods sold. The Logan Branch of Z.C. M.I. advertised the following in the Logan Leader: "Ladies and Gents furnishings, boots and shoes, staple groceries and hardware, sugar, tea, coffee, dried fruits, lard, bacon, hams, syrup, tobacco, woodenware, leather and school supplies."<sup>1</sup> Prices ran quite high as another advertisement will illustrate: "Nails and sugar \$1.00 per pound, 8 x 10 window glass 60¢, calico 75¢ per yard, soda 35¢ per package."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Logan Leader, February 18, 1881.

<sup>2</sup>Tri Weekly Journal, December 22, 1906

Because there was very little United States gold or paper currency available in the valley, merchandising was usually carried on in one of two ways, either by direct barter or through the use of a cooperative script.

The barter system was widely employed in all early commercial activities in the valley. It usually proceeded with the farmer gathering up the produce of his labors and taking them to the cooperative store to be traded for imported or manufactured goods that he could not manufacture himself. Typical dealings in a day's business would see a housewife trading her butter and eggs for sugar and calico, a farmer trading a wagonload of grain for some farm machinery, a stockman trading a herd of sheep for a wagon, or a mountain man trading a load of cedar poles for some provisions. Thus the cooperative store became a great trading post for all the residents of the community.

To be sure, the system had its shortcomings, and sometimes misunderstandings arose. The Logan Leader relates a rather humorous incident: "On one occasion when Z.C.M.I. had a sign on the door TAKING STOCK, a man who lives on the bench brought in a calf and wanted to trade it for merchandise."<sup>1</sup>

As the manager of the cooperative store accumulated the grain, cattle, butter and eggs, he would sort them and grade them into lots and then ship them to a trading center. The smaller cooperative stores would ship these items to the Logan Z.C.M.I. which concern would in turn ship them to the parent store in Salt Lake City or freight them directly to a mining camp in Montana or possibly direct to the Pacific Coast. Here again

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<sup>1</sup>Logan Leader, February 18, 1881.

barter was employed as these goods were exchanged for wholesale goods for the stores.

Each cooperative store usually maintained a full time freighter who was kept busy hauling home-produced materials to market, and would bring store supplies home again. The winter, and times of inclement weather, were a real test of endurance for the freighter, as the severest part of the winter found many of the smaller communities completely isolated from the rest of the valley.

The script used by the cooperative stores for trading was locally printed and was to be used only in the store as a form of local promissory note. Payment for goods, services and change on purchases were effected with the use of script in denominations of the regular currency. It was usually paper and assumed various shapes, sizes, forms and colors. Its use was temporary until currency became plentiful.

The manager of a cooperative store had to be a man of astute resourcefulness. He was directly responsible not only to the board of directors but also to the customers. He had to perform the functions of manager, buyer, accountant, supervisor of personnel, clerk, public relations man, and custodian. A system of keeping fresh meat had to be devised. This was usually an ice house in the rear of the store. There was a smoke house for curing hams and bacon, a granary for wheat and barley, and a small stable of horses which were used in the freighting of goods. Advertising in the local paper was frequently done in competition with the local gentile stores.

The management of the cooperative was usually handled by a man. He would hire several women clerks to take care of the bulk of customer service. Each local cooperative was answerable only to its stockholders

who were usually the best customers of the store. Often the dividends were paid to the stockholders in goods from the store and the savings thereby plowed back into the business. It is interesting that the various cooperative stores all handled their merchandise with a surprising amount of uniformity in policy and operation. Yet each was a distinctly separate and local concern that was answerable only to its stockholders.

#### The Cache Valley Board of Trade

Zion's Central Board of Trade was established in 1879 by President John Taylor and the First Presidency of the L.D.S. Church. The plan had come about as one more step in the forward movement of Mormon economic life. Latter-day Saints have always prided themselves in their ability to adapt new methods and programs to meet new and changing situations. These programs have always been developed not only to meet the situation but have also been organized to include as many of the lay members in their operation as conditions would allow, and thereby solidify the economic and spiritual unity, independence, and welfare of the Church. The various movements were always flexible and readily discarded whenever conditions warranted a change to a new system or the elimination of an old one.

Several economic experiments had preceded Zion's Board of Trade. One year after the church was organized, a system of "consecration and stewardships" or the "Law of Consecration"<sup>1</sup> was established at Kirtland, Ohio, and also at Independence, Missouri. It lasted for three years. In Utah, during the 1850's, an attempt was made to revive the plan but never

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<sup>1</sup>Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 42.

gained momentum enough to be put into actual operation.<sup>1</sup> In 1869 the new policy of "cooperatives" to handle the production and marketing of goods, became the immediate forerunner of the Board of Trade movement. Zion's Board of Trade was devised as a means of assuring the people that the cooperative movement would be able to maintain the success that it had enjoyed since its inception ten years previous. It was to be used as an effective tool for a pre-planned economy and social experimentation.

The Board of Trade came in answer to need. President John Taylor launched the movement after visiting Cache Valley in the summer of 1878. His first recorded mention of it was on September 5, 1878 in a public meeting in Salt Lake City. The recording secretary of the meeting tells us that President Taylor

. . . spoke of the unanimity prevailing in Cache Valley in the sale of products, no middlemen being employed, but the highest prices being obtained for the producers. It was high time for the Saints to fall into line. Every revelation given Joseph Smith would have to be carried out . . . . We must turn round as a people and become united, both in temporal and spiritual things. Many things had been started here in the name of God in the way of cooperation, but the covetousness of men had stepped in and destroyed the confidence of the people. If we would put away our selfishness and blend together our interests, God would pour out his blessings on Israel and make us the richest people on the face of the earth.<sup>2</sup>

It appears, then, that Zion's Central Board of Trade evolved from the Cache Valley Board of Trade. The acorn from which this mighty oak grew had its beginning in March of 1872.<sup>3</sup> At that time, the presidents and

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<sup>1</sup>F. Y. Fox, "The Consecration Movement of the Middle Fifties," Improvement Era (February 1944), pp. 80-81, 120-121, 124.

<sup>2</sup>L.D.S. Journal History, MS (hereafter referred to as "Journal History"), September 5, 1878.

<sup>3</sup>Deseret News, April 10, 1872.



managers of the cooperative stores from all over Cache Valley met to work out a way of improving the marketing facilities of the valley. Dr. Leonard J. Arrington gives us the reasons for calling this very important meeting:

Middlemen, usually non-Mormons, had been buying up all available marketable products and hauling them to railway centers, where they were sold to commission merchants who shipped them to California, Nevada, Montana, and other consuming areas. This was especially true of eggs, butter and grain, which were bought at low prices in Cache Valley and sold at fantastic prices in mining camps. The middlemen were said to be 'waxing rich.' It is probable that the local cooperatives felt they could perform this marketing function themselves and thus save 'to the people' the profits which were going to 'outside' middlemen. The meeting of cooperative officials resulted in agreements to:

1. Offer uniform prices for the farm products brought to them for marketing.
2. Use their influence in improving the quality of products brought to their particular stores.
3. Find markets for the exportable products of the Valley.
4. Form an organization called the Board of Trade for carrying out the above aims.<sup>1</sup>

The initial organization of the Cache Valley Board of Trade had operated about two years when it was liquidated with the introduction of the United Order to Cache Valley on May 2, 1874.<sup>2</sup> The Board was later revived in March, 1876.<sup>3</sup> In this later reorganization, Moses Thatcher figured prominently. President of the Cache Valley Stake at that time, he had previously been manager of the Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution and continued, by appointment from President Brigham Young, as manager when it became the Logan Branch of Z.C.M.I. in November 1872.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Leonard J. Arrington, Zion's Board of Trade: A Third United Order, (reprinted from The Western Humanities Review, Vol. V, Winter, 1950-51), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>"Journal History," May 2, 1874      <sup>3</sup>Deseret News, July 16, 1879.

<sup>4</sup>"Logan Second Ward Historical Record," MS, (located in basement vault of Cache Stake House, Logan, Utah), p. 9.

Operations of the Cache Valley Board of Trade reached rather extensive proportions. The historian, Tullidge, reports that in 1874 there were shipped twenty-four carloads of butter and eggs to San Francisco and each year thereafter in the amount of \$100,000 per annum.<sup>1</sup> This was accomplished through a centralized farm product marketing agency. The various cooperative stores would accept butter, eggs and wheat from their customers as a medium of exchange. They in turn would submit it to the board who acted as selling agent. It is interesting to note that any member cooperative could at any time, if its suspicions were aroused, appoint an auditing board to investigate the Board of Trade.<sup>2</sup> By 1880 the Board had become quite a lofty concern. Among other things its members were operating a store and shop and had the exclusive agency for the famed Studebaker wagons. A newspaper advertisement of that day read as follows:

Z I O N ' S   B O A R D   O F   T R A D E

Logan City, Cache County, Utah  
Agent for the improved

S T U D E B A K E R Farm and Spring Wagons  
Buggies and Carriages  
Buckeye Machines  
Flows, Cultivators, Rakes, iron steel, bolts  
all kinds  
Hardwood & Wagon Material  
Examine prices before purchasing elsewhere

Fred Turner, Supt.<sup>3</sup>

On June 28, 1880, the Board became incorporated, for a period of twenty-five years.<sup>4</sup> Capital stock of \$25,000 was authorized, the shares

<sup>1</sup>Tullidge, op cit., Vol. I, p. 381.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Logan Leader, October 8, 1880.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

being \$10 each. At the time of incorporation there were forty-two individuals and stores holding 643 shares of stock. The Articles of Incorporation give us a view of the aims and goals of the Board as listed in the "Objects of Association":

1. To seek remunerative markets for home products.
2. To encourage home manufacturing.
3. To aid in placing imported articles in the hands of consumers as cheaply as possible.
4. To secure its members the benefits of cooperation in furtherance of their legitimate pursuits.
5. To unite and harmonize the business relationships of this association with those of Zion's Central Board of Trade.
6. To manufacture and deal in wagons, carriages, buggies, harnesses, mill and farm machinery, plows, farm products, wool, hides and to engage in other such industrial pursuits as the board of directors deem advisable.<sup>1</sup>

At the time of the above incorporation, William B. Preston was appointed General Manager, and Fred Turner, Superintendent. Buildings were erected on the old tithing office corner at a cost of \$2,000.<sup>2</sup> On September 3, 1880, we read that the Board was attempting to get the price of lumber raised to prevent the areas' timber resources from being so readily exported.<sup>3</sup>

The Cache Valley Board of Trade came to an inglorious end in 1888 when its buildings were destroyed by fire. During its sixteen year existence, it was a strong organization made up of strong men. Tullidge states that "no organization has been organized under more favorable conditions or with stronger men in back of it."<sup>4</sup> Its influence was felt throughout the width and breadth of Mormondom. Shortly after the organization of the

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<sup>1</sup>Cache County, "Articles of Incorporation" (located in County Court House, Logan, Utah)

<sup>2</sup>Logan Leader, October 8, 1880.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., September 3, 1880.

<sup>4</sup>Tullidge, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 381.

Central Board of Trade in 1879, Moses Thatcher was called on a mission to go about the Church and organize Stake Boards of Trade patterned after the one in Cache Valley. Soon practically every stake in the Church was organized and functioning in a similar manner to the merchandising operation of the Cache Valley Stake. About this time, Moses Thatcher received his appointment as an Apostle. This added to the prestige of his calling. That it was considered important and successful, is evidenced by various contemporaries of that day. Tullidge called it "the greatest industrial event that has occurred in the settling and growth of Utah Territory."<sup>1</sup> President John Taylor undoubtedly considered it one of the outstanding achievements during his administration. One gets the feeling from his statements that the movement was another very important and timely step to the time when the United Order should be practiced in complete perfection.

#### Cooperative Manufacturing and the United Order

The first Mormon settlers in the Great Basin arrived there severely lacking in worldly goods. Furthermore, the expense of crossing the plains, after a forced exodus from settlements in the east, had left them destitute of purchasing power to obtain the necessities and comforts of life. The first decade in the Utah territory saw a great deal of hardship and it was only the Gold Rush of 1849 and the coming of Johnston's Army in 1858 that saved the Mormons from greater hardship than they experienced. During the Gold Rush, thousands of people passed through Utah where they traded their heavy wagons and equipment with the Mormons for lighter pack outfits more suitable for crossing the mountains. This flooded the market

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<sup>1</sup>Tullidge, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 420.

with wagons, clothing, tools and other useful articles that had previously been very scarce and costly. Later the Mormon economy was bolstered when General Johnston's "Utah Expedition" brought an abundance of supplies to Utah at a cost of \$40,000,000 to the United States government. These two assists in their economy were only temporary, however, and served to cause the permanent settlers to later look upon the merchants' prices as being too high when in reality the high prices were the normal situation and reflected the high cost of freighting goods from eastern markets. Such dissatisfaction undoubtedly had a great deal of influence in the bringing forth of the cooperative movement.

With the exception of the above mentioned incidents, the lot of the Mormons was hard and there was little rest from the job of providing the requirements of food, clothing and shelter. Brigham Young early recognized the necessity of developing home industry. It was preached often from the pulpit for the Church leaders knew that it would be folly to gather converts to "Zion" unless their arrival here found economic as well as spiritual support. Brigham Young's feelings on home manufacture are well expressed in his message to the State of Deseret:

Produce what you consume; draw from the native element the necessities of life; permit no vitiated taste to lead you into the indulgence of expensive luxuries, which can only be obtained by involving yourself in debt; let home industry produce every article of home consumption.<sup>1</sup>

The movement fell into a natural pattern. The prime needs were looked after first. Sawmills were set up, shoes were manufactured, clothing made and food produced. These undertakings were usually launched cooperatively. Gradually organization and integration was achieved and

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<sup>1</sup>Neff, loc. cit.

the era of the cooperative store came forth. Some small manufacture was attempted by the stores but very little of any importance was to be found due to the limitations of capital, labor and proper organization of the cooperative store. They were primarily merchandising concerns. Home industry was primarily an individual matter during the years 1847-1874. Some attempts were sponsored by the Latter-day Saints Church in the form of "Economic Missions." Notable among these were the "Iron Mission" and the "Cotton Mission."<sup>1</sup> These were short lived, however, and it became more apparent that a satisfactory plan of home industry was not in operation in the early 1870's.

President Brigham Young provided the boost that home industry needed in 1874 when the United Order was re-established in the Mormon Church. The official organization in Cache Valley took place on May 2, 1874, under the direction of the Cache Valley Stake President, Brigham Young, Jr.<sup>2</sup> The program was designed to not only provide ecclesiastical organization but the "Order of Enoch" provided for an economic order as well. The church-sponsored cooperative stores were included in the plan. Some of these were already engaged in manufacturing affairs and provided the nucleus upon which Cache Valley United Order Manufacturing was established. Central control in the valley was provided by the Central Board. President Brigham Young, Jr. was elected president of the Central Board. Each ward was also organized into the United Order under the supervision of the Central Board.<sup>3</sup> The previously organized "Cache Valley Board of

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<sup>1</sup>B. H. Roberts, Documentary History of the Church, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), Vol. III, p. 395.

<sup>2</sup>See page 108 of this thesis.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

Trade" was temporarily abandoned with the inception of the United Order in 1874.<sup>1</sup>

Under the United Order of Cache Valley, manufacturing flourished. In Logan, the First Ward sponsored the "United Order Foundry, Machine and Wagon Company." The foundry was one of the best in the territory at that time and succeeded in producing several complete sawmills, wagons, and all types of blacksmith and iron work. The Second Ward organized the "United Order Manufacturing and Building Company." The Third Ward consolidated with the Second Ward and the company owned a sawmill, woodworking factory, two stores, and a dairy. This single enterprise produced sash, doors, mouldings, brooms, furniture, cheese, butter and shingles. The Hyrum United Order produced some very excellent lumber, shingles and other building materials. In Smithfield, the United Order owned a leather tannery. The hides were received from the other Orders in the valley, tanned by the Smithfield tannery and made into shoes in both Smithfield and Wellsville. The Richmond United Order had furniture, shoe, and butcher shops.

The products from all the branches were made available through the cooperative stores to all the residents of the valley. Often the goods were a little higher in price than goods shipped in from the states but an excellence of quality was achieved that found the home goods equal in quality to those that were imported. The United Order in Cache Valley lasted nearly a decade before fires, economic duress, and other factors eliminated the movement. Individual consideration will be given to each of the branches in Cache Valley in a later chapter. By 1882, nearly all of the "Orders" had disappeared. Though they were gone, they had helped Cache

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County become established in prosperous and permanent form. The advice of President Young to "produce what you consume" had been heeded.



## CHAPTER IV

### HISTORY OF THE COOPERATIVE MERCANTILE INSTITUTIONS IN CACHE VALLEY

#### The Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution

History of Logan -- Logan City was first settled in May, 1859.

The first activity consisted of building a bridge over the Muddy River which was then high from the spring rains. Bishop Peter Maughan from Maughan's Fort (Wellsville) called a public meeting on July 3rd and appointed a committee consisting of John Wright, John Nelson, and Israel J. Clark, to apportion out land to the twenty-one families. John Wright was appointed to collect tithing and forward it on to Maughan's Fort. Other families soon joined them and all united in the founding of Logan.

On the 7th of July a meeting was held to draw lots for the position of cabins in the new fort to be built. The logs were obtained from Green Canyon and the first log cabins were erected in two rows facing each other along the present Center Street. The fort extended for about three blocks and could be closed on the ends for protection against Indian attack. Before the end of the first year, a school house had been built, a company of militia organized, and a ward organization established. The first bishop was William B. Preston and his counselors were Thomas E. Ricks and Ebenezer Landers.<sup>1</sup> Some grain was raised and Logan became established as the largest of the settlements in Cache Valley.

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<sup>1</sup>"Logan First Ward Historical Record," November 14, 1859, MS, (located in the basement vaults of the Logan Stake house.)

TABLE 1

DATE OF ORGANIZATION AND OFFICERS OF COOPERATIVE  
INSTITUTIONS IN CACHE VALLEY, 1865-1900.

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Date Organized</u>	<u>President</u>	<u>Manager</u>
Richmond	February, 1865	M. W. Merrill	Henry Standage
Franklin	Winter, 1865		S. R. Parkinson
Smithfield	February 8, 1865	Samuel Roskelley	E. R. Miles
Hyde Park	March, 1869	William Hyde	William Hyde
Logan	March 15, 1869	E. T. Benson	Moses Thatcher
Hyrum	March 31, 1869	O. N. Liljenquist	Ira Allen
Mendon	April 1, 1869	A. P. Shumway	James G. Willie
Wellsville	1869		John Hendry
Providence	1869	M. D. Hammond	Samuel Hargraves
Clarkston	1870		Henry Stokes
Paradise	March, 1871	David James	George D. Gibbs
Newton	1872		Alfred Atkinson
Lewiston	June, 1876	William H. Lewis	Samuel J. Allen

Organization of the Logan Cooperative -- During the winter of 1868 and 1869, plans were being formulated for the organization of cooperatives throughout Cache Valley. This followed the announcement of the organized plan of cooperatives at the 1868 October General Conference. Apostle Ezra T. Benson had been appointed president of the valley by President Brigham Young and was prime mover in the establishment of the Logan Cooperative.

A meeting was held on March 15, 1869 in the Logan First Ward School house for the purpose of organizing the cooperative. The meeting commenced at 8 o'clock with an opening prayer by Bishop William B. Preston and proceeded as follows:

President Benson explained the object of the meeting viz: to organize a Co-operative Mercantile and Manufacturing Institution in Logan. Those who were present had expressed their intention of taking stock in the institution and he hoped they would all be united in their feelings and in the action they would take in relation to the matter in hand. They should enter into it as brethren desiring each others welfare and the interests of the Kingdom of God. He wished all to be free and express their minds freely, but to keep the spirit of the gospel and be guided by it in all their deliberations.

C. W. Penrose then read the constitution adopted by the parent Institution in Salt Lake City with a few amendments which had been made to accommodate it to local circumstances. He then read it by sections some discussion ensuing upon several of them when it was unanimously adopted in the following form . . . .<sup>1</sup>

The constitution adopted for the institution at this time was the same as that used by the parent institution with only two important alterations. One of these was Section 3 which declared that the capital stock of the Institution shall be \$50,000, and the shares \$25 each. The other change came in Section 28 which reads as follows:

<sup>1</sup>"Minutes of the Logan Co-operative Manufacturing and Mercantile Institution," MS, (typed copy in possession of Dr. Leonard J. Arrington, Logan, Utah, hereafter designated "L.C.M.M.I."), March 15, 1869.

Any shareholder wishing to withdraw his investment from this institution after the expiration of two years from the date of his certificate must present a written notice to that effect to the board of Directors three months previous to the day appointed for drawing up the semi-annual balance sheet when he may receive the value of his share or shares in cash or merchandise at wholesale prices at the option of the Board.<sup>1</sup>

Upon the adoption of the constitution, the stockholders voted that President Benson should nominate the officers of the institution whereupon he selected and presented the following: Ezra T. Benson, President; Peter Maughan, Vice President; William B. Preston, William H. Shearman, Moses Thatcher, Directors; Charles Penrose, Secretary; and William Goodwin, Treasurer.<sup>2</sup> These names were presented to the meeting and sustained by unanimous individual votes. It was further resolved that the shareholders present should have equal voting power regardless of the number of shares of stock held. Should there be any division of sentiment in the voting, the vote was to be regulated by number of shares according to the constitution.

The next day, March 16th, the Board of Directors met at the residence of W. H. Shearman and adapted By-Laws to the constitution.<sup>3</sup> The group then appointed as business managers for the institution Moses Thatcher, William H. Shearman, and William Goodwin. At the starting of business the following wages were to be paid: Managers Thatcher and Shearman, \$1500 each per annum; Secretary Penrose, \$1000 per annum; Treasurer Goodwin, \$1000 per annum. This group, as a "business committee," were instructed to commence at once to see what could be done with the local merchants in

<sup>1</sup>A copy of the institution's constitution appears in Appendix B.

<sup>2</sup>Deseret News, March 16, 1869.

<sup>3</sup>See Appendix B.

pooling their interests into cooperative business immediately.<sup>1</sup>

In a meeting on the following Saturday, the business committee reported that the William Jennings company had offered to sell their entire stock of Logan goods and property at the following terms: the premises including a dwelling house for the total of \$5,000, to be paid \$1,000 down and the balance in equal monthly payments. The board considered the terms too high and instructed the business committee to offer the following terms: The entire stock of the W. Jennings company in Logan to be taken at Salt Lake City wholesale prices with freight to Logan added; and the real estate at \$3,000, the whole to be paid for in equal monthly installments of \$1,000 each and one per cent interest per month for failure to meet payments. No agreement could be reached at this time on these terms.

President Benson returned from the April Conference in Salt Lake City and called a meeting of the Board on April 19, 1869. The president showed the board the immediate need for moving ahead in the opening of the institution. Here the minutes indicate that there may have been some disagreement of view between President Benson and Vice-President Peter Maughan. The President, after stating that President Brigham Young wished them to have a wholesale as well as a retail store in Logan, then turned his remarks to Vice-President Maughan who had been in charge while he was away. Here we again pick up the minutes of the meeting:

He would like to know whether the Vice President intended to cooperate with us and what his mind and feelings were in regard to the institution.

Vice President Maughan said the people in the different settlements did not want to be compelled to trade in Logan but to go to the city for their goods. In regard to Cooperation he had no fears. He had said all along it would succeed. The President (B. Young)

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<sup>1</sup>"L.C.M.M.I.," op. cit., March 16, 1869.

had instructed him to organize a cooperative Institution in Logan that should not be controlled by a half a dozen or a score of individuals but by the people. He believed the mass of the people would come into the institution but some would never be satisfied. Pres. Young had given his counsel for us to buy out Mr. Jennings. This had not been done and it was our salvation to carry out the Pres. instructions.<sup>1</sup>

Thus there seemed to be some misunderstanding among the officers as to why things had not moved faster in opening the store. After more expressions they all pledged their support to the success of the institution and a renewed harmony again existed among them. It was a wonderful example of how men in the priesthood can make their own interests subservient to the interests of the group.

Another proposition from Jennings was presented stating that they would sell their Logan stock at Salt Lake wholesale prices in equal payments in thirty, sixty and ninety days. The premises in Logan would be sold at \$3,500 cash down. If payment could not be immediately made, interest was to be charged at  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent per month until paid. After considerable discussion with several expressing the opinion that it was still too high, the board resolved to telegraph the following reply to Mr. Jennings: "Will purchase at your figures on Two, Four and Six Months. Trade is dull. Cannot do better."<sup>2</sup> A reply was later received from Jennings refusing to grant the extension of time.

A public meeting of all the shareholders was called the next night at the Logan Hall. Among his remarks, President Benson stated that the merchants had taken no stock in the institution and were holding back to give the people the chance of owning the cooperative. The object of the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., April 19, 1869.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

institution was to draw the people together. Stirring remarks were then made in turn by Bishop W. B. Preston, Peter Maughan, and Moses Thatcher. All bore strong testimony to the values of cooperation and appealed to the people to support the institution. To make this a bit easier for the poor, the shares were reduced from \$25 to \$10 per share. There were only 190 shares sold at this time and it was decided that it would be impossible at present to purchase the Jennings property.

In the immediate days that followed, the firms of Shearman & Penrose, Thatcher & Sons and Robbins & Company, all local merchants, offered to turn in their stocks of goods to the institution at Salt Lake City wholesale prices with freight to Logan added. This offer was accepted by the board and the Thatcher and Shearman stores were rented as temporary places of business operation. The Robbins concern continued as a private concern for the time being as the cooperative had no need for the building. Rent was paid in the monthly amounts of \$75 for Thatcher's building and \$50 for Shearman's building.

A third offer was received from William Jennings on April 23, 1869. This time the proposal called for the sale of the goods at Salt Lake City wholesale prices without freight but there was \$600 in new goods that had just arrived to be paid for in cash, the balance in six equal monthly payments. Real estate would be sold for \$3,500, to be paid for in one year. After some discussion the board agreed to accept the offer and the business committee was appointed to settle the matter.<sup>1</sup> This now gave the cooperative the combined stocks of Shearman & Penrose, Thatcher & Sons, and William Jennings & Company. Thus the institution had failed in

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., April 23, 1869.

becoming an organization of entirely small stockholders and was successful in starting only because of the complete cooperation of the above-mentioned local businessmen.

Business Begins -- The doors of the new cooperative were opened to business on May 1, 1869. As one passed through these doors, his eye would be caught with the inscription that appeared above the door of each store building, "Holiness to the Lord." The concern was opened under the official name of the "Logan Co-operative Manufacturing and Mercantile Institution." The secretary, Charles W. Penrose, reports to President Brigham Young that

. . . business commenced 1st of May, with a capital stock of \$29,500.00 (including \$3,000.00 Real Estate) and debts to W. Jennings and Jennings and Co. to the amount of \$12,485.60, to be settled on six monthly payments. Bro. Thatcher's premises being used as a Dry Goods Store, Bro. Shearman's as a Drug, Grocery and Hardware Store and Bro. Jennings' late premises as the wholesale department.<sup>1</sup>

The Logan cooperative became the tenth one established in Cache Valley according to a statement of President Peter Maughan to the board on April 20, 1869. The new concern made real efforts to solicit the support of the other cooperatives in the Valley in purchasing from their wholesale department. Fine support was received in both wholesale and retail departments for, with only two months of business behind it, the concern had expended \$6,000 for new goods, two payments had been made to William Jennings and they had cash on hand in the amount of \$3,992.20. Secretary Penrose continued his optimistic report to President Young by concluding, "we . . . believe that our mercantile efforts will be successful, and be the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., Document submitted to the consideration of President Brigham Young on June 22, 1869.



means of preparing the way for co-operative manufacturing and finally for that union and order in temporal things which we so earnestly desire."<sup>1</sup> The meetings that followed were held in the store and it was determined, among other business policies, that during the summer months the institution would be opened at 7 o'clock P.M.

In a meeting held on August 6, 1869, President Benson reported that trade was falling off through the scarcity of money and grain. It was determined that expenses were too great for the income and the Board resolved that the business committee take the necessary steps to reduce expenses. Under consideration were the possibilities of reducing the number of store personnel, consolidating the departments in one building and eliminating one of the superintendents from the payroll.

Following the above meeting, President Ezra T. Benson passed away. His death occurred on September 3, 1869, leaving President Peter Maughan as acting president of the Board. Shortly following this, President Maughan also passed away and neither the Board of Directors nor the stockholders met again until May 15, 1871. During the intervening period, business was described as being "dull," and had not flourished to the extent hoped for.

The Bi-annual Reports -- At a meeting of the stockholders called May 15, 1871 by Director William B. Preston, Superintendent Moses Thatcher submitted a balance sheet showing the condition of the business for the year ending March 31, 1871. There was a net profit of over \$1800, or a ten per cent dividend on the stock. During the two years' operation, the institution had made a net gain of \$3,700 which the superintendent reported was not as good as it should have been owing to high expenses, a declining

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

market, scarcity of money, an injurious credit system and "dull times." He then added the optimistic note of better times ahead in stating that "the business is in such shape (now being without liabilities) that it can be conducted hereafter on greatly reduced expenses."<sup>1</sup>

Moses Thatcher further asked for a release from the position of Superintendent. He was given a vote of thanks for his fine services but no action was taken on the request at this time. Just a week later, another meeting of the stockholders was called and the following officers were chosen in a reorganization of the Board: William B. Preston, President; George L. Farrell, Vice President; C. B. Robbins, Thomas Tarbet, and Neils Hansen, Directors; Moses Thatcher was re-elected as Superintendent and given the additional positions of Secretary and Treasurer.

Designs of the Cooperative -- During the May 15th stockholders meeting, William B. Preston stated that "it is the intention to have but one mercantile establishment and that to be the Logan Cooperative Mercantile and Manufacturing Institution." This had been the goal of the organization from the beginning. Upon the formation of the cooperative, the private businessmen were to cooperate and either cease trading by selling their properties or turn in the same to the Institution for cash or stock. The businessmen of Logan at that time who were members of the Latter-day Saint faith cooperated very well. The consolidation already included Thatcher & Sons, William Jennings & Company (Logan Branch), and Shearman & Penrose. The firm of Robbins & Goodwin was willing to come in but had not yet done so because the cooperative had not been in a position to purchase its stock through lack of support from the people. The Board meet-

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., May 15, 1871.

ings of June 15, June 22, and August 22, 1871 dealt primarily with the details of receiving into the organization the firm of C. B. Robbins & William Goodwin Company. This added to the Institution a tannery, shoe shop and another store. The transfer represented \$5,890 in real estate and general merchandise. Payment was made in stock and by cash.

A study of the minutes of meetings, historian's observations, and newspaper accounts provides a partial list of the rules and designs of the Logan Cooperative. These may be listed as follows:

1. To establish and maintain only one mercantile establishment in the community.
2. To protect ourselves from our enemies (Gentile "Enemy" Merchants).
3. That the people may be "Merchants unto themselves," and enjoy the benefits of the savings of eliminating the middleman.
4. To establish uniform prices.
5. To maintain a policy of "quick sale, small returns."<sup>1</sup>
6. Discouragement of the credit system.
7. To do away with the necessity of so many store clerks.
8. To develop manufacturing and home industry.
9. To improve the temporal and spiritual well being of its members.

An examination of these and other principles of cooperation not listed, reveals them to be sound business policy even in the present day of business activity. In spite of these lofty principles, the third annual report given May 1, 1872 reveals that things were progressing as well as

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<sup>1</sup>Tullidge, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 380.

its directors had hoped. While a fifteen per cent dividend was paid on stock, the treasurer had to report that the business had borrowed considerable money in order to continue operations. This condition had come about because of the lack of support from the members of the community. Indeed, some of them had even withdrawn their interests in the institution by selling their stock back to the cooperative. Only the faith and work of a few had kept the organization going thus far. Now something must be done if it were not to go down in financial ruin.

Consolidation with Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution --

During May of 1872, President Brigham Young counseled the stockholders of the Logan Cooperative Mercantile and Manufacturing Institution to turn over their stock to the parent Z.C.M.I. in Salt Lake City, in order that there might be started a branch wholesale house from which all of the stores in the valley could purchase supplies without going to Ogden and Salt Lake City. The cooperative had been purchasing the bulk of its supplies from the Ogden branch and in turn wholesaling in a small way to the local stores but now there apparently was a strong need for a Cache Valley branch of the Z.C.M.I. Moses Thatcher in presenting the matter to the stockholders said:

I think you will readily perceive the wisdom and advantage of this move, and I need not further urge the matter other than to say the parent institution has declared larger dividends than we have been able to do. It will strengthen the Coop Movement throughout the country and place in the hands of the consumer goods at lower rates--which should always be an object of first consideration.<sup>1</sup>

Upon consideration of the matter, the stockholders accepted the proposal and a branch wholesale and retail store of the parent cooperative was established in Logan, Utah. In November of 1872, "Brother Moses

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<sup>1</sup>"L.C.M.M.I.," op. cit., May 1st, 1872.

Figure 2

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ZION'S CO-OPERATIVE  
**Mercantile Institution,**

LOGAN CITY, UTAH.



**T**HIS is the largest Wholesale and Retail House in the Territory north of Salt Lake City, and carries a heavy and complete line of

**GENERAL MERCHANDISE,**

At prices competing with any House in Utah.

Its Produce Trade is a Feature

The entire Butter and Egg trade of Cache County centers here through agents who collect the same weekly, thus placing them on the market fresh and good. The receipts of the House in butter are from 10,000 to 15,000 pounds, and of eggs from 30,000 to 35,000 dozen per month, thus affording unsurpassed facilities for promptly filling orders.

**M. THATCHER, Manager.**

Thatcher was appointed by President Brigham Young manager of the Logan Branch Z.C.M.I.<sup>1</sup> Thus, because of his keen discernment and executive ability, Moses Thatcher was once again recognized as a leader in pioneer business ventures. The historian Tullidge tells us that "the Logan branch was managed from 1872 to 1879 by Moses Thatcher who extended its trade to proportions scarcely enjoyed by any house in Northern Utah."<sup>2</sup>

Representatives of the parent Z.C.M.I. effected the transfer and authorized the building of a new and more commodious store to accommodate the increased trade. The basement for the new store was dug in the fall of 1872. It was located on the corner of First North and Main Streets at the spot where the present First National Bank Building is located.

Work resumed on the new building, and by the following spring it was the pride of Cache Valley. Newspapers carried glowing accounts of the new building, and, indeed, it was something revolutionary for the Great Basin in 1873. An editorial of the time gives an excellent description:

Foremost is the new cooperative building, which required not an enthusiastic embullion (sic), but a plain description, for that told, our readers have an idea of a building which would be an honor to any inland city. It is substantially built of stone, with a front of 80 feet and a depth of 81 feet. On the lower floor the center room, 26½ x 61 feet will be devoted to the retail dry goods department. Just back of this are two rooms, to be used as gentlemen's and ladies' fitting apartments. To the left is a room with a 26 foot front which extends back the whole length of the store, which is intended for the hardware department. The elevator which connects the three stories is in the back part of this room. On the right side of the lower story are a number of smaller rooms to be used as offices, packing rooms, etc. The whole of the second story is to be devoted to the dry goods wholesale department, and the third story is for the storing of miscellaneous goods, which are light and easily handled.

The roof which has just been completed is of tin and is a masterpiece of workmanship. The first ceiling is 15½ feet high,

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<sup>1</sup>"Logan 2nd Ward Historical Record," MS, (located in basement vault of the Logan Stake house, Logan, Utah), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup>Tullidge, loc. cit.

the second is  $14\frac{1}{2}$  and the third is  $13\frac{1}{2}$ . The elevator will have a 3000 pound capacity. A cellar 26 x 71 feet has been placed under the hardware room which will be cool and dry and admirably adapted for keeping vegetables and light produce. The building is supplied with water pipe throughout which in case of fire will demonstrate its utility. At a trifling cost water can be brought from the bench with a pressure that will throw it at least twenty feet higher than the building. Gas pipes are also laid and at present maxim gas will be used. All in all the building is an imposing one and none can examine the plan on which it is being divided up without being pleased. If the co-op, in its present quarters, a cramped up shanty, is making \$35,000 to \$50,000 sales per month, what will it do when it enters the new colossal structure. It is not the heavy Cache Valley trade alone it depends upon, but the Montanians are beginning to find out they can get excellent bargains there. Indeed, when it is changed to the new building and a fuller stock brought up, the Montana trade will undoubtedly form a heavy trade.<sup>1</sup>

The builder of the new store was Henry Brown from Providence, who had the contract for the mason and plaster work and also superintended the whole of the work.<sup>2</sup> The store was completed and occupied by the end of the year 1873. Several items in the construction were significant. The fact that the building had an elevator, and gas and water systems in a time when many were still living in rude cabins with practically no conveniences was truly amazing.

From all indications, the building was originally intended to be but two stories high. The architects of low modern structures should smile at this letter from William M. Cowley to the Deseret Evening News:

The new cooperative store is progressing finely. Between the windows in the second storey (sic) is being filled in, and the front is being built with grey sandstone, making a very neat appearance, but I fear it will appear somewhat "squatty" as it will be but two stories above the ground, its breadth and length being exceeding in excess of its height.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Deseret News, October 2, 1873, editorial from Corinne Reporter.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., July 2, 1873.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., June 11, 1873.

Later a letter from "J.Q.C." (John Q. Cardon ?), to the same paper indicated that a third story had been added to the structure.<sup>1</sup>

Immediately the new concern began to thrive with its wholesale and retail trade. It receive the support of the local cooperative stores (throughout the valley). This was greatly to the benefit of the wholesale department as well as to the cooperatives themselves. As there was very little currency available in the valley at this time, the cooperative stores made it a practice of accepting butter, eggs, grain, and cattle as a medium of exchange. Each store would then turn them in to the Logan Branch of Z.C.M.I. in payment for wholesale goods, which in turn would ship them to a Montana mining camp, to Salt Lake City, or to the West Coast. It is reported that the Logan Branch shipped \$100,00 worth of butter and eggs each year during the 1870's.<sup>2</sup>

The Logan Branch of the Z.C.M.I. proved to be immediately successful to the parent unit as well as to the local stockholders. The Deseret News of July 11, 1879 reported that the Logan Branch was doing \$2,500 more business per month than the season before. Sales during the months of March, April, May and June were \$131,775. Advertising was extensively utilized in newspapers all over the northern part of the territory. The following is a typical example:

Z. C. M. I.  
Logan Branch

Fall and Winter Goods  
Ladies and Gents Furnishings

Sugar	Dried Fruits	Hams	Boots and Shoes
Tea	Lard	Syrup	Groceries and Hardware
Coffee	Bacon	Tobacco	Woodenware
	Leather	School Supplies	

Moses Thatcher, Manager

H. S. Elldrege, Supt.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., August 23, 1873

<sup>2</sup>Tullidge, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 380.

<sup>3</sup>Logan Leader, October 9, 1878.



Moses Thatcher continued as manager of the Logan Branch until 1879. His fine leadership made the business go. For a parting glimpse of his role in the Logan Cooperative and the Logan Branch, the writer again turns to the historian Tullidge's account:

In an effort to carry all classes of goods, they carried wines and by example, so did other coops in the valley. Moses Thatcher thought seriously upon it and one day asked President Young in the office of the Logan Branch, "President Young, how can we reconcile the inconsistency of 'Holiness to the Lord,' on the outside while selling whiskey to the brethren inside the doors?" Dropping his head between his hands and reflecting a short time, he straightened up and said, "Brother Moses Thatcher, the man who holds to his brother's lips the tempting cup, repents not but continues, will be damned and go to hell!" "I thank you, President Young," said the manager reverently. "No more liquor will be sold by the Logan Branch while I manage it." Other stores followed example.<sup>1</sup>

A partial list of subsequent managers includes Aaron Farr, Jr. and Isaac Smith. In 1891, John H. Anderson managed the grocery department and later the People's Store, a branch of Z.C.M.I. which he eventually purchased. During the last few years of its existence, the Logan Branch operated in the deficit and finally closed its doors in March of 1902.

#### The Smithfield Cooperative Mercantile Association

Settlement of Smithfield -- Seth Langton, Robert and John Thornley left Salt Lake City in the fall of 1859 and arrived on the banks of Summit Creek October 9, 1859. They had chosen this area as a good spot for agriculture and settled about a half mile west of the present site of Smithfield. That fall and the winter were spent in cutting meadow grass and hauling logs from the nearby canyons for cabins. The spring of 1860 saw the arrival of other settlers, the surveying of the townsite and the

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<sup>1</sup>Tullidge, op. cit., Vol. I., p. 380.

building of a fort as protection from the Indians, who caused considerable trouble that first year.

Organization of the Smithfield Cooperative -- During the summer of 1864, Samuel Roskelley conducted a small store in his home. James Cantwell worked as the clerk in this, the first store in Smithfield. From this humble enterprise arose the "Smithfield Cooperative Mercantile Association."<sup>1</sup> It began when a public meeting was called for all the members of the Smithfield Ward by Bishop Roskelley. The meeting was held in the Smithfield school house on Thursday, February 8, 1869 for the purpose of organizing a cooperative store. Bishop Roskelley turned in the stock of his little store and the members of the ward purchased shares of stock in the organization that had as its avowed purpose "to control the marketing and exporting of our produce; also the importing and sale of foreign merchandise with us."<sup>2</sup>

During that organizational meeting, officers were chosen to guide the affairs of the new organization: Samuel Roskelley, President; Thomas Richardson, George Barber, Evan M. Greene, Samuel B. Merrill, Directors; Evan M. Greene, Treasurer; and James Cantwell, Secretary. E. R. Miles was appointed the first superintendent of the store and for a time business was probably still carried on in the home of Bishop Roskelley. A new store was built on the northeast corner of the tabernacle block in July of 1869. With the coming of the United Order, a separate store was maintained by the

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<sup>1</sup>Hubert Howe Bancroft, "Smithfield History," MS, (field notes of "Bancroft's Manuscripts" on microfilm in U.S.A.C. library), Reel I, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup>Leonard Olson, The History of Smithfield, (privately published), p. 61.

<sup>3</sup>Bancroft, loc. cit.

Order just across the street from the cooperative store. In most communities the cooperative store merged with the United Order at the time of its introduction which was in 1874. In Smithfield, however, this merger did not take place until March 18, 1881.<sup>1</sup> This was after the United Order had been abandoned by the Latter-day Saint Church (1877) and many of them had discontinued. The writer has not been able to find the reason that consolidation was delayed until this late date.

In 1877, a report was made concerning the settlement of Smithfield which contained the following indication of the success of the cooperative store:

The cooperative store was organized in 1869 with a capital of \$1,928, which has been increased to \$6,114.25. They carry a stock of \$3,000 and do a yearly business of over \$20,000. The total profits since January, 1869, amount to \$15,663.15. During that time, \$9,000 dividends have been paid, one half cash, one half goods. The dividends average 25 per cent per annum. In connection with the store is a butcher shop and a shoe shop employing ten men and making yearly about \$4,000 worth of shoes and boots--using home made leather. S. Low is secretary and E. R. Miles superintendent of all the business. The foundation is laid for a new store, 26 x 50 feet, two stories high.<sup>2</sup>

It is apparent that the cooperative store served as a distributor for some of the products of the United Order Sheep Herd, Saw Mill, and Tannery before the time of the merger in 1881. E. R. Miles continued as superintendent of the store for many years. Gradually he purchased all of the individual stock and the business reverted to private ownership.

#### The Wellsville Cooperative Mercantile Institution

Settlement of Wellsville -- Wellsville is recognized as the first settlement in Cache Valley. Originally known as "Maughan's Fort," the

<sup>1</sup>Salt Lake Herald, November 1, 1877.

<sup>2</sup>Logan Leader, March 18, 1881.

Figure 3



Remodeled Wellsville Cooperative Store  
Figure 4



Mendon Cooperative Store - 1873

first settlers under the leadership of Peter Maughan arrived at the southwest corner of the valley and there camped. After two days of exploring the valley, the group decided to settle on the spot where they were then camped. The first duties were to build corrals and cut wild hay for their animals. Then two rows of log houses were built facing each other in fort style, the rows running North and South.

With the coming of the "Utah War" in 1857, President Brigham Young called the settlers in Maughan's Fort to the Salt Lake Valley as he did the other settlements throughout the Great Basin. Peter Maughan's group left the valley in March, 1858 and moved to the southern settlements.

The Utah War ended in the fall of 1858 and the settlers from Cache Valley were anxious to return to their vacated homes. Because of the lateness of the year, they waited until the following spring and re-entered the valley and their homes April 23, 1859. Maughan's Fort continued to grow and served as a base for the expansion of settlement throughout the valley.

Organizing the Wellsville Cooperative -- The first business in Wellsville was conducted in private homes. Goods were thus handled until 1869 when the people of the Wellsville Ward got together and organized the Wellsville Cooperative Mercantile Institution. A small store was built by the institution that first year.<sup>1</sup>

It was a typical cooperative store. The people of the Wellsville Ward, under Bishop William H. Maughan, were desirous of becoming their own merchants. During the first years of the store, it was primarily a mercantile establishment handling all the goods of a rural general store

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<sup>1</sup>Bancroft, op. cit., "William H. Maughan Interview," Reel I.

of that day. The following advertisement gives us a brief glimpse at the store's stock:

W E L L S V I L L E

COOPERATIVE MERCANTILE INSTITUTION  
retail dealers in

Dry Goods, Groceries  
Hardware, Queensware, Hosiery, Boots  
Shoes, Hats, Caps, etc.

All kinds of produce bought and sold

Everything at Bed - Rock prices  
Call and examine our stock

John Hendry, Supt.<sup>1</sup>

Consolidation of 1875 -- The cooperative store functioned as a single concern until the introduction of the Wellsville United Order in 1875. The United Order acquired rather extensive proportions with its sawmille, sheep herd, butcher shop and shoe shop. The cooperative store was amalgamated with these and provided an outlet for the products manufactured under the United Order.

By 1877, these holdings represented \$20,000.<sup>2</sup> The cooperative store was maintaining a stock of \$2,400 and doing an annual business of nearly \$20,000.<sup>3</sup> John Hendry was the first superintendent of the store and piloted the concern until the introduction of the United Order in 1875. At this time he was replaced by Joseph Howell who probably held the reins of managership until the enterprise was abandoned after the turn of the century. The business flourished under Superintendent Howell who was also

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<sup>1</sup>Logan Leader, December 11, 1879.

<sup>2</sup>Deseret News, November 4, 1877.

<sup>3</sup>Salt Lake Herald, October 28, 1877.

a representative of Utah in the U. S. Congress.

Decline of the United Order -- Several branches of the United Order were discontinued around 1880. The cooperative store, however, continued strong as reported by a correspondent of 1883:

We have flopped along clumsily in days past trying to do something in the coop line and have lost money in seeking to establish some branches by failing in our efforts. One failure was at playing Saw mill; but we labored under so many disadvantages that it did not pay out good so we let it go. Then we played shoe shop and threshing machines and the bottom dropped out of them but we still play at shepherding and merchandising, which I am happy to say are in a flourishing condition and under very able management; and with all our mishaps I am proud to say that no one has ever been sued in the years of our cooperation, which speaks well for forbearance and fatherly kindness.<sup>1</sup>

The Butcher Shop and Packing House -- Though some branches of the United Order had gone out with the system itself, the cooperative store and its meat department saw their most profitable years from 1880 to the turn of the century. It was reported in 1885 that "after selling all the offal and converting the rest into bacon in bulk, smoked bacon and hams, the superintendent had disposed of over 20,000 pounds to Z.C.M.I. and others."<sup>2</sup> The historian Tullidge reports of the conditions two years later:

In the commercial history of the valley, Wellsville coop for its enterprise, has carried away the plumb of the county. Its sales for 1887 amounted to \$60,000. The only packing house in the county is at Wellsville, and is run in connection with the coop of which institution Levi Garrett is the able business manager.<sup>3</sup>

The meat packing plant was located to the rear of the cooperative store. Ten to thirty head of cattle and sheep were slaughtered each day, packed and shipped to Mendon, Logan, and the Montana mining camps. This

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<sup>1</sup>Utah Journal, December 8, 1883.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., April 22, 1885.

<sup>3</sup>Tullidge, op. cit., p. 416.

large operation required four field men for buying livestock to keep all orders filled. The packinghouse was discontinued during the middle nineties.<sup>1</sup>

Discontinuance of the Cooperative Store -- The cooperative store had preceded the United Order enterprises and now was the last to survive. Business was still good in 1897 and the following reveals:

The Wellsville coop people are building a new store 45 x 100, two story brick with brown stone foundation. It will cost when finished about \$20,000. This is a much needed improvement as the old building is squatty and out of date. The coops immense stock is all over the counters. Hon. Joseph Howell took this business some years ago as manager. It was then in a forlorn condition; today and for several years past, the stock has been above par with none offered for sale. The company buys everything the farmer raises and sells him everything from a pin to a steam thresher. Last season Mr. Howell shipped 200 cars of wheat and about 35 cars of hogs.<sup>2</sup>

The store was still functioning well into the 1900's but was eventually closed down. The store had been organized during the cooperative movement of 1869 and was probably the last of the Cache Valley cooperatives to close its doors.

#### The Hyrum Cooperative Mercantile Institution

The Settlement of Hyrum -- Hyrum was first settled in 1860, locating about one mile northeast of the present town site. The settlers' first homes were dugouts in the side of a hill that surrounded a spring called "Camp Hollow." After a short stay there, it was determined that irrigation could be brought from the Little Bear River near the present location of Paradise. A fine irrigation canal was then dug to the present

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<sup>1</sup>Interview with Mr. Robert Leatham, Wellsville City Postmaster, August 29, 1955, at Hyrum, Utah.

<sup>2</sup>Deseret Evening News, May 3, 1897.



site of Hyrum. A fort consisting of two rows of cabins was erected where the present Main Street now runs. Ola N. Liljenquist became the first Bishop and the first Mayor of the city.

Organizing the Hyrum Cooperative -- The Hyrum Cooperative Mercantile Institution began March 31, 1869.<sup>1</sup> The members of the Hyrum Ward met together and planned its beginnings. Initially, there were thirty-eight stockholders who subscribed to \$1,710 worth of stock at \$10 per share. The organization effected at this time included the following: Bishop O. N. Liljenquist, President; G. P. Ward, Vice President; Ira Allen, James McBride, Hans Nielson, Directors; James Unsworth, Secretary and Treasurer; Ira Allen, the first superintendent.

The organization was made and business began in a small log cabin owned by James Unsworth.<sup>2</sup> A stock of two to three thousand dollars was maintained and business went very well for the first two years. The store was a general mercantile store in nature and provided for the citizens of Hyrum so well that in 1870 it became necessary for the institution to build a new and a larger store building. Land was purchased from Bishop Liljenquist on Main Street, and a new rock building, 22½ feet by 32½ feet, was constructed. This building now (1956) houses the doctors' offices in Hyrum. The following optimistic letter from Charles C. Shaw to the editor of the Deseret News gives a brief contemporary report of the cooperative's growth:

Our cooperative store has been in existence nearly a year, and we have found it one of the best moves ever set on foot for the blessing and benefit of the people, our goods nearly having been

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<sup>1</sup>Logan Leader, February 10, 1882.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

sold at Ogden retail prices. Our dividend for the first half year was nearly forty per cent it will be about the same for the present half year. We are free from debt our business having been done on a cash basis. We have put up a good rock building for our store, 33 x 23 with good cellars and it will soon be ready for business.<sup>1</sup>

Building the Blacksmith Fork Canyon Road -- From the beginning of the cooperative plan, the settlers began looking eastward. Bishop O. N. Liljenquist recorded as follows:

In the winter and spring of 1873, the necessity of opening the country east of us for the purpose of obtaining therefrom building material and securing herd ground for our horses, cattle and sheep and for manufacturing butter and cheese, was presented to the people by Bp. O. N. Liljenquist explaining that upon this move our prosperity depended. Meetings to talk this matter over were held occasionally, and as a result thereof 128 shares were subscribed by 128 persons at \$40. each, payable in labor on the road, for the purpose of commencing work as soon as spring opened. The shareholders appointed O. N. Liljenquist superintendent of the work with O. S. McBride to assist him. Lehi Curtis, O. S. McBride and Charles Anderson were appointed to survey the road.

With the opening of spring, the work began and prosecuted with great vigor, backed only by the muscles of the shareholders. As the summer advanced, the farmers returned to their lands and but few remained to forward the work, but still the end was not gained. The Superintendent determined to see task completed, called upon young and old to put the shoulder to the wheel, and in response, aged men and young boys worked out a share each. With others he made contracts and agreed to pay in means which he himself did not know where to obtain; but invariably when such a contract was completed, the pay was on hand. "The road must be completed," was the motto.

Early in August, the following letter was received by the superintendent in camp, some twelve miles up the canyon: Bishop O. N. Liljenquist; 'Dear Brother,- Can President Young and party pass over your new road through Blacksmith's Fork Canyon, on their way to Bear Lake, August 25th.? Please answer, Brigham Young, Jun.'

The superintendent answered in the affirmative. This fixed the time for the completion of the work, although two miles of the fourteen through the canyon were as yet untouched, mostly heavy work, and the laborers had dwindled down to two men and eight or ten boys.

When the news of the letter reached town all hands that could possibly be spared rallied, and on the 23rd of August the work was accomplished. President Brigham Young and party passed over the road at the appointed day. All expressed their surprise and great satisfaction in finding such a splendid road through these mountains.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Deseret News, February 15, 1870.

<sup>2</sup>Tullidge, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 557.

The road was completed at a cost of over \$10,000, figuring man hours at 25¢ per hour and ox teams at \$1.50 per day. Though most of this was paid by donated labor, some was paid in kind or cash and all received cooperative stock for their contributions.<sup>1</sup> Income was then derived by charging toll for all who used the road. Most of this was then ploughed back into the road for maintenance.

The Cooperative a Successful Operation -- The cooperative at Hyrum operated as a separate institution for a period of six years. It was then consolidated with the Hyrum United Order. In addition to the store during this period, the cooperative also maintained a circular saw-mill about two miles up the Blacksmith's Fork Canyon. There was a building boom in Hyrum from 1872 to 1875 and the sawmill was kept steadily busy. The people were beginning to enjoy a measure of prosperity and were moving from the log cabins to more commodious dwellings or placing shingle roofs and lean-tos on their cabins. It was not long until there were several sawmills in existence and a planing mill or two.

A compilation of the available financial reports of the Hyrum cooperative bespeaks its success:

TABLE 2

## FINANCIAL DATA FOR THE HYRUM COOPERATIVE, 1869 - 1875

<u>Period Ending</u>	<u>Outstanding Stock</u>	<u>Dividend Paid</u>
May 21, 1870	\$4,245.00	36%
Sept. 15, 1870	4,550.00	12%
March 15, 1871	5,200.00	22%
March , 1872	7,000.00 (Incl. Prop.)	30%
March , 1873	5,558.00	20%
March , 1874	6,446.00	20%
March , 1875	14,110.00 (Incl. Prop.)	20%
Six year total dividends paid		\$9,616.00 <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Alvin Allen, Ira Allen, Founder of Hyrum (privately published), p. 51.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

Figure 5



Paradise Cooperative Store  
1880 - 1955  
Figure 5



The Hyrum U. O. Blacksmith Shop  
About 1885

The Cooperative Unites with the United Order -- The introduction of the United Order in 1875 saw the several cooperative branches join with the new Order. By 1877, the consolidation represented \$30,000 net worth.<sup>1</sup> The cooperative store passed from its individual identity and became a part of a very extensive United Order enterprise.

#### The Paradise Cooperative Institution

Settlement of Paradise -- Paradise was first settled in the year 1859 by Alvin Monteith, Barnard White, Joseph Crapo, William Smith and Samuel McMurdie. The first cabins were built at the present site of Avon but were later moved farther north to the present site of Paradise as protection from Indian tribes. As other settlers arrived, a ward was organized with David James as its first Bishop.

Organizing the Cooperative Store -- The first store in Paradise was conducted by Henry A. Shaw and his wife Emma in their home. As the spirit of cooperation grew in Cache Valley, the little Shaw business formed a nucleus for organizing the Paradise cooperative store. At a meeting called in March of 1871 by Bishop David James, the following officers were chosen to guide the policies of the new concern: David James, President; John P. James, George S. Obray, William Humphrey, John H. Gibbs and George D. Gibbs, Directors; George D. Gibbs, Business Manager; Emma Shaw, Clerk. Manager Gibbs received a salary of \$75 per year and Emma Shaw a salary of \$35 per month. The directors received no pay for their services.<sup>2</sup> During the organization, a capital of \$450 was raised by

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<sup>1</sup>Deseret News, November 4, 1877.

<sup>2</sup>Earl J. Fredrickson, "The History of Paradise, Utah" (unpublished master's thesis, written at the Utah State Agricultural College, 1937), p. 7.

selling shares of stock at \$5 per share.

Growth of the Cooperative -- A correspondent, "P. M.," in writing to the Deseret News in 1876, optimistically reported that, "Our cooperative store is a success. At a meeting of the shareholders held Saturday last, a dividend was declared and ordered to be paid, of 25%."<sup>1</sup> From the biography of Bishop David James we further note that:

The institution did not pay any dividends for the first three years but added profits to capital stock until it amounted to \$2,000. For the next six years it paid annual dividends averaging 25 per cent. The next two years (1880 and 1881) the institution built a new store and granary, out of the dividends of these two years. The present year (1882) it paid a thirty per cent dividend on the capital stock being about \$3,500.00. Thus the original stock has increased from the small sum of \$450.00 to \$3,500.00, and seven dividends have been paid to the shareholders.<sup>2</sup>

The new store built in 1881 was still standing in August of 1955. It was owned by Mr. Wayne Obray who was planning to tear it down for a new store he was planning on building. Its original cost to build was \$900.<sup>3</sup> In addition to a granary, the cooperative maintained an ingenious ice house for the preservation of fresh meat.

In 1884, a dividend of 37 per cent was paid to the stockholders.<sup>4</sup> This same year, the Paradise Cooperative Dairy Company was organized. The writer has been unable to determine whether or not it was part of the cooperative mercantile company. It probably was not.

The store continued to grow and on March 4, 1893, became incorporated for \$20,000 in stock at \$5 per share. Fifty-five stockholders

<sup>1</sup>Deseret Evening News, March 23, 1876.

<sup>2</sup>Tullidge, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 477.

<sup>3</sup>Logan Leader, March 4, 1881.

<sup>4</sup>Utah Journal, March 1, 1884.

holding 458 shares of stock are listed in the Articles of Incorporation.<sup>1</sup> The store continued to operate until 1914 when the manager, John H. Gibbs, purchased 55% of the stock and thus gained control.

#### The Providence Cooperative Mercantile Institution

The Settlement of Providence -- In 1857, Joseph and Samuel Campbell and others had explored the area around the spring in the east side of Cache Valley known as Spring Creek. They then returned to the Weber Valley determined to return and settle at Spring Creek. Before they returned, however, a group of settlers led by Hopkin Matthews and Ira Rice had settled on the spot April 20, 1859. Just a few days later, the Campbells and others arrived to settle Spring Creek (Providence). Cabins were built out of logs from the nearby canyons and potatoes and corn were the first crops planted during that year. These were the principal diet during the first hard winter. As winter arrived, there were more than twenty log cabins arranged in fort style at the new settlement.

In 1859, Robert Williams was chosen as the first Bishop of the settlement. In 1860, the first school was built and in 1869, the first rock church house. The town's name was changed from "Spring Creek" to "Providence" in 1859 when Apostle Ezra T. Benson visited the community and suggested that the setting of the town was "providential and lovely."

Organizing the Providence Cooperative -- The first store in Providence was started by one Samuel Hargraves in 1866. When the Latter-day Saints Church introduced its plan of cooperation in 1868, the residents of the Providence Ward laid plans for organizing a cooperative store. This

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<sup>1</sup>"Cache County Articles of Incorporation," MS, (located at the Cache County Court House, Logan, Utah.)

was accomplished the following year, 1869. Mr. Hargraves sold his interests to the newly organized Providence Cooperative Institution and became a clerk for the store. The stockholders of the new store elected the following as the new officers of the cooperative: M. D. Hammond, President; Hopkins Matthews, Joseph H. Campbell, Frederick Theurer, John Theurer, William Fife, John F. Maddison, and Charles Rammell, directors.<sup>1</sup> There was \$2,000 worth of stock sold at \$10 per share.

Business was first conducted in a log store under the management of William W. Lowe. Mr. Lowe continued in this position until his death in 1881. A rock store replaced the log building in 1875, both establishments being located on the southwest corner of Main and Center Streets. William B. Lowe succeeded his father as manager, which position he held until 1905. Upon his retirement, Joseph A. Smith served as manager until 1910. The Institution went into receivership at this time to the Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution. V. E. Gustaveson then took over the management of the business "under the receivership and direction of Z.C.M.I. until 1912."<sup>2</sup> The building and its complete contents were destroyed by a fire in that year.

The Providence Cooperative became incorporated on March 15, 1886.<sup>3</sup> At that time, provisions were made for a capital stock of \$10,000 in \$10 shares. Its Articles of Incorporation were typical for a cooperative store of that time.<sup>4</sup> A set of by-laws were also enacted covering the objects-

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<sup>1</sup>Interview with Mr. Hyrum Campbell in Logan, Utah, September 1, 1955.

<sup>2</sup>Hyrum A. Campbell, Providence and Her People (Logan: Herald Journal Printing Co., 1949), p. 166.

<sup>3</sup>Cache County Articles of Incorporation, op. cit.

<sup>4</sup>A sample of these is found in Appendix C.



and policies of the concern. At the time of incorporation, there were a total of 34 stockholders who possessed 344 shares of stock.

The Providence Cooperative enjoyed one of the longest stays of any in the valley. It successfully served the people of Providence with their requirements in general merchandise, hardware, and dry goods. It also provided the farmer an outlet for his eggs, butter, grain, hay, and cattle. The medium of currency generally used was a form of script printed in denominations of 10¢, 25¢, 50¢, \$1.00, \$2.00, \$3.00, and \$5.00.

In 1874, the Institution built a sawmill on Spring Creek in the eastern part of town. Joseph A. Campbell was superintendent of the mill which produced rough lumber, shingles and lath until all the saw timber had been taken from Spring Creek Canyon.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Hyde Park Cooperative Store

Settlement of Hyde Park -- Located about five miles north of Logan, the community of Hyde Park was settled by William Hyde on April 1, 1860. During the same month, other families arrived including those of Robert Daines, George and Elijah Seamons, Anthony Metcalf and Armenus Neeley. Dugouts provided the first homes and the land was immediately prepared and planted. By July of this year, there were sixteen families settled near the spring location. Apostle Ezra T. Benson and Bishop Peter Maughan organized the settlement and named it Hyde Park in honor of William Hyde and at the same time called him as the first Bishop of the Ward. The year of 1861 saw the settlers busy with the building of homes, a fort, and the Hyde Park Canal.

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<sup>1</sup>Campbell, op. cit., p. 162.

The Cooperative Store -- In March of 1869, the cooperative store of Hyde Park was established with capital assets of \$1,000 divided into shares of \$25 each, which was subscribed to by twenty-one shareholders.<sup>1</sup> Bishop William Hyde was the first president and manager of the store. His wife, Abigail Hyde, and Simpson Molen were the first clerks in the little store that opened March 25th when the first stock of goods from the Salt Lake City Z.C.M.I. arrived. Concerning the cooperative's beginning, we take the following from Bishop Hyde's private journal:

March 25, 1869. The Hyde Park branch of Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution received its first stock of goods, and commenced business having previously organized with myself as president. Only a few weeks previous, the Z.C.M.I. was organized in Salt Lake City and commenced business in the commodious house built by William Jennings. At this house, or of this firm, the Hyde Park goods were purchased. About this time, the cooperative companies were organized in most of the settlements in the territory, and a determination manifest among the people more effectually than ever before to become their own merchants and do their own business rather than deal with their enemies.<sup>2</sup>

The first building was located just east of Bishop Hyde's home. Later it was replaced with a larger, more substantial rock building. A newspaper account of 1877 states that under Bishop Hyde, the store "does business to the amount of \$4,000 yearly. Their dividends have ranged from 20 to 40 per cent per annum."<sup>3</sup> During this same year, Frederick Turner was chosen to replace Bishop Hyde as manager of the cooperative. The United Order, of which the store became a part in 1875, was now dissolved. The store continued until 1892.

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<sup>1</sup>"Hyde Park Ward Historical Record," MS, (in possession of the L.D.S. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup>"Private Journal of Bishop William Hyde," MS, (typed copy in possession of Bishop William H. Hyde, a grandson, Hyde Park, Utah), March 25, 1869.

<sup>3</sup>Salt Lake Herald, November 1, 1877.

The financial report of February 15, 1880 indicated that the value of stock had now increased to \$2,516. In like fashion, the number of stockholders had grown from twenty-one to fifty. It was during this year that the new rock cooperative store building was constructed.

In the middle of January, 1892, the Hyde Park Cooperative Institution ceased its operations. C.C. Lee and Sons had already purchased one-third of the stock from various stockholders. On October 20, 1892, he had obtained \$1,400 worth of stock which constituted a controlling interest.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Hyde Park Cooperative went the way of so many of the others, a lack of support by the people bringing about its downfall.

#### The Mendon Cooperative Mercantile Institution

The Settlement of Mendon -- The first settlement to take place in the area of Mendon was by Robert B. and Alexander B. Hill who lived at Maughan's Fort but had a dugout and farmed at the present location of Mendon. Establishing there in 1856, they abandoned it in 1857-58 at the coming of Johnston's Army. They, along with others, returned in the spring of 1859 to make the settlement permanent.

In August of that year, a fort was laid out and became known as the "North Settlement." Three months later, the name was changed when Apostles Ezra T. Benson and Orson Hyde changed its name to "Mendon" after Mendon, the town of Elder Benson's birth in Massachusetts. Andrew Shumway was also ordained as the first Bishop of the Ward. A meeting house was completed in the spring of 1860.

Organizing the Mendon Cooperative Mercantile Institution -- "Small

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<sup>1</sup>Hyde Park Ward, op. cit., October 20, 1892.

profits and quick returns," was the motto of the Mendon Cooperative store.<sup>1</sup> The store was organized April 1, 1869, with James G. Willie, of handcart fame, as its able business manager and clerk. Bishop A. P. Shumway was president of the board with Charles Shumway, Sr., Charles Bird, Sr., and Andrew Anderson, directors. Alfred Gardner served as assistant manager. The store began operations with a stock of \$620 that had been received for the purchase of stock at \$20 per share. The organization was changed a short time later when Bishop A. P. Shumway was called on a mission for the Church to England. His successor in the ward organization, Bishop Henry Hughes, now became president of the board of directors also.<sup>2</sup>

The first business was carried on in the house of Charles Bird. Later the institution moved to the log house of Albert M. Baker. Here it remained until 1873 at which time the new rock cooperative store building was completed near the southeast corner of the town square. This was the place of business until 1889.

A Boon to the Mendon Ward -- The policy of "small profits and quick returns" proved to be a successful one. Isaac Sorenson reports that "goods were offered cheap, and this drewed (sic) much trade from outside Mendon . . . quite a little freighting was done, even some two hundred miles to the north."<sup>3</sup> The store not only furnished the residents of Mendon with general merchandise but provided an outlet for their grain and other produce.

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<sup>1</sup>Dr. Daniel B. Richards, Hill Family History (privately published, 1926).

<sup>2</sup>Isaac Sorenson, "History of Mendon," MS, (typewritten copy in the possession of the U.S.A.C. History Department), p. 10.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

In 1879, the historian Orson F. Whitney writes that the business was still "under the management of James G. Willie doing an annual business of \$10-12,000a year. Capital stock within the last 3 years has increased 700%."<sup>1</sup> The following advertisement gives indication of the functions of the cooperative:

COOPERATIVE STORE

Dealers in General Merchandise  
Dry goods, groceries, hardware  
Boots and shoes, notions and etc.  
Highest price paid for produce

We give 65 cents for a bushel of No. 1  
clean wheat,  $\frac{1}{2}$  in cash and  $\frac{1}{2}$  in store  
pay subject to market fluctuations

James G. Willie, manager.<sup>2</sup>

The store continued operation with fair to good success until 1891. Hyrum T. Richards was the principal stockholder and enough others manifested desire to sell their stock that he was able to gain control of the stock. He then purchased the store and contents and the property whereon it stood. Mr. Richards then operated the store as a private concern. The scarcity of money was great in Cache Valley at this time and this undoubtedly influenced stockholders to sell. The prime reason for the cooperative's failure, however, was the issuing of too much credit.<sup>3</sup>

The Clarkston Cooperative Institution

The Settlement of Clarkston -- The town of Clarkston was settled in the summer of 1864. Among the group of pioneers that arrived and began

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<sup>1</sup>Deseret Evening News, February 20, 1879.

<sup>2</sup>Logan Leader, November 20, 1879.

<sup>3</sup>Deseret Evening News, February 3, 1891.

building dugout homes were John Godfrey, Richard Godfrey, Thomas Godfrey, Andrew Heggie, and others. After two years of settlement, the Indians became so troublesome that the people were forced to move to Smithfield for safety.

Returning in the following spring (1867) more permanent homes were built in the fort style. Here the settlers remained in safety until the danger from the Shoshone Indians had subsided. Peter Maughan, presiding bishop of the valley, came to Clarkston on May 4, 1869 and assisted in selecting a new location for the town. The spot chosen is the one where the present town is now located. Israel Clark became the first bishop of the ward and the settlement was subsequently named after him!

Forming the Clarkston Cooperative Institution -- The Clarkston Cooperative store had its beginnings during the latter part of the fort period. Organized on May 17, 1869, the following officers were chosen: Bishop W. T. Littlewood, President; Thomas Beck, Vice President; Andrew Quigley, Treasurer, Andrew Quigley, S. Smith, George Davis, Directors; Henry Stokes, Manager and Clerk; and George Davis, Freighter. The new institution adopted the constitution and by-laws of the Salt Lake City Z.C.M.I.<sup>1</sup>

To facilitate the immediate opening, the directors determined to borrow some surplus funds that the school trustees had, at the rate of  $1\frac{1}{2}\%$  interest per month. Business was first conducted in a lean-to against Henry Stokes' cabin in the fort. Upon deciding to move from the fort, four yoke of oxen were hooked to the lean-to and it was dragged to the new house

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<sup>1</sup>"Clarkston Ward History," MS, (located in L.D.S. Historian's office, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1867-1880), Record A, p. 36.

of Andrew Heggie. A dividend of  $11\frac{1}{2}$  per cent was paid the first year.<sup>1</sup>

In the spring of 1875, Mr. Heggie replaced Henry Stokes as manager and clerk of the store. Shortly afterwards, a windstorm came up and blew the roof off the store. It had been anticipated, however, and most of the goods had been removed, thus preventing excessive damage.<sup>2</sup> Under the direction of Mr. Heggie, the store prospered. The stockholders received from 10 to 20 per cent dividend on their investment each year. Some would reinvest their earnings while others would take their dividends in merchandise. Goods were never sold with more than 20 per cent difference (mark up) between the wholesale and retail price.

About 1873, it was decided to move the location of the business and build a new store on the north side of the town square. A frame building 25 x 40 feet was erected and a good line of general mercantile goods placed in stock. Goods were hauled primarily from the Logan branch of Z.C.M.I. Ole A. Jenson, William V. O. Carbine, and Bishop John Jardine served as freighters at different times.

Andrew Heggie functioned as manager from 1875 until 1886, during which period, he received a salary of one dollar per day. At this time, he asked to be released and Bishop John Jardine was made manager with Richard Godfrey as clerk. Not long after, Mr. Godfrey retired and Bishop Jardine assumed the clerking role also. Among those serving as clerks at various times were his wife, Lizzie Jardine, Agnes Shumway, and Annie Heggie Jardine.<sup>3</sup> Later Thomas Griffin became manager of the store until

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>2</sup>Kate Carter, Heart Throbs of the West, (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers), Vol. III, p. 262.

<sup>3</sup>Personal interview with Annie Heggie Jardine, September 3, 1955, at Clarkston, Utah.

1901 at which time he personally purchased control of the store. The old cooperative store is still standing and is now owned and operated by Brigham M. Griffin, a grandson of Thomas Griffin.

#### The Newton Cooperative Mercantile Institution

The settlement of Newton -- Newton had its beginning in the early part of 1869, when there was agitation among the people of Clarkston concerning the problem of moving that city down the Clarkston Creek to the present site of Newton. Several built houses there in 1869 and, although the majority of the settlers decided to stay in Clarkston, enough left to make another small town. Among these was Bishop W. F. Rigby of the Clarkston Ward. The community commenced to slowly grow but was seriously hampered by a shortage of water which was being utilized by the settlers up the stream at Clarkston. A reservoir was built in 1871 and this assured the permanent settlement of Newton.

The Cooperative Store -- The Newton Cooperative Mercantile Institution was organized early in 1872. At first, goods were purchased from the Logan Branch of Z.C.M.I. and sold at the home of Alfred Atkinson, who was the store's first manager. The institution's clients did a lot of buying with the medium of exchange of butter and eggs, which were shipped to the Logan branch by the cooperative.

During the first months of operation, a great deal of credit was extended. As a result, the institution was in financial trouble almost immediately. The venture appeared to be doomed as representatives of its chief creditor, Z.C.M.I., came to Newton to investigate the problem. John Jenkins saved the day, however, by stepping forth and donating his sheep herd and other personal finances to pull the company from a tight



spot.<sup>1</sup>

John H. Barker became the next manager and conducted business in his home in conjunction with the town post office. The store had originally been organized with a capital of \$400. Under Mr. Barker the business continued to grow until by November 1, 1877, it was valued at \$1,500. The cooperative carried a stock worth \$800 and did a \$4,000-\$5,000 business annually, a nice turnover of stock of about eight times. During the preceding five-year period, dividends had been paid averaging 30 per cent per annum.<sup>2</sup>

In 1875, Mr. Barker began buying butter and eggs for the Z.C.M.I. These were purchased from the surrounding towns of Oxford, Weston, etc. Upon Mr. Barker and his family fell the responsibility of reworking all of the butter and candling the eggs. During the year 1877, "they handled 30,000 pounds of butter and candled 50,000 eggs."<sup>3</sup>

In 1876 or 1877, the cooperative purchased a lot and built a new store just south of the location of the present Barker store. About the same time, Thomas Beck was appointed manager and script was introduced as a medium of exchange in the store. Mr. Beck subsequently moved from the community and was succeeded in the managership by William Griffin who conducted the store until it was destroyed by fire in 1916.

The Richmond Cooperative Mercantile Company

The settlement of Richmond -- In July of 1859, Agrippa Cooper and

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<sup>1</sup>Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, "Newton Ward History," MS, (in possession of the Newton Chapter.)

<sup>2</sup>The Salt Lake Herald, November 1, 1877.

<sup>3</sup>Annie B. Curtis, "Life Sketch of John Barker," MS, (typewritten copy in possession of U.S.A.C. History Department, Logan, Utah.)



Fig. 7 Richmond Cooperative Store



Fig. 8 Clarkston Cooperative Store, 1873 - 1956

his family camped at Bowers Spring on the southwest corner of the present city of Richmond. Other settlers arrived during the fall of that year increasing the number of settlers to seventeen families that spent the first winter at Richmond. A temporary fort was constructed as protection from the Indians.

With the arrival of spring, ground was broken for planting, roads were built, irrigation ditches dug, and a dam was thrown across City Creek. Brigham Young visited the settlement in 1860 and observed that the people were living in rather widely scattered areas. He advised them to move closer for protection. This was complied with and the fort was moved to the present location of Center Street. The origin of the name of the city has not been definitely determined. It may have been in honor of Apostle C.C. Rich.

An Early Cooperative Institution<sup>1</sup> -- The Richmond Cooperative Mercantile Institution was organized in February, 1865. Some writers have ascribed it the honor of being the first cooperative store to be organized in Cache Valley. One writer has even called it the oldest in Utah.<sup>2</sup> This hardly seems correct, however, as the Brigham City cooperative began in 1864.

The first officers included Apostle M. W. Merrill, President; Wallace K. Burnham, Justin Shepherd, Christian Hyer, C. H. Monson, H. S. Stephenson, and Thomas Moore, Directors. Henry Standage became the superintendent of the store which opened for business in a small log house.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See "Articles of Incorporation," in Appendix C.

<sup>2</sup>Salt Lake Herald, November 1, 1877.

<sup>3</sup>Tullidge, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 423.

The business later built and moved into a commodious brick building.

The United Order in Richmond was established October 24, 1875.

The cooperative store was incorporated into the Order and served as a distributing point for the products that were manufactured in the shoe shop, butcher shop and sawmill.<sup>1</sup>

In the formative years of the Richmond Cooperative, the outlook was quite discouraging as there was certain opposition which was trying to destroy the movement. In the midst of this discouragement, President Brigham Young said to President Merrill:

Marriner, I want you to take hold of this situation and see that there is maintained a cooperative store for the convenience and benefit of the people. Do this and I promise you that as long as you live you nor your children nor your children's children shall ever want for bread.<sup>2</sup>

Members of the family have testified this to have been literally fulfilled. During the depression of 1893, and later difficulties, the steadfastness of M. W. Merrill and others saw the cooperative maintained in Richmond.

In June of 1876, Christian Jacobson of Logan was contacted for the purpose of printing script for the Richmond institution. Colored paper was used to make this paper medium of exchange, a script that was typical of that used by the cooperative stores in Cache Valley.<sup>3</sup>

At the Cache Stake Conference held in Logan, Utah, November 3, 1877, M. W. Merrill reported that "The cooperative store (in Richmond) was

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<sup>1</sup>Melvin Clarence Merrill, Marriner Wood Merrill and His Family (No publisher given, 1937), p. 82.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>3</sup>Christian Jacobson, "Journal of Christian Jacobson," MS, (typed copy in the U.S.A.C. History Department files, Logan, Utah), June 27, 1876.

started 13 years ago with a capital of \$1,300; now it represented \$9,000."<sup>1</sup>  
The store did about a \$25,000 annual business and paid dividends averaging nearly 30 per cent.

Construction on the new store building began in 1882, and the store was completed in 1884. It measured 28 x 56 feet and was constructed of red brick. Construction cost was \$6,000, and it became known as the "Handsomest Coop store in the County."<sup>2</sup>

An advertisement of the establishment provides interest:

RICHMOND CO - OP

are daily opening up

X traordinary large quantities of  
cellent goods, at prices so  
ceedingly low that it will  
cite the admiration of all  
cept those who do not see them.

Wheat 40 cents Oats 75 cents

M. W. Merrill Jr., Supt.<sup>3</sup>

The store continued in operation until 1902 when the stockholders decided to liquidate the company and the property of the company was distributed pro-rata to the stockholders.

#### The Lewiston Cooperative Store

The Settlement of Lewiston -- Located on a level tract of land, the city of Lewiston was first settled in 1870. Lack of water and the sandy soil had prevented earlier settlement of the area. Four families built the first homes there out of sawed lumber, something rather unique

<sup>1</sup>Deseret News, November 7, 1877.

<sup>2</sup>Utah Journal, April 12, 1884.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., February 9, 1895.

Figure 9



Lewiston Cooperative Store About 1880

Figure 10



Lewiston Cooperative Granary

in settlement in Cache Valley for all others had built log cabins first. The first bishop was William H. Lewis. He, along with others, had been called to settle there and had become discouraged at the prospects. Brigham Young had said that it would be the most valuable agricultural spot in the valley. Bishop Lewis lived to see his farm produce over ten thousand bushels of grain per year. A fine community was also established, bringing much joy to the bishop.

The Cooperative Store -- The Lewiston Cooperative Mercantile Institution was established in June of 1876. A report of November 1, 1877, says that the institution had "a capital stock of \$1,200, and is doing about \$7,000, business a year. A dividend of 18 per cent was paid for the first nine months."<sup>1</sup> The first officers elected by the stockholders were: Bishop William H. Lewis, President; William D. Hendricks, H. D. Smith, Moroni Stocks, and William Terry, Directors.<sup>2</sup> Samuel J. Allen was appointed the first business manager. He is reported to have been a man who "had the confidence of the people, some education and a lot of natural ability."<sup>3</sup>

A new store, 75 x 28 feet was erected and presented a commanding appearance in the new community. The lower floor of the building was used for general sales. A back room, 28 x 20 feet, was used for storage and the second floor was occupied with bulky storage. The old store building is still being used by Mr. George Asel Thompson. To the rear of the store a large granary was built. It, too, is still in use to this day.

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<sup>1</sup>Salt Lake Herald, November 1, 1877.

<sup>2</sup>"Cache County, Articles of Incorporation," op. cit., "Lewiston Cooperative Mercantile Institution."

<sup>3</sup>J. M. Bernhisel, "History of Lewiston," MS, (Lewiston, Utah, 1955).

General merchandise was sold in the cooperative which did a brisk business for about eighteen years. A round scalloped script was placed in use as a medium of exchange. The platform in front of the building became a center of activity for the town. Gossip, horse judging, and other activities were common to its planks.

In the early 1890's difficulties arose within the organization. Some of the stockholders wanted special price concessions in their purchases, and the store was soon in financial trouble. The last manager, a Mr. Carpenter, endeavored to make the concern solvent but passed away April 23, 1893. The cooperative went into receivership to Z.C.M.I., the principal creditor, thus resulting in its failure. Final negotiations took place July 7, 1894.

#### The Franklin Cooperative Mercantile Institution

The Settlement of Franklin -- Five companies of settlers traveled northward from Salt Lake City to settle on the "Little Muddy" River in the spring of 1860. The first homes built were of the usual log cabin type construction and were arranged in fort style. Inside the enclosure were to be found a public well, school house, and corral for animals.

On June 10th of that same year, President Brigham Young came to Franklin and organized a ward with Preston Thomas as the first bishop. The town was named Franklin in honor of Apostle Franklin D. Richards.

The Franklin Cooperative -- According to the historian Tullidge, the first organization of the Franklin Cooperative Mercantile Institution took place in the winter of 1865.<sup>1</sup> The store only lasted until the following fall and was disbanded even though the stockholders came out with a

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<sup>1</sup>Tullidge, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 480.



Figure 11



Franklin Cooperative "North Star Woolen Mill"  
1881

small margin of profit. Reasons for this early disbandment are not known at this time.

The cooperative was reorganized and business commenced in May of 1869.<sup>1</sup> The first goods were sold in the vestry of the Church house until a building could be made available. Later a substantial rock store was constructed and used as long as the cooperative operated. This building still stands today just adjacent to the Franklin Pioneer Relic Hall.

The first officers of the reorganized cooperative included the following: L. H. Hatch, President; John Doney, Vice President; William Woodward, W. T. Wright, and C. W. Fox, Directors.<sup>2</sup> In 1872, S. R. "Samie" Parkinson and others organized the "One-eyed Coop," in an effort to run competition to the Franklin Cooperative and keep prices down. On Sunday, January 19, 1873, Apostle Brigham Young, Jr. spoke at a conference in Myrum and told those associated with the "One-eyed Coop" to "get in line with the rest of the Church."<sup>3</sup> The next day this institution disbanded and became incorporated into the original cooperative. In the reorganization that followed, S. R. "Samie" Parkinson became the new manager of the store, a position that he held as long as it operated.

About this same time, the cooperative established a steam sawmill in Maple Creek Canyon. In the building boom that came, much lumber was sawed at this mill. Among others, 300,000 feet were prepared for Z.C.M.I. buildings in Salt Lake City, and many ties for the Utah railroad.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Deseret News, May 12, 1869.

<sup>2</sup>James Ira Young, "The History and Development of Franklin, Idaho," (Unpublished master's thesis, Department of History, Brigham Young University, 1949) p. 170.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 173.

<sup>4</sup>Marie Danielson, "History of the Development of Southeastern Idaho," The Trail Blazer, June 15, 1930.

The North Star Woolen Mill -- Constructed in 1875-1878, the North Star Woolen Mill was a very important part of the Franklin Institution. Edmond Buckley, a master weaver from England, was appointed superintendent of the factory. The building and the first machinery purchased from Superintendent Buckley, cost \$15,000. In 1881, he and Samuel Parkinson went to St. Louis and purchased additional machinery. This allowed the factory the versatility of manufacturing flannel, linsey, yarns, and woolen blankets.

The mill was officially dedicated March 12, 1881, by Apostles Brigham Young, Jr. and Lorenzo Snow.<sup>1</sup> At its height of capacity, the mill hired fifty men and women. It performed all the steps in transforming wool from the raw state to the finished product.

During the year when the woolen mill was dedicated, the stockholders voted to dispense with the board of directors and placed "Samie" Parkinson in full control of the institution. The report to the stockholders meeting of January 15, 1881, indicated a dividend of 12½ per cent of capital stock being paid.<sup>2</sup> Incorporated with the United Order since 1874, the institution now owned in addition to the store a woolen mill, a sawmill, a grist mill, a furniture store, butcher shop and a blacksmith shop. As near as can be determined, the cooperative declined between 1890 and 1900.

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<sup>1</sup>"Franklin Ward Historical Record" MS, (handwritten record of Franklin Ward in L.D.S. Church Historian's office), pp. 87-89.

<sup>2</sup>Logan Leader, January 21, 1881.

## CHAPTER V

### HISTORY OF THE UNITED ORDER ENTERPRISES IN CACHE VALLEY

#### Cache Valley Stake of the United Order

Organizing Cache Valley -- In 1874, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints launched a social experiment known as the United Order. President Brigham Young was the prime mover of this reform movement that reached throughout the Utah Territory. Cache Valley was among the first to receive its organization:

Last Saturday Cache Valley was organized into a stake of the United Order. Elder Brigham Young, Jr. was elected President; William B. Preston 1st Vice President; O. N. Liljenquist, 2nd Vice President; L. G. Farrell, secretary; Orson Smith, asst. Secretary; Thomas X. Smith, Treasurer. These with a director from each settlement will constitute the central board of directors for the stake besides which there will be a branch of the order in each settlement.<sup>1</sup>

The organization of the United Order was undoubtedly intended primarily to stem the tendency to worldliness in the church. Some of the rules of belonging to the "Order" included family prayer, Word of Wisdom, the Sabbath day, honesty, simple manner of living, being free from indebtedness and various industrial undertakings.<sup>2</sup> The industrial projects proved to be the most successful and lasting parts of the United Order Movement of 1874. Edward A. Tullidge portrays one opinion of the United Order's success in Cache Valley. There were undoubtedly others who shared this view:

Indeed in no part of the territory has the "U.O." been given

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<sup>1</sup>Deseret News, May 6, 1874.

<sup>2</sup>Roberts, op. cit., Vol. V, pp. 485-486.

TABLE 3

ORGANIZATION AND INCORPORATION DATA OF THE UNITED ORDER  
BRANCHES IN CACHE COUNTY, UTAH

<u>Branch</u>	<u>By Whom Organized</u>	<u>Date of Organization</u>	<u>President</u>	<u>Date of Incorporation</u>
Cache Stake		May 2, 1874	Brigham Young, Jr.	
Logan 1st Ward		May 2, 1874	Wm. B. Preston	Dec. 4, 1874
Logan 2nd Ward	Erastus Snow	May 2, 1874	Henry Ballard	Jan. 10, 1876
Logan 3rd Ward				
Logan 4th Ward				Nov. 19, 1881
Clarkston	Erastus Snow and Lorenzo Snow	May 31, 1874	Simon Smith	
Mendon		1874	Henry Hughes	
Hyrum		1875	Ole N. Liljenquist	Mar. 25, 1875
Hyde Park	Brigham Young, Jr.	May 18, 1874	Robert Daines	
Lewiston			Wm. H. Lewis	
Wellsville		March, 1874	John Jardine	1875
Millville			George Pitkin	
Newton			Wm. Littlewood	
Providence			M. D. Hammond	
Richmond		Oct. 26, 1875	M. W. Merrill	
Smithfield	Brigham Young, Jr.	May 21, 1874	S. R. Roskelley	
Franklin	Brigham Young, Jr.		L. H. Hatch	

such substantial base and been worked on such thorough business principles as in Cache County. There instead of being organized on upon the impractical system of consecration, it has grown up as a simple joint stock concern of the people, for the employment of labor, the development of manufactures and the dividing of the mercantile results of the county among the people as stockholders and operatives, instead of among a few merchant capitalists.<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly this is the best form that cooperation has taken.

In Cache Valley we find that although the full plan of the United Order did not long last, the United Order Manufacturing concern had a fairly long life, most of its aspects extending almost to the turn of the century. There has been much controversy over whether the United Order should have even been launched at all. Some of these points of view will be discussed a bit later. For our purposes here, we are primarily concerned with the influence of the various United Order organizations of manufacturing interests. The plan in Cache Valley was to consolidate the cooperative stores with new phases of home industry and manufacturing. Some rather elaborate enterprises developed from the movement.

#### The Logan United Order

Organization of the Logan United Order -- The Logan United Order became incorporated December 4, 1874. There were four wards in Logan at the time and it was the function of the Central Logan Organization to provide direction and control to the ward organizations. It probably had some other industrial or manufacturing pursuits of its own, but the writer has been unable to determine what they might have been. The Articles of Incorporation for the concern call for the functions of "Manufacturing, Building, Commercial and other industrial pursuits."<sup>2</sup> Organized for

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<sup>1</sup>Tullidge, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 539.

<sup>2</sup>"Cache County Articles of Incorporation," MS (located in Cache County Court House, Logan, Utah).

twenty-five years, provisions were made for \$25,000 in stock at \$25 per share. Among the eighty stockholders were such notables as Brigham Young, Jr., 100 shares; William B. Preston, 50 shares; George L. Farrell, 100 shares.

The United Order Manufacturing and Building Company -- Sponsored by the Logan Second Ward, this company was organized and incorporated on January 10, 1876.<sup>1</sup> The ward had been previously organized into a ward of the United Order. This was accomplished May 2, 1874 when a meeting of the members of the priesthood in the ward were called together by Apostle Erastus Snow.<sup>2</sup> It was at this meeting that an organization was effected which consisted of the following: Bishop Henry Ballard, President; P. N. Peterson, Vice President; C. O. Card, Business Manager; Robert Davidson, and Eli Bell, Directors; Joseph Hyde, Secretary; and C. W. Card, Treasurer.

In the months that followed the ward was visited by President Brigham Young, John Taylor and others, all of whom spoke on the United Order in the meetings that were held. On July 3, 1875, Bishop Henry Ballard and a number of the members of the ward were baptized into the United Order.<sup>3</sup> This was done for the purpose of renewing one's covenants with the Lord and to express one's acceptance of the rules of the United Order.

The initial planning for the manufacturing and building company took place at a meeting held December 2, 1875. Bishop Ballard's "Journal" reports this meeting:

<sup>1</sup>Salt Lake Herald, November 8, 1877.

<sup>2</sup>"Diary of Henry Ballard," MS, (typed copy in possession of U.S.A.C. History Department, Logan, Utah), entry for January 30, 1877.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., July 3, 1875.

We held a meeting in our wards to take into consideration the advisability of sending to the states for a turning lathe to make broom handles as there was none in the territory and to cooperate together as a ward and form a company to do all kinds of woodwork.<sup>1</sup>

The broom handle lathe was obtained and put into operation.

Several men who lived in the ward owned businesses and these were turned into the United Order. C. W. Card and Sons turned in their sawmill, lath and shingle mills. P. N. Peterson and Sons turned in their planing mill and these were all consolidated to operate off the same water power.<sup>2</sup>

Business was good for the new company which steadily expanded.

In October of 1876, the Deseret News reports that:

The U. O. Manufacturing and Building Association have added recently to their stock of machinery and consequently to their facilities for increasing the quantity and variety of productions, being now in a position not only to manufacture sash, doors, blinds, mouldings, floorings and all articles of woodwork in the building line, but also furniture of a very excellent quality, and all from the timbers taken from the adjacent canyons. The most beautiful furniture is produced from cedar, which abounds in large quantities in Logan Canyon. This wood readily receives a fine polish, and its variegated colors from deep red to almost white gives a very fine appearance.<sup>3</sup>

After the company had been organized about one year, a dividend of twenty per cent was paid to the stockholders as well as placing \$1,000 in a reserve fund. The receipts, for six months of this year (April to September), were over \$11,700 for the saw and planing mills alone.<sup>4</sup>

The year of 1877 was one of considerable growth for the "Order." In addition to its already valuable property, the company added a large carpenter shop 24x36x18; bought land in the central part of Logan city and

<sup>1</sup>Ballard, op. cit., December 2, 1875.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., December 8, 1875.

<sup>3</sup>Deseret News, October 21, 1876.

<sup>4</sup>Salt Lake Herald, November 8, 1877.



built a store 20 x 48 and filled it with home-made and other merchandise; built an office; and constructed a boom on the Logan River for the purpose of catching ties, wood and logs as they floated down the river.

During the first part of this year (1877), Bishop Ballard reports that "the 3rd ward joined with us and turned in their cooperative dairy and took stock in our store."<sup>1</sup> This dairy was located to the west of Logan on the lower side of the Bear River. With the addition of the dairy and other improvements, the Second Ward United Order Manufacturing and Building Company became one of the most formidable concerns in the territory. A report issued near the end of the second year of operation illustrates its success:

The company owns a saw mill, woodworking factory, two stores and a dairy. . . . Last season, they cut and floated about one quarter million feet of logs, employing twenty-five or thirty men. . . .

One store does a general merchandise business, having a stock of \$3,000. and doing about \$12,000. per annum. The furniture store carries a stock of \$1,000. to \$1,500. of home made and imported furniture.

The dairy is located on the west side of the valley, near the Bear River. It has machinery and improvements valued at \$2,000. Work is carried on principally during the three or four months in the summer. Last season 200 cows were milked, producing 1,000 pounds of cheese and 300 pounds of butter per month. Most of the cheese was sold here at 13½ cents per pound. Twelve persons are employed at the dairy.

The company takes contracts for building, furnishing all materials the work being done by mechanics whom they employ constantly. . . . Broom manufacture has got a start, upwards of fifty dozen per year being made by George Painter. The corn is grown near Logan, and the handles are made by the United Order.

The furniture store was located on Main Street in Logan while the general merchandise store was located three blocks west of Main Street on First North Street. Further expansion included the doubling of steam

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<sup>1</sup>Ballard, op. cit., January 30, 1877.

<sup>2</sup>Salt Lake Herald, November 8, 1877.

turbine power at their Logan River sawmill at a cost of about \$6,000.<sup>1</sup>

In 1881, there were rumors that the company was about to fail. It may have been that the company had expanded too rapidly on the amount of capital it possessed. Charles W. Nibley had replaced C. W. Card as manager by this time and he was successful in obtaining a contract to produce 75,000 ties for the Union Pacific Railroad branch line from Granger towards the Puget Sound. This apparently bolstered the company for a time.<sup>2</sup>

In 1883, rumors were running rampant that the United Order concern was going broke. The alleged troubles mentioned in a Salt Lake City newspaper included (1) that the concern owed Z.C.M.I. \$30,000. (2) It owed a bank in Salt Lake City \$22,000. (3) An agent from Z.C.M.I. was now making terms. (4) The manager has been speculating with the company's interests. (5) A government agent was now in town checking on the company.<sup>3</sup> Superintendent Elldredge of the Z.C.M.I. immediately replied in the same paper that it was nothing but silly rumors and that the company was financially sound, and further, Z.C.M.I. was extending them \$10,000 in credit. The paper then apologized for printing the rumors.<sup>4</sup>

Though a matter of false alarm, the above situation forecast things to come. Each succeeding year saw the company paying a little smaller dividend. By 1885, they were forced to dispose of some of the branches. In later years, David Eccles, a banker from Ogden, invested quite heavily

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<sup>1</sup>Utah Journal, January 2, 1883.

<sup>2</sup>Deseret Evening News, May 26, 1881.

<sup>3</sup>Salt Lake Herald, December 2, 1883.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., December 4, 1883.

in the concern and it is probable that his influence and prestige as a banker helped to carry the concern. A stockholders meeting was held February 7, 1889 but by this time most of the branches had been discontinued.<sup>1</sup> It is probable that the company completely liquidated shortly after this time.

The United Order Foundry, Machine, and Wagon Manufacturing Company

Obviously a mouthful, the above organization was commonly called the "U.O. Foundry." Sponsored by the Logan First Ward, the U. O. Foundry was first organized January 5, 1876.<sup>2</sup> It was organized with a capital stock of \$10,000. in \$5 shares. The first officers chosen by the stockholders included the following: B. M. Lewis, President; Moses Thatcher, O. G. Ormsby, C. B. Robbins, Robert Croft, Directors; Joseph Goddard, Secretary; E. D. Carpenter, Treasurer and Business Manager.

With the organization thus effected, the doors were opened April 1, 1876, and business began. At this time, there was \$4,000 in paid up stock and the company had two buildings, a foundry and machine shop 50 x 22 feet and a blacksmith shop 60 x 22 feet.<sup>3</sup> The machinery was operated by a ten inch water turbine; but even from the beginning, the officers felt the need for a larger turbine to accommodate the machinery.

In addition to the officers of the foundry, the following personnel were kept busy on a full time basis: "four first class machinists, one apprentice, four good blacksmiths, two good apprentices, two good moulders, one furnace hand, one carriage maker, one frame builder for

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<sup>1</sup>Deseret Evening News, February 7, 1889.

<sup>2</sup>"Logan First Ward History," MS, (located in vault in basement of the Cache Stake House, Logan, Utah), p. 37.

<sup>3</sup>Deseret Evening News, June 14, 1876.

mills."<sup>1</sup> All accounts indicate that these employees were excellent workmen and their skills caused the business to grow in a manner that made it unique and outstanding as a foundry that had no peer in the territory at that time.<sup>2</sup>

The U. O. Foundry proved very versatile in manufacturing almost any kind of machinery or tools that was needed in the valley at that time. The company ran an advertisement in 1878 that enthusiastically read:

ATTENTION ONE AND ALL!

This is a dry season and you will want a straw  
cutter for hay is scarce  
The U. O. Foundry  
Machine and Wagon  
Manufacturing Company  
has built six shingle and five saw mills  
10,000 carriage bolts  
wagon stock -- one car load  
wheel barrow wheels  
Brass and Iron Castings  
Blacksmithing

Ezra D. Carpenter, Superintendent<sup>3</sup>

At the end of the third year a stockholders meeting was held and the shareholders were given cause to rejoice as they heard the following report:

There are now eighty-one stockholders, owning \$6,600.00, paid up of the \$10,000 capital which is the limit. The real estate including the mill race cost \$97.59. The buildings are valued at \$3,256.22; machinery and tools \$3,089.07; raw and made up materials on hand \$2,029.52. Amount passed to reserve account last year \$1,493.11; net gain on business for year ending January 31, 1879 \$2,222.34, equal to  $33\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; of this 20 per cent is payable in stock or labor;  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent was carried to the reserve account, and five per cent as allowance for depreciation of buildings.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Salt Lake Herald, November 8, 1877.

<sup>2</sup>S. A. Kenner and Thos. Wallace, Directory of Ogden City and North Utah Record (Ogden: Ogden Junction Printers, 1878), p. 80.

<sup>3</sup>Logan Leader, October 9, 1878.

<sup>4</sup>Deseret News, March 6, 1879.

Among other jobs received, the company built a total of twenty-one water tanks for the Utah and Northern Railroad company during the above year of 1879.<sup>1</sup> The company became well known as a maker of sawmills. It possessed the unusual ability of being able to fabricate a complete sawmill. These were much in demand and it appears that at times they were unable to keep up with orders for the mills. Other items manufactured included such things as headgates for canals, school seats, first class heating stoves, a planing machine, turbine water wheel and many other smaller parts and tools. Much of the material that went into the Logan Temple and other L.D.S. Church buildings was manufactured at the Logan U.O. Foundry.

The financial reports of 1881 and 1882 showed that the company was still doing a fair business. Dividends on stock of five per cent and twenty per cent were paid during those respective years.<sup>2</sup> While very little information has been found concerning the latter years of operation, it is probable that the foundry continued on with a moderately successful business until 1886 when it was destroyed by fire.

The United Order Foundry's downfall came about not through mismanagement or a financial panic of some sort but met its ignominious death through this untimely fire. The Millennial Star reports that it occurred in 1886 and apparently was a near total burn-out.<sup>3</sup> This unfortunate event forced the company to make an assignment and wind up its affairs. It did, however, possess ample means to pay all of its creditors.<sup>4</sup> There was some

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<sup>1</sup>Logan Leader, December 4, 1879.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., January 21, 1881.

<sup>3</sup>Millennial Star, 48:358.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 48:703.

attempt to rebuild some of the buildings and start afresh but the movement was short-lived. Thus passed from the scene a great cooperative institution.

Fourth Ward Cooperative Institution -- Late in the year of 1880, a number of the previous stockholders of the then discontinued Logan Cooperative Mercantile and Manufacturing Institution associated themselves together, along with others from the Logan Fourth Ward, and formed the new United Order cooperative store. The following advertisement announced its opening:

NEW CO--OP STORE!

If you want to buy goods cheap, go to  
the above place opposite Z. C. M. I.  
Logan City Cache County

where they sell  
all kinds of merchandise  
at reasonable prices  
Home made goods a specialty  
C. B. Robbins, Supt.<sup>1</sup>

A new store was constructed about one-half block north of the Logan Z.C.M.I. (about 150 North Main Street) and just one door north of Zion's Board of Trade. Charlie Robbins, who had been very active in the old Logan Cooperative became the new manager of the concern.

Articles of Incorporation were filed November 19, 1881, authorizing \$10,000 of stock at \$5 per share. At the time of incorporation, there were fifty-three stockholders holding six hundred sixty-one shares.<sup>2</sup> It is probable that the officers included such men as George L. Farrell,

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<sup>1</sup>Logan Leader, September 3, 1880.

<sup>2</sup>"Cache County Articles of Incorporation," MS, (located in the Cache County Court House, Logan, Utah).

C. B. Robbins, Samuel Smith and T. E. Ricks. The store handled general merchandise and continued until at least December of 1887 and probably into the 1890's.

### The Hyrum United Order

Forming the United Order -- Early in the spring of 1875, the stockholders of the Hyrum Cooperative store, the Steam Mill Company, the Dairy Company, and the Curtis Ranch met together and combined under one management. This was the beginning of the United Order of Hyrum. Just a few days later, March 25, 1875, the Articles of Incorporation were filed at the county court house.<sup>1</sup> These called for a capital stock of \$38,500 in shares of \$25 each. A total of ninety-one stockholders participated in this initial formation.

The first officers elected were: O. N. Liljenquist, President; John G. Wilson, 1st Vice President; Hans E. Nielsen, 2nd Vice President; James Unsworth, Secretary; A. P. Rose, Treasurer; O. H. Rose, Peter Christiansen, James McBride, Jens P. Jensen, George Nielsen, S. F. Allen, and George P. Ward, Directors.<sup>2</sup> Other officers were appointed to manage each of the various branches of the "Order." The cooperative store had previously been managed by James Unsworth. Mr. Unsworth continued in this capacity and the store enjoyed a brisk trade.

The Pioneer Dairy had been organized in February of 1874. Cellars and houses had been built about two and one-half miles south of the Hardware Ranch in Blacksmith's Fork Canyon. This concern continued under the

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<sup>1</sup>"Cache County Articles of Incorporation,"MS(located in Cache County Court House, Logan, Utah).

<sup>2</sup>Allen, op. cit., p. 52.

direction of O. H. Rose. Girls from Hyrum stayed in the canyon and served as milk maids. Butter and cheese were the primary products. In 1881, the company realized \$22,425 from these two products.<sup>1</sup>

The Hyrum Herd Company or the Curtis Ranch, named after the man who continued as herder and manager of the ranch, Lehi Curtis, was organized in the spring of 1874. It was started to provide the most economical form of caring for the cattle belonging to the people of Hyrum. In addition to the Hyrum cattle, the Latter-day Saints Church and President Brigham Young placed hundreds of cattle at the ranch during the first year. A house and corral were built at the Hardware Ranch which was located in Blacksmith's Fork Canyon about eighteen miles east of Hyrum. The ranch is presently owned by the Utah State Fish and Game Commission who has turned it into a big game sanctuary and a fish hatchery.

The Steam Mill Company had been organized on September 8, 1873 with a capital of \$2,550. Fifty-one persons held a like number of shares at \$50.00 each. Later other stock was sold.<sup>2</sup> The initial action of the company was to build a road for several miles to the south of the Hardware Ranch at a cost of \$1,000. A \$3,000 steam mill, built by the Logan U. O. Foundry, was then installed in some white pine timber and logging operations began. Additional installations included another steam engine for \$850, a shingle mill for \$600 and a loading lot by the O.S.L. Railroad track in Logan. The company ran these mills at full capacity until 1875 when they became a part of the United Order. Peter Christiansen was appointed superintendent of this phase of the enterprise.

The United Order of Hyrum enjoyed a great deal of success in its

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<sup>1</sup>Utah Journal, May 10, 1883.

<sup>2</sup>Allen, loc. cit.



operations. The cooperative store provided the outlet for distribution of the varied phases of the concern and much of the produced materials was shipped by rail to distant markets. As the business expanded, a blacksmith shop was added.<sup>1</sup> Furniture, tailor and shoe shops were also added from the reserve fund that had accumulated by 1880.<sup>2</sup> The following table gives us a picture of the rapid growth and success of the "Order." The writer has compiled this table from newspaper accounts and other sources but has not been able to obtain complete information for all years of the institution's operations.

TABLE 4

## CUMULATIVE FINANCIAL REPORT OF THE HYRUM UNITED ORDER

<u>Period Ending</u>	<u>Total Merchandise On Hand</u>	<u>Property Owned</u>	<u>Capital Stock</u>	<u>Dividend Paid</u>
March, 1876	\$16,720	\$18,588		10%
March 20, 1878	22,500	24,679		6%
March, 1880	11,725			15%
July 20, 1881	18,737	30,717	\$16,522	10%
June 15, 1883				15%
January 15, 1884		39,900	17,280	

A typical dividend paid might be illustrated with the one issued in 1881. Ten per cent was paid; eight per cent went to the stockholders and two per cent was paid as tithing to the L.D.S. Church as per company rule.<sup>3</sup> Another interesting policy was that of paying a dividend on customer purchases. These varied from two to five per cent and were paid in the form of trade checks on each purchase which could be redeemed for

<sup>1</sup>Logan Leader, March 26, 1880.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., February 4, 1881.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

merchandise. With this we see that the modern business practice of discounting was effectively employed in that day.

The Hyrum United Order relied heavily upon the supply of timber as the mainstay of its enterprise. In the latter part of the "eighties," the timber became increasingly scarce in the mountains adjacent to Hyrum and one by one the various mills had to be closed down. The residents of Hyrum turned to more extensive farming and when the farm land became scarce many left for other parts to homestead. Livestock raising became a big thing and little by little the United Order lost ground. The last of the branches to remain was the cooperative store which continued until about November of 1905 and then it, too, went to private ownership.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Wellsville United Order

The United Order of Wellsville was organized in the spring of 1875, probably about the first of March. It was incorporated for a period of twenty-five years for a capital of \$5,000 in shares of \$20 each. The objects of the corporation were "mining, manufacturing, commerce, construction of roads, irrigation ditches, colonization of lands, establishing seminaries, churches and libraries."<sup>2</sup>

The following officers were chosen by fifty-six shareholders: Bishop John Jardine, President; Daniel Hill, Sr., Vice President; Francis Gunnell, Secretary; Robert Ashton, Treasurer; Robert Bascher, Thomas R. Leavitt, A. B. Nile, Robert Leatham, John Mendry, Joshua Salisbury, William S. Poppleton, and Timothy Parkinson, Directors.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The Logan Journal, November 18, 1905.

<sup>2</sup>"Cache County Articles of Incorporation," op. cit.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

The Wellsville Cooperative Store was included in the organization. It added a butcher shop and meat packing plant to its store. This became the largest meat handling concern in the valley.<sup>1</sup> The hides that were received from the animals slaughtered were sent to the Smithfield United Order Tannery and returned in leather. A boot and shoe shop was then opened under the managership of Robert Baxter and the tanned leather was used for making footwear for the community. The products thus manufactured were described as follows:

They are turning out work which is a credit to themselves and to the settlement. True the work is a trifle more costly than is usually charged for states manufacture but when the articles manufactured are compared with eastern shoddy, they are by far the cheaper of the two. And as time tries all things, so will it prove this thing out to the shoe wearing populace and secure a liberal patronage to this branch of home industry.<sup>2</sup>

Later a carpenter shop was added for the manufacture of furniture and the business flourished at least until 1890. The writer has been unable to determine the exact date the Wellsville United Order was dissolved. It probably ceased operations just prior to the turn of the century.

#### The Richmond United Order

Bishop Marriner W. Merrill called a meeting on October 24, 1875, for the purpose of organizing the United Order in Richmond. A board of directors was elected which met on October 26th and organized as follows: Marriner W. Merrill, President; Christian Hyer, Vice President; William Skidmore, Secretary; Thomas Moore, Treasurer; W. K. Burnham, C. H. Monson, and Thomas Moore, Executive Committee.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Tullidge, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 416.

<sup>2</sup>Deseret Evening News, March 11, 1876.

<sup>3</sup>Merrill, op. cit., p. 82.

The next meeting of the officers of the United Order was held November 9, 1875. At this meeting, it was decided that the cooperative store, now under the managership of A. U. Hobson, should continue as part of the new organization with Mr. Hobson retaining the managership. It was also voted to start a meat department, a cabinet shop and a tin shop.<sup>1</sup>

Subsequent meetings saw the organization of a United Order Farm, a boot and shoe shop, a blacksmith shop, and the purchasing of the High Creek Saw Mill for \$1,125. The saw mill was paid for by the debts that it owed to the cooperative store. C. H. Monson, one of the directors, was appointed manager of the saw mill.

Business was good for a number of years. The store provided the outlet for the products produced by the various phases of the United Order. For fifteen years, from 1875 until 1890, practically all of the business interests in Richmond were a part of the United Order. Gradually, however, the various branches were eliminated until only the cooperative store remained. By 1893, the depression had started and the store was in serious trouble. President Merrill poured large amounts of his personal finances into the concern but to no avail. The stockholders decided to liquidate the last remnants of the United Order in January, 1902.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Smithfield United Order

The United Order of Smithfield was organized May 21, 1874, by President Brigham Young, Jr. Bishop Samuel Roskelley was chosen president; George Barber, Vice President; Sylvester Lowe, Jr., Secretary; Preston T.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 84.

Moorhead, Robert Meikle, Edmund Homer, Peter Nielsen, Thomas Hillyard, and Thomas Winn, Directors; James S. Cantwell, Treasurer.<sup>1</sup>

During the months of June and July, several meetings were held to organize the company and prepare the members of the "Order." Baptismal services were held to baptize the stockholders into the "Order of Enoch."<sup>2</sup> The United Order was based around a store that sold general merchandise and the United Order Tannery that had been purchased from the Meikle Brothers.

During the Cache Stake Quarterly Conference, held November 3, 1877, Bishop Samuel Roskelley reported the forward steps that had been taken by the institution:

In connection with their store of general merchandise, they had a tannery employing 9 journeymen and 2 apprentices; harness shop employing two men, all of which were doing well.

Also connected with the institution was an agricultural department consisting of five companies of men, who supplied it with grain, receiving therefor stock in the institution. The proceeds from the threshing machine were appropriated in the same way. The blacksmith's shop and the saw mill were also a success.<sup>3</sup>

In 1880, the United Order constructed a new building to house the facilities of the shoe and harness shop. The new shop measured 17 x 44 feet and provided a working place for twelve to fifteen workmen.<sup>4</sup> These products were advertised in the Logan Leader:

UNITED ORDER of Smithfield  
Great variety of leather goods  
MEN'S BOOTS AND SHOES  
Light, med. and heavy  
  
HARNESS MADE AND REPAIRED

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<sup>1</sup>"James Sherlock Cantwell Diary," MS, (in possession of Mr. James Kirkbride, Smithfield, Utah, a son-in-law), entry for May 21, 1874.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., July 8, 1875.

<sup>3</sup>Deseret News, March 10, 1877.

<sup>4</sup>Logan Leader, September 24, 1880.

Highest price paid for hides,  
pelts and wool

Orders taken by Geo. L. Farrell, Logan  
or Robert A. Bain, Smithfield<sup>1</sup>

Until 1881, the Smithfield Cooperative Mercantile Institution and the United Order were separate institutions. They each maintained a general mercantile store that was located directly across the street from the other. On April 29, 1881, Bishop George L. Farrell effected an amalgamation of the cooperative store, the cooperative saw mill, and the United Order. The new name of the organization became "The Smithfield Manufacturing and Mercantile Institution."<sup>2</sup> Capital stock was authorized in the amount of \$30,000 in shares of \$5 each. Bishop Farrell was chosen president of the new institution and Francis Sharp, the secretary.<sup>3</sup>

The writer has not definitely determined the reason for this late organization when most of the United Orders and cooperatives joined together in 1874 and 1875. It is probable that this amalgamation was not a United Order concern but rather a cooperative company that followed in the wake of a declining United Order. The new institution continued until the late eighties and then it disbanded.

The United Order in the Smaller Settlements

While the United Order was established in every community in Cache Valley, only the foregoing communities achieved a business organization in their United Order that maintained a notable volume of trade. Most

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<sup>1</sup>Logan Leader, October 8, 1880.

<sup>2</sup>"Cache County Articles of Incorporation," (located in Cache County Court House, Logan, Utah).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

of the smaller communities merely converted their cooperative store into a United Order store without inculcating the most important principle of the United Order plan, manufacturing and home industry. It is evident that President Brigham Young had in mind a spiritual and economic organization that would affect every facet of life for the Mormon colonizers of the Great Basin. The goal of the United Order was to provide enterprises that would more or less divide the profits uniformly among those connected with them and to ultimately eliminate class distinction between rich and poor.<sup>1</sup> Every man was to have full and proper opportunities.

Within five years after the death of President Brigham Young in 1877, the church officially abandoned the United Order and the cooperatives. The reasons for the decline of the United Order are several. In the first place, Brigham Young spent the last few years of his life in ill health. This was unfortunate for the United Order movement as President Young was not able to lend his usual vigorous support to the movement.

It appears that President John Taylor, Brigham Young's successor to the presidency of the church, was not wholeheartedly behind the idea of the United Order coming forth when it did. President Taylor made statements that seemed to suggest a lack of church responsibility for the United Order coming forth in 1874.<sup>2</sup> As a result, the church leadership issued an epistle in 1882 which threw open the field of trade to Latter-day Saint merchants and officially discontinued the United Order.<sup>3</sup> Many of the United Order concerns closed shortly thereafter and some continued

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<sup>1</sup>John A. Widtsoe, A Rational Theology (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1946), p. 147.

<sup>2</sup>See Appendix E.

<sup>3</sup>See Appendix F.

to operate for many years, answerable only to the stockholders of the institution.



## CHAPTER VI

### GENERAL ASPECTS OF THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

#### Enforcement of the Church Boycott Against the Gentile Merchants

Mormons Not to Become Merchants. -- Prior to the year 1858, there were few Mormon merchants conducting business along the streets of Salt Lake City and other Utah towns. The early inhabitants of the Great Basin were so engrossed in the home industry phase of empire building that commercial activities were largely neglected. Perhaps even more significant than this was the fact that the few Mormon merchants that were engaged in business were, at this time, looked upon as "not living their religion."<sup>1</sup> This made it difficult for them to maintain their standing in the community. This may have stemmed from the law of consecration where all shared alike and it was not right for one man to make profits to the extent of having more than his neighbor. At any rate, most Mormon merchants found it efficacious to quit merchandising and find other occupations. Richard Ballantyne, the founder of the first LDS Sunday School, provides us an example of the change that many made:

In the spring of 1860, Richard Ballantyne bought merchandise from Thomas Box and opened a general merchandise store in Ogden. . .

In 1861, he disposed of the store as Brigham Young had counseled the Elders to quit merchandising.<sup>2</sup>

Gentile Merchants Monopolize. -- This situation provided an open field for enterprising "Gentile"<sup>3</sup> merchants who flocked to the territory

<sup>1</sup>Neff, op. cit., p. 334.

<sup>2</sup>Carter, op. cit., III, p. 266.

<sup>3</sup>To a Mormon, anyone who is not a member of the LDS faith.

and soon had monopolized the mercantile portion of the Territory's commerce. Most writers seem to be of the opinion that the first two Gentile merchants to make a permanent establishment in the Salt Lake Valley were two men by the name of Livingston and Kinkhead, who opened a store in 1850. It is reported that on their first day of business they took in \$10,000 in gold.<sup>1</sup> In the conflicts that came later, this firm received special condemnation from President Brigham Young. Most of the currency thus received left the Territory rather than remain in circulation among the settlers. It was this wholesale drain on the medium of exchange from the Territory that so roused the ire of President Brigham Young and other leaders of the Church. He further felt that if the Gentile merchants were to amass fortunes at the expense of the Saints, the least they could do would be to testify to the worth and merit of the Latter-day Saint people. History affirms the fact that many of the Gentile merchants, even though dependent upon the Mormon people for a livelihood, were among the strongest persecutors of the Church in polygamy and other defamatory actions by enemies of the Church.

Thus the Mormon merchants had difficulty in making a go of their businesses during the first years of settlement. One contributing factor to this situation was the attitude of the people themselves. While delivering a sermon in the Bowery on October 8, 1855, Brigham Young outlined the fact that "the Saints wanted credit at Joseph's store, but paid cash at the Gentiles."<sup>2</sup> The members of the Church undoubtedly felt that it would be to their advantage to trade with the Gentile merchants and maintain their goodwill in the hope that they in turn would give a good report of the

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<sup>1</sup> Neff, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 347.

Mormons to the outside world.

Mormons Increase Their Commercial Influence. -- The leaders of the Church were quick to recognize the situation that developed. The prices being charged for goods were entirely too high. During the "sixties" this situation changed. More and more Latter-day Saint merchants were tempted into profitable businesses. They even began to receive some support and encouragement from President Young who wanted them to serve as price stabilizers. This was a noble motive, but on the whole, they failed miserably for it seems that the profit motive over-ruled their allegiance to the cause. President Young immediately proceeded to denounce the offenders as deserters to the true interests of the Church. In a tabernacle sermon on December 11, 1864, he gave the following rebuke to the unloyal Mormon merchants:

Where is there among us a merchant who has continued year after year in the love of the work, that cares nothing about the work of God? I will refer to our Mormon merchants. What do they say about their goods? They do not ask what their goods are worth, or what they paid for them, but what will the people give for them? That is the price. . . . They will get sorrow-most of them will be damned, there is no doubt of it, unless they repent. Ye merchants, and lawyers, and doctors and speculators, be careful that you secure to yourselves eternal life in the Kingdom of God, in preference to anything else.<sup>1</sup>

The Boycott Introduced. -- From the year 1865 on, the Gentile "enemy" merchants received severe Mormon denunciation from the press and pulpit. There was a distinction in the eyes of Latter-day Saints between these and the "friendly" Gentile merchants. The latter type contributed to local civic enterprises, paid their taxes and were good members of the communities. A good example of this came on October 8, 1868, when Brigham Young stated from the pulpit that the Walker Brothers had contrib-

<sup>1</sup>"Journal of Discourses," 11:114.

uted \$2,000 to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund.<sup>1</sup> It was against the "enemy" Gentile Merchants that the Mormons took offense. These were those who were avowed anti-Mormons, who were not paying their taxes, and in short, seemed to be doing everything possible to destroy the LDS Church.

As early as 1865, Brigham Young urged the Saints to boycott or cease trading with the enemy Gentile merchants.<sup>2</sup> Between this date and the introduction of the Church-sponsored cooperative plan of October, 1868, the author's partial search has revealed seven different sermons by President Brigham Young and others of the church leaders counseling the Saints to boycott the Gentile merchants. Undoubtedly there were many more.

In both the April and October General Conferences of 1868, the Church voted to excommunicate anyone who traded with the Gentiles.<sup>3</sup> Some members were excommunicated or disfellowshipped for not conforming to this counsel. The enforcement of this ruling was not an easy thing, as many problems arose. The following incident in Cache Valley illustrates this difficulty:

In 1868 the church called several able bodied men from the newly formed town (Weston, Cache Valley, Idaho) to go to Fort Laramie (the end of the railroad at that time) for imigrants enroute to Utah and bring them there by wagon. Most all of the established towns in Cache Valley were called upon to aid in this effort. The older men went, leaving the young boys in town to care for the farms. The trip took all summer. While gone, the crickets and grasshoppers devoured more than half of their crops. The water in the ditches was brown as tobacco juice from contact with the bodies of the grasshoppers.

However, a few oats were raised and were in great demand in Corinne, so those men engaged in freighting offered to take the small bags of oats belonging to several of those who had no way of getting them to market to Corinne for sale since their wagons

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 12:300.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 11:134, 139.

<sup>3</sup>Deseret News, October 9, 1868.

were more or less empty going South into Corinne.

Quoting from the diary: 'I sold my oats for \$40. and bought a stove for \$37.50 and shoes for my wife for \$2.50. We returned home happy as children at a Christmas tree for now mother would no longer have to sit on her knees in the ashes before the fire to cook.'

The bishop, when informed of the return of his enterprising flock and their pleasure in the new merchandise, told them to their sorrow that they had done a grievous wrong to do business with the Gentiles in Corinne instead of the ZCMI, even though they would have had to pay \$50 for the stove and the ZCMI was in Salt Lake. Sunday came and the offenders were called upon to ask forgiveness. They felt pretty good about their purchase and it was hard for them to say otherwise. One old lady said she would eat no food cooked on a Gentile stove, and my father said: 'I feel pretty good, for my wife can now stand up and cook. So Bishop, forgive me for telling the truth.'

One lady sent for a few notions to sew with and said to the Bishop, 'You can call me up, I am ready to be punished before the congregation.'

One old gentlemen said, 'Now take a spring. Drink at its head, and it is good and pure. After many miles through the sagebrush and weeds, it is dirty from dust and filth. By the time it gets to Weston, it is so dirty you can't use it from being exposed from everyone's dirt.' 'Now,' said the accused man, 'That is just like the Gospel, when it gets as far as Weston, we can't use it.'

Not long after the Bishop bought himself a schettler wagon from the Gentiles and from then on that 'nonsense' ended and from then on we bought when and where we could.<sup>1</sup>

Effect of the Boycott. -- The immediate effect of the boycott was devastating to the Gentile merchants. Fred J. Kiesel, a Cache Valley and Ogden Gentile merchant relates his experience with the boycott:

In 1864, I went for Gilbert and Sons and opened the first store in Wellsville, Cache County, Utah. Gilbert & Sons were under a cloud with the church authorities, and I opened it in my own name. I stayed there a year and a half and came to Ogden and opened a store here also for Gilbert & Sons but in my own name. I sold out to the first cooperative store that started in this country. That was in 1867.

I came back for Gilbert and Sons and opened another store in Ogden, but was driven out by the intolerance of the Mormons. I then went to Bear Lake and opened a store of my own account, and also at Montpelier. The co-op store then started and I was driven out again. Apostle Rich Produced a letter from Brigham Young

<sup>1</sup>Marybelle Pike, "Cache Valley's West Side," Paper read before the meeting of the Cache Valley Historical Society, Logan, Utah, March 23, 1955.

telling the people I was an enemy to them and a pupil of Gilbert & Sons. I came back again to Bear Lake, seeing that the country was dull elsewhere, and started a store at Montpelier, and during my absence from there the young man whom I had left in charge was killed, so I had to quit again.

I came back to Ogden and bought out the old Goldberg concern, who had been here in the meantime. They failed and I bought out the outfit. I stopped here two years but cooperation was in full blast. That drove me out again . . . . It was the despotism of Brigham Young that drove nearly all the Gentile firms out of the territory and broke them up in business. That was the case until 1871 when mining commenced and of course, it was the salvation of all of us out here . . . .

It was only by pursuing a conservative course that I got along at all. I had to keep very dark so that I often doubted whether I was on American soil. The letter of which I spoke that Brigham Young wrote to Apostle Rich, which was read in public, stated that I had worked for Gilbert & Sons and was their pupil, and for them to let me severely alone. That I was an enemy-- an enemy to this people. That was the reason my clerk got killed. They said the Indians did but it was inside a settlement. I would have trusted myself with the Indians in those days quicker than with the Mormons.<sup>1</sup>

Non-Mormon merchants definitely felt that the church had dealt a hostile blow. They generally felt that the unfortunate murders of Gentiles Dr. J. King Robinson and Newton Brassfield, both about this time, were vindictive attempts by the leaders of the LDS Church to get them to leave the territory.<sup>2</sup> Further evidence of this came on December 20, 1866, when twenty-three Gentile merchants banded together to write the following letter to "the leaders of the Mormon Church:"

Gentlemen: As you are instructing the people of Utah through your bishops and missionaries, not to trade or do business with the Gentile merchants, thereby intimidating and coercing the community to purchase only of such merchants as belong to your faith and persuasion, in anticipation of such a crisis being successfully brought about by your teachings, the undersigned Gentile merchants of Great Salt Lake City, Utah respectfully make you the following proposition, believing it to be your earnest desire for all to leave the country that do not belong to your faith and creed, namely: on the fulfillment of conditions herein named. First--the

<sup>1</sup>Hubert A. Bancroft, "Bancroft's Manuscripts," MS, (Interview on Utah History by Bancroft's Field Researchers, Microfilm copy in USAC Library, Logan, Utah), Reel 1.

<sup>2</sup>Deseret News, November 14, 1866.

payment of all outstanding accounts owing us by members of your Church; secondly--all of our goods, merchandise, chattels, houses, improvements, etc. to be taken at cash valuation, and we to make a deduction of twenty-five per cent from the total amount. To the fulfillment of the above we hold ourselves, ready at any time to enter into negotiation and on final arrangements being made and terms of sale complied with we shall freely leave the territory.

Respectfully yours,

Walker Bros.  
 Bodenburg and Kahn  
 C. Progg of Firm of Ronsohoff  
 J. Meeks  
 Seigel Bros.  
 L. John and Co.  
 Klopstock and Co.  
 Gluksman and Kohn  
 Morse, Walcott Co.  
 J. Bauman and Co.  
 Morris Elgutter  
 Gilbert and Sons<sup>1</sup>

Wm. Sloan  
 Ellis and Bros.  
 McGrarty and Henry  
 Auerbach Bros.  
 Olmer Deviant  
 S. Lesser and Bros.  
 John H. McGrath  
 Wilkinson and Fenn  
 I. Watters  
 M. B. Callahan  
 Thomas D. Brown and Sons

The following is President Brigham Young's reply:

Gentlemen: Your communication of December 20th addressed to the "Leaders of the Mormon Church" was received by me last evening. In reply I have to say, that we will not obligate ourselves to collect your outstanding debts, nor buy your goods, merchandise or other articles that you express yourselves willing to sell. If you could make such sales as you propose, you would make more money than any merchants have ever done in this country, and we, as merchants, would like to find purchasers on the same basis.

Your withdrawal from the territory is not a matter about which we feel any anxiety; so far as we are concerned, you are at liberty to stay or go, as you please. We have used no coercion or intimidation against the community to have them cease trading with any person or class, neither do we contemplate using such means even if we could do so, to accomplish such an end. What we are doing and intending to do, we are willing that you and all the world should know.

In the first place, we wish you to distinctly understand that we have not sought to ostracize any man or body of men because of their not being of our faith. The wealth that has been accumulated in this territory from the earliest years of our settlement by men who were not connected with us religiously, and the success which has attended their business operations prove this . . . There is a class, however, who are doing business in this territory, who are avowed enemies of this community. The disrapture and overthrow

<sup>1</sup>Deseret News, January 2, 1867.

of the community have been the objects which they have pertinaciously sought to accomplish. They have, therefore, used every energy and all the means at their command to put into circulation the foulest slanders about the old citizens . . . . While soliciting the patronage of the people and deriving their support from them, they have in a most shameless manner used the means thus obtained to destroy the very people whose favor they found it to their interest to court.

With the regularity of the seasons have their plots and schemes been formed; and we are warranted by facts in saying that, could the hearts blood of the people here be drawn and coined into the means necessary to bring their machinations to a successful issue, they would not scruple to use it. They have done all in their power to encourage violations of the law, retard administration of justice, to foster vice and vicious institutions, to oppose the unanimously expressed will of the people, to increase disorder, and change our city from a condition of peace and quietude to lawlessness and anarchy. They have donated liberally to sustain a corrupt and venal press, which has given publicity to the most atrocious libels respecting the old citizens. And have they not their emissaries in Washington to misrepresent and vilify the people of this territory? . . .

Have they not kept liquor and sold it in violation of law? . . . Have they not entered into secret combinations to resist the laws and thwart their healthy operations, to refuse to pay their taxes and give support to the schools required by law? What claims can such persons have upon the patronage of this community, and what community on earth would be so bespotted as to uphold and foster men whose aim it is to destroy them? Have we not the right to trade at whatever store we please, or does the constitution of the United States bind us to enter the stores of our deadliest enemies and purchase of them? If so we should like that provision pointed out to us.

It is to these men whom I have described, and to these alone, that I am opposed, and I am determined to use my influence to have the citizens here stop dealing with them and deal with honorable men. There are honorable men enough in the world with whom we can do business, without being reduced to the necessity of dealing with the class referred to. I have much more to say on this subject.

Great Salt Lake City, December 21, 1866 /s/ Brigham Young<sup>1</sup>

Many LDS writers generally conclude that the Gentile merchants had offered a clever trap, wherein if Brigham Young would accept their offer, they would not only go away financially well off and be able to start another lucrative business elsewhere, but they would have the power

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.



ful tool of being able to say that a Gentile merchant could not survive in the territory of Utah.<sup>1</sup> Had this advantage been gained, the enemies of the church would have had another log to throw on the growing fire designed to burn out the Mormons.

During the height of this commercial antagonism the Latter-day Saint church introduced the practice of cooperation. The plan, which came forth at the October Conference of 1868, was intended by the church leaders to accompany the boycott in protecting the members of the Church in commercial matters. Until the 1868 October Conference, there had been some distinction made between the "friendly" and "non-friendly" Gentile merchants. Brigham Young clearly set forth relationships with both in an address delivered in the tabernacle Sunday, December 23, 1866:

My counsel to the Latter-day Saints is to let all merchants alone who seek to do evil to this people. They who will do well, deal righteously and justly, will be one with us in our financial affairs.

I mean to hold to this subject of not supporting our enemies before the people, until I get the Saints to build up the kingdom of God unitedly . . . . and let our open and secret enemies alone.<sup>2</sup>

With the introduction of the cooperative system, the distinction between "friendly" and "non-friendly" Gentiles was erased and the policy of the church was to deal with none of them but only with the church-sponsored cooperative stores. The immediate effect was very severe to the Gentile merchants. It is reported that the sales of the Walker Brothers decreased in a brief space from \$60,000 to \$5,000 per month, while those of Auerbach Brothers fell off in like ratio.<sup>3</sup> These two firms, along with

<sup>1</sup> Whitney, op. cit., Vol. II, p.167.

<sup>2</sup> Deseret News, January 9, 1867.

<sup>3</sup> Hubert A. Bancroft, History of Utah, (San Francisco: The History Company, 1880), p. 654.

others, offered to dispose of their entire property to the directors of Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution for fifty cents on the dollar and leave the territory. This offer was refused.

Within a few years the lot of Gentile merchants improved considerably. This was due to a large influx of Gentile citizens to the territory largely as a result of the development of mining by Colonel Patrick E. Conner and others. The cooperative system itself in later years, waned and was unable to maintain the control it once held. The reasons for this will be discussed hereafter.

#### Why the Cooperative Movement Declined

A Changing Economic Scene. -- When cooperation was introduced in 1868, the conditions were ideal for its success. The territory was still isolated as the railroad did not come until the following year. The people were fairly well united in their feelings toward the Gentile merchants. This unity was more than just a venture for commercial advantage. Memories were still vivid of the blood, sweat, and tears, that all shared to establish the settlements. Later, as a new generation came along, the bonds were gradually broken by descendants who had not the tempering of a people driven by mobs and a missionary conversion to the Gospel. This is not to say that brotherhood and unity did not still exist among the members of the Church, because these have remained until this day. It is to say, however, that the Church was passing through a transitory stage that has seemed to characterize all dispensations of the Gospel upon the earth. During the first years of each period when the Church of Jesus Christ has been established upon the earth, there has been all manner of persecution for those who have affiliated themselves with the church. Towards the end of

the nineteenth century, this persecution of the Mormons began to dissipate and the Church became more and more accepted by the people of the world.

This period saw several economic transitions in Cache Valley. In the first place, money became more plentiful. In 1872, the Montgomery Ward Company established a mail order house in Logan. Two years later, on July 1, 1874, a United States Post Office selling money orders was established. These items combined, no doubt changed the merchandising picture a great deal. Especially in rural areas, the introduction of mail order buying was booming all over the country during this period.

Two Great Systems. -- During the late part of the "eighties," rugged individualism replaced the cooperative spirit in large measure. A bank was established in Logan in 1883 which made the transition of money much easier than it had been before. With the go-ahead signal from the church authorities to engage in private enterprise,<sup>1</sup> private enterprise mushroomed in competition to the dwindling cooperative concerns.

Two Fatal Provisions. -- It was inevitable that the church-sponsored cooperative should eventually disappear. The original plan called for having all Latter-day Saints purchase stock in the local retail cooperative store, and if possible, in the parent institution in Salt Lake. This was quite successfully adhered to in many Cache Valley communities. Usually the concern was organized under the usual corporate pattern which included two fatal provisions as far as cooperatives were concerned. The granting of voting power according to the number of shares held, and the other permitted the transfer of stock. All too often, the shareholders

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix E.

of a cooperative found reason to sell their stock. Gradually a few would accumulate stock until the organization no longer retained the identity of a true cooperative, but became a joint-stock company or passed to private ownership.

Too Many Cooperatives -- Another failing of the cooperative plan is pointed out by the ZCMI Advocate, the official publication of the parent institution in Salt Lake City:

The great drawback of narrowed cooperation, as of combined or personal stores, is that the primary object is to make money. It is not a percentage simply upon investment that is expected or desired; big profits and fortune is the ultimatus (sic); and the closer we come to cooperation, if this selfish spirit prevails, the greater the evil, for the assumption and presumption is, that such a store or organization possesses a claim upon the town or settlement, and if ill regulated it becomes a monopoly as grasping and avaricious as the most exacting could desire. Is it not because of this that the so-called coops have lost prestige and that in little towns where one jealously guarded store would have been ample for necessity, there are now from ten to twenty, dividing the interests, feelings, working against the progress of the body temporal in almost every sense?<sup>1</sup>

Manufacturing and Exporting. -- Some students of the cooperative system seem to feel that neglect in manufacturing interests contributed to the decline of the cooperative. The Historian Tullidge is one of these:

From the smallest to the Logan Branch, none can be said to fulfill their destiny. In their inception, one of the principle things to be accomplished -- the branching out into manufacturing-- has almost wholly failed. In this respect the movement has been retrograde, for stores that first did something in that line discontinued their efforts on the ground "it would not pay."

A pertinent question may here be properly asked: How many stores in the cutting of their branches of home industry, have prospered more since than before? Careful investigation would undoubtedly show that none of them have done so, while it would no doubt demonstrate that most if not all have lost by the change. The reasons are obvious. Means paid for labor producing home products continued in circulation instead of flowing to distant manufacturers . . . .

<sup>1</sup>  
ZCMI Advocate, March 15, 1886.

A change, a radical change must be made, and that promptly, or financial disaster must inevitably follow, for no people importing everything consumed and exporting nothing . . . can continue long to survive . . . . Manufacturing, stock-raising, and cooperative farming can be carried on in a manner to produce prosperity and contentment greater than heretofore known in the territory . . . .

Apostles, Seventies, High Priests, High Counselors, Elders and Bishops, think upon these things, and call upon your financiers having hearts and souls to develop with the means with which the Almighty has blessed them abundantly, resources and employment that will give the masses health, contentment, happiness, and plenty.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Tullidge, op. cit., p. 386.

## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A study of the cooperative movement in Cache Valley seems to follow the pattern of the church-wide cooperative movement. As we make the comparison we are led to the conclusion that in Cache Valley we find a small replica of the entire movement as a whole. Thus, in the role of a prototype, the cooperative institutions of Cache Valley provide an interesting study of the great plan of cooperation launched by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1868.

Prior to the year 1868, there were some experimental cooperative stores in existence. Cache Valley provided several of these, especially at the settlements of Richmond and Franklin. These early stores proved successful and provided a foundation for the establishment of at least one cooperative store in every community.

One purpose of the cooperatives was to give opportunity to the people to become their own merchants. This not only provided goods to them at reduced rates over those charged by their enemies, but it also drew the people closer together. This was done by giving everyone an opportunity to purchase stock and share in the ownership of the institution.

Additional developments furthered the cooperative cause. A Board of Trade was organized as a coordinating agency between the various cooperatives in the Valley. About this time, the Logan Cooperative Store

became a branch store of the parent ZCMI in Salt Lake City. This provided a convenient wholesale house to all the retail cooperative stores.

In 1874 the LDS Church introduced the United Order. This was designed to level off the economic status of the people, that there might be no poor. In the reorganization that followed, it was the typical procedure to integrate the cooperative store as a part of the United Order. Mills, dairies, farms, and factories were added in the interest of fostering "home industry." The cooperative store usually acted as distributing agent for the various manufacturing pursuits that a ward or community might engage in. During the latter part of the "seventies" and during the decade that followed, the United Order did very well, in general.

Gradually, however, the United Order lost ground and finally became non-existent. In most cases, the cooperative survived the United Order, though generally in a weakened condition. The turn of the century found nearly all of these on the fatality list. It is significant that the financial depression of 1893 came in the declining years of the cooperatives. Undoubtedly this affected the already failing economic system. By 1900 there were only two or three very feeble cooperative stores remaining in the Valley. These too, soon disappeared.

A great era of social and economic experimentation through cooperative effort was thus gone. In conclusion, we are moved to acquiesce with a statement of benediction upon this great movement that was uttered by Apostle John A. Widtsoe:

Cooperative enterprises have been fostered constantly and consistently by the Church, and in the majority of instances have been extremely successful. In fact, when the Church settled in Utah, it would have been impossible to accomplish the great

work before the pioneers, had they not practiced cooperation. To give every man full and proper opportunity is the spirit of the true church.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Widtsoe, op. cit., p. 147.



## APPENDIX A

### ZION'S COOPERATIVE MERCANTILE INSTITUTION

#### CONSIDERATIONS THAT LED THE CHURCH INTO COOPERATION

##### APOSTOLIC CIRCULAR 1875

Years ago it was perceived that we Latter-day Saints were open to the same dangers as those which beset the rest of the world. A condition of affairs existed among us which was favorable to the growth of riches in the hands of a few at the expense of many. A wealthy class is being formed in our midst, whose interests in the cause of time, were likely to be diverse from those of the community. The growth of such a class was dangerous to our union; and, of all the people, we stand most in need of union and to have our interests identical. Then it was that the Saints were counseled to enter into cooperation. In the absence of the necessary faith to enter upon a more perfect order revealed by the Lord unto the Church, this was felt to be the best means of drawing us together and making us one . . . . From the day that Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution was organized until this day, it has had a formidable and combined opposition to contend with, and the most base and unscrupulous methods have been adopted by those who have no interest for the welfare of the people to destroy its credit. Without alluding to the private assaults upon its credit which have been made by those who felt that it was in their way and who wished to ruin it, the perusal alone of the telegraphic dispatched and correspondence to newspapers which became public, would exhibit how unpar-

alleged in the history of mercantile enterprises, has been the hostility it has had to encounter. That it has lived, notwithstanding these bitter and malignant attacks upon it and its credit, is one of the most valuable proofs of the practical worth of cooperation to us as a people . . . .

It was not for the purpose alone, however, of making money, of declaring large dividends, that Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution was established. A higher objective than this prompted its organization. A union of interests was sought to be attained. At the time cooperation was entered upon the Latter-day Saints were acting in utter disregard of the principles of self-preservation. They were encouraging the growth of evils in their own midst which they condemned as the worst features of systems from which they had been gathered. Large profits were being concentrated in comparatively few hands, instead of being generally distributed among the people. As a consequence, the community was rapidly being divided into classes, and the hateful and unhappy distinctions which the possession and lack of wealth give rise to, were being painfully apparent. When the proposition to organize ZCMI was broached, it was hoped that the community at large would become its stockholders; for if a few individuals only were to own its stock, the advantages to the community would be limited. The people, therefore, were urged to take shares, and large numbers responded to the appeal. As we have shown, the business proved to be successful as its most sanguine friends anticipated. But the distribution of the profits among the community was not the only benefit conferred by the organization of cooperation among us. The public at large who did not buy at its stores derived profits in that old practice of dealing which prompted traders to increase the price of an article because of its scarcity,

was abandoned. ZCMI declined to be a party in making a 'corner upon any article of merchandise because of the limited supply in the market. From its organization until the present it has never advanced the price of an article because of its scarcity. Goods therefore in this territory have been sold at something like a fixed rate and reasonable profits since the institution has had an existence, and practices which are deemed legitimate in some parts of the trading world, and by which in this territory, the necessities of consumers were taken advantage of -- domestics, coffee, tobacco, and other articles at enormous advances over the original cost because of their scarcity here -- have not been indulged in. In this result the purchasers of goods who have been opposed to cooperation have shared equally with its patrons . . . . Cooperation has submitted in silence to a great many attacks. Its friends have been content to let it endure the ordeal. But now it is time to speak. The Latter-day Saints should understand that it is our duty to sustain cooperation and do all in our power to make it a success. . . . To purchase goods to the greatest advantage the institution should have the money with which to purchase off first hands. To effect this important result, as well as to unite in our mercantile affairs the institution should receive the cordial support of every Latter-day Saint. Everyone who can should take stock in it. By sustaining the cooperative institution, and taking stock in it, profits that would otherwise go to a few individuals, will be distributed among many hundreds. Stockholders should interest themselves in the business of the institution. It is their own and if suggestions are needed, or any corrections ought to be made, it is to their interest to make them.

The institution has opened a retail store here within a few weeks

one of the old fashioned kind, in which everything required by the public is sold. This should receive the patronage of all well-wishers of the cooperation. In the settlements also the local cooperative stores should have the cordial support of the Latter-day Saints. Does not all our history impress upon us the great truth that in unity is strength? Without it what power would the Latter-day Saints have? But it is not in doctrines alone that we should be united, but in practice and especially in our business affairs.

Your brethren,

/s/ Brigham Young  
George A. Smith  
Daniel H. Wells  
John Taylor  
Wilford Woodruff  
Orson Hyde  
Orson Pratt  
Charles C. Rich  
Lorenzo Snow  
Erastus Snow  
Franklin D. Richards  
George Q. Cannon  
Brigham Young Jr.  
Albert Carrington

## APPENDIX B

### CONSTITUTION

"Holiness to the Lord!" Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution

Sec. 1.- This association shall be known by the name and style of the Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution.

Sec. 2. - The objects of this institution are to establish and carry on in Logan the business of general merchandising and manufacturing.

Sec. 3. - The capital stock of this Institution shall be fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000) and may be increased at the pleasure of the shareholders and be divided into shares of ten dollars (\$10) each.

Sec. 4. - The officers of this Institution shall consist of a President, Vice President, Board of Directors, Secretary and Treasurer, each of whom shall be a Stockholder in this Institution.

Sec. 5. - The Board of Directors shall consist of not less than five (5) nor more than nine (9) persons including the President and Vice President who shall be "ex-officio" members of the board.

Sec. 6. - It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all meetings of the Institution and of the Board, to sign all documents, as are or may be, prescribed by the Constitution and By-laws except certificates of dividends to stockholders. In case of absence or disability of the President, the Vice President shall perform the duties of the President; and in all meetings of the stockholders the President shall have the power to adjourn the meetings from time to time to accomplish the transaction

of the business.

Sec. 7. - It shall be the duty of the Board to enact by-laws for the general management and direction of the business of this Institution and to procure suitable places for the transaction of the business, by lease, purchase or construction; also for as may be necessary, to employ and appoint committees, delegates, agents, attorneys and clerks to assist in carrying on the business and promoting the welfare of the Institution and to discharge the same at their pleasure.

Sec. 8. - They shall also have full power to bargain, sell, convey, and deliver under seal or otherwise, any and all species of property belonging to this Institution which may not be needed for the business thereof on such terms and conditions as they may deem for the best interests of the same.

Sec. 9. - It shall be the further duty of the Directors to furnish semi-annual statements of the business and balance sheets of the books for the inspection of the shareholders; the first to be furnished on the 25th of October 1869 and semi-annually thereafter: Said statements and balance sheets shall remain open in the office of the Secretary for not less than thirty days.

Sec. 10. - There shall also be furnished by the Directors, a semi-annual statement in detail of the business of the Institution to be read before the general meeting of the stockholders to be held at 2 p.m. on the 25th day of October and April in each year at such places as the Directors may designate; also declaration of dividend the first semi-annual meeting to be held on 25th day of October 1869: provided that if any such 25th day shall fall on Sunday said reports shall be furnished and meeting

held on the day preceding.

Sec. 11 - The Directors shall have further power to call special general meetings at such further times and places as in their judgment may be required reasonable notice being given thereof.

Sec. 12 - The Board of Directors shall have power by a two-thirds vote of their number to remove Director or other officer from his office for conduct prejudicial to the interest of the Institution; if the officer sought to be removed be a Director he shall not vote on any matter connected with such removal.

Sec. 13 - All business brought before the Board for consideration shall be determined by a majority of the whole number, each member being entitled to one vote and one only, irrespective of the shares held by said Director.

Sec. 14 - The Directors shall convene for the transaction of the business of the Institution at the call of the President and as they shall adjourn from time to time.

Sec. 15 - All officers of the Institution shall be elected by a majority of votes given at the general meeting held on the 25th day of October in each year provided that, whenever a vacancy shall occur from any cause the Board may fill such vacancy by appointment until the next general meeting; all officers shall hold their office until their successors are elected and qualified.

Sec. 16 - In all matters transacted in general meetings each stockholder shall have one vote and one only for each and every share owned by him.

Sec. 17 - The Secretary shall record the minutes of all meetings

and conduct all correspondence. Under the direction of the Board he shall hold the common seal and attend to all other duties prescribed by this Constitution and of the By-Laws.

Sec. 18 - The Treasurer shall have charge of all funds belonging to the Institution and shall employ or disburse the same as required by the provisions of the constitution and shall furnish statements of recount when required by the Board.

Sec. 19 - The funds of the Institution shall be subject to appropriation by the Board only and disbursed by the Treasurer on order signed by the President and Vice President and counter-signed by the Secretary.

Sec. 20 - No person or persons shall be eligible for membership except they be of good moral character and have paid their tithing accordingly, with the rules of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Sec. 21 - The Directors of this Institution shall tithe its net profits prior to any declaration of dividend, according to the rules of the Church mentioned in the preceding section.

Sec. 22 - The President, Vice President, Board of Directors, Secretary and Treasurer before entering upon the duties of their several offices shall take oath or affirmation for the faithful performance of all duties required by this Constitution.

Sec. 23 - The Treasurer shall give bonds with approved securities to this Institution in such sums as may be deemed necessary by the Board subject to increase as circumstances may render advisable.

Sec. 24 - The Secretary and Treasurer shall be the only paid officers of this Institution and their remuneration shall be as determined by the Board of Directors.



Sec. 25 - All certificates of Stock issued by this Institution shall be for one share or multiple thereof. They shall be signed by the president or Vice President and Secretary under the common seal; they shall be registered in the office of the Secretary and shall be deemed personal property; and as such subject to sale and transfer; the form of certificate registration and mode of transfer shall be prescribed by the Board.

Sec. 26 - All dividends shall be paid if required within thirty days after the same shall have been declared.

Sec. 27 - The private property of Shareholders shall not be held subject to the liabilities of the Institution.

Sec. 28 - Any shareholder wishing to withdraw his investment from this Institution after the expiration of two years from the date of his certificate must present a written notice to that effect to the Board of directors three months previous to the day appointed for drawing up the semi-annual balance sheet when he may receive the value of his share or shares in cash or merchandise at wholesale prices at the option of the Board.

Sec. 29 - This Constitution may be amended or altered at any general meeting of the shareholders by a two-thirds vote of the shares represented provided that thirty days notice shall have been given in some public newspaper published in this Territory of such contemplated amendment or alteration.

APPENDIX C

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION OF THE RICHMOND COOPERATIVE MERCANTILE INSTITUTION

Article I: The name of this corporation shall be the Richmond Cooperative Mercantile Institution.

Article II: This corporation shall continue in existence for a period of twenty (20) years.

Article III: The objects of this corporation are: The establishment of manufacturing, commercial and other industrial pursuits, and for any other rightful objects consistent with the constitution of the United States and the laws of the territory. And for these purposes, shall have the right and power to receive, take and hold, either by gift, purchase, or otherwise, the right, title, interest, and possession of real or personal property and may bargain, sell, alienate the same, and thereby pass such title as it may hold therein.

Article IV: The general place of business of this corporation shall be at Richmond City, Cache County, and Territory of Utah, with the right, privilege and power to establish one or more branches of business in each or any of the counties of the territory.

Article V: The capital stock of this corporation shall be thirty thousand dollars (\$30,000) which shall be divided into six thousand (\$6,000) shares of five dollars (\$5.00) each.

Article VI: The officers of this corporation shall consist of a Board of five Directors. A secretary, a president, and a treasurer,

whose qualifications shall consist of being stockholders in said corporation and whose term of office shall be one year or until their successors shall be elected and qualified.

Article VII: The stockholders of the cooperative Mercantile Institution of Richmond shall hold here after their annual meeting commencing on the second Monday in January, 1883, for the purpose of electing five directors to serve for the ensuing year, notice of which shall be given as prescribed in the By-laws. The director when so elected, shall be notified of the fact by the secretary of the meeting at which such election is made and thereupon they shall within twenty-days thereafter meet and organize as a board and shall elect from their number a president and a vice president, and from the stockholders, a secretary and treasurer.

Article VIII: All elections of the stock holders shall be by ballot and each share shall be entitled to one vote unless at the meeting at which the election is to be made it is decided by a majority of stock represented and entitled to vote, to make the election viva-voce. The person receiving the majority of votes cast shall be deemed and declared duly elected.

Article IX: The board of directors shall have the power to make all by-laws for the management of the property of the company, the regulation of its affairs and transfer of its stock, for prescribing the duties of its officers, agents, and employees and such other by-laws, rules, and regulations as may be necessary for fully carrying out the objects of this corporation. They shall have the power to appoint from the power of the said board or from the stockholders an executive committee not to

exceed three in number whose part in the management of the affairs of the corporation shall be as provided by the by-laws and shall also have the power to appoint or provide for the appointment of all appraisers of property, agents, assistants, and employees whose services may be necessary. And no contract shall be binding on this corporation except when made by the board or its duly authorized agents.

Article X: Any officers of this corporation may be removed for conduct prejudicial to the interests of the same by a two-thirds vote of the directors.

Article XI: Any vacancy occurring in the board of directors, or other officers of the corporation may be filled by the board of directors until the next general election.

Article XII: Any officer of this corporation may resign his office by giving the Board of Directors thirty (30) days notice in writing before the same is to take effect, but the same may be accepted on shorter notice.

Article XIII: The individual or private property of the stockholders shall not be liable for the debts or obligations of the company.

Article XIV: The subscribers hereto have each fully paid fifteen (15) percent of the capital stock subscribed by transferring, paying and conveying to said corporation, the following real and personal property, the value of which has been ascertained by competent parties duly appointed for that purpose.

Article XV: The directors shall have the right and power to declare dividends on said stock whenever in their judgment there are funds for that purpose due and payable; but when so declared the same may be

paid to the stockholders in proportion as they may be entitled or credited to them in the books of the company and stock issued to them in the discretion of the directors.

Article XVI: The names . . . and amount invested by each subscriber hereto are as follows:

J. C. Whittle	\$501.36
M. F. Bell	107.40
W. K. Burham	103.97
Thos. Griffin	204.60
C. H. Monson	596.96
Marie Monson	45.64
Ellen Monson	45.64
Jos. Monson	66.08
Anne Monson	69.06
Hans Monson	69.06
Ela Monson	45.64
Parley Monson	15.92
Charles Monson	15.92
Alma U. Hobson	1412.92
William Thompson	108.22
W. C. Burnham	29.56
J. L. Burnham	25.22
A. F. Burnham	27.49
Warren K. Burnham	27.49
Gilbert Bright	94.95
William L. Skidmore	50.00

William Harria	171.93
S. Pond pr. B. Pond	896.15
E. Smith	100.00
T. H. Merrill	116.57
Christian Hyer	111.39
J. P. Johnson	28.90
Sarah Ann Merrill	139.43
H. Bullen	86.73
Crazen Christensen	122.86
M. W. Merrill	785.69
Maria L. Merrill	20.23
H. K. Merrill	58.18
Chas. E. Merrill	107.05
M. W. Merill Jr.	116.57

Copied from a certified copy of the Articles of Association of the Richmond Cooperative Mercantile Institution.

APPENDIX D

ORIGINAL ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED ORDER OF ZION

Organized May 9, 1874, at Salt Lake City, Utah. The following officers were presented at a general conference session, a continuation of the April annual conference, which after the opening meeting, April 6, 1874, had been adjourned for one month:

President: Brigham Young  
First Vice President: George A. Smith  
Second Vice President: Daniel H. Wells  
Asst. Vice Presidents: Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Charles C. Rich, Lorenzo Snow, Erastus Snow, Franklin D. Richards, George Q. Cannon, Brigham Young Jr., Joseph F. Smith, Albert Carrington

Secretary: David Carrington

Assistant Secretaries: George Goddard, David O. Calder, Paul A. Schettler, James Jack, John T. Caine

General Bookkeeper: Thomas Ellerbeck

Treasurer: George A. Smith

Assistant Treasurer: Edward Hunter

Board of Directors: Horace S. Eldredge, John Sharp, Feramorz Little, Moses Thatcher, John Van Cott, James P. Freeze, Henry Dinwoody, Thomas Taylor, Elijah F. Sheets

APPENDIX E

STATEMENTS BY PRESIDENT JOHN TAYLOR

OFFICIALLY MARKING THE END OF THE COOPERATIVE ERA THAT BEGAN IN 1868

Cooperation has been talked about considerably from time to time as being a stepping stone to something that would yet be more fully developed among the people of God, namely the United Order. We had no example of the United Order strictly in accordance with the word of God on the subject. Our cooperation was simply an operation to unite us together in secular affairs, tending to make us one in spiritual things. A feeling had been manifested by some of our brethren to branch out in the mercantile business of their own account, and his (Pres. Taylor's) idea as to that was if the people would be governed by proper principles, laying aside covetousness and eschewing chicanery and fraud, dealing honestly and conscientiously with others as they would like others to deal with them, that there would be no objection on our part for our brethren to do these things; that it certainly was much better for them to embark on such enterprises than our enemies. . . .

Under existing circumstances it had been thought best to throw open the field of trade, under proper restrictions, but that we should do all we could to confine it as much as possible to the hands of our own people . . . . All should be subject to the principle of cooperation and not recede a particle from it; but we should put our own business people in the place of outsiders and sustain them inasmuch as they sustain the



principle of cooperation themselves by acting honorably in their dealing . . . . There was no going back on the principles of cooperation. It was not standing still, but moving on, and it would continue to move on.

Our relations with the present world and our own imperfections prevent the establishment of this system at the present time, therefore, as was stated by Joseph in an early day, it cannot yet be carried out; but cooperation and the United Order are a step in the right direction and are leading our brethren to reflect upon the necessity of union as one of the fundamental principles of success in temporal things as well as in spiritual things and indeed, as one of the essentials pertaining to permanent prosperity, for the Lord hath said, "If ye are not one, ye are not mine."

(Epistle issued in 1882. LDS Pamphlets, Vol. 3:621-628.)

## APPENDIX F

### STATEMENTS BY PRESIDENT JOHN TAYLOR, WHO BY IMPLICATION

#### DISAVOWS CHURCH RESPONSIBILITY FOR SOCIAL EXPERIMENTS TRIED OR UNDERWAY

I wish to make a few remarks in relation to what we term the United Order. We are united today with God and with the Holy Priesthood that existed before us . . . they in their different spheres and callings are operating with us and we with them and the whole thing is a grand cooperative system, and everything we do here should be with the view of uniting our earthly interests, that we may be one in things temporal and one in things spiritual, one on earth and one with those in the heavens, helping with our united efforts to roll on the Kingdom of God according to his purpose and not to our erratic notions.

(Journal of Discourses 19:129)

In many places cooperation and the United Order have been started in various forms. In some they have succeeded very well and in other places people have acted very foolishly and covetously, seeking their own personal gain, individual interests under the pretense of serving God and carrying out his designs. Others have been visionary and have undertaken things which were impractical while others have not acted in good faith at all. There has been every kind of feeling among us as a people that is possible to exist anywhere, and I have thought sometimes in regard to our cooperative institutions that some of those who are engaged in them are as much opposed to cooperation and the United Order as any class of people we have.

(Journal of Discourses 21:54)

These remarks (J. D. 21:54) were given by President Taylor at a conference at Ogden, Utah, September 21, 1878; later in the address he seems to clearly define his position on the United Order as instituted by President Brigham Young by saying that cooperation must not be abandoned to the United Order.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATIVE ENTERPRISES  
IN CACHE VALLEY 1865 - 1900

An Abstract of  
A Thesis  
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Master of Science

Joseph Carl Felix

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## ABSTRACT

As one studies the history of Cache Valley, he becomes increasingly aware of the presence of church-sponsored cooperative stores, farms, and mills, in every community in the valley. True, there are only scattered remains of a once rather extensive movement, but there is enough evidence to cause one to wonder what influence the cooperative enterprises had in the settlement of Cache Valley. This study has been made to determine the extent of this contribution and to preserve as much information as possible concerning a very important phase of the settlement days in Cache Valley.

This study includes only the period from 1865 to 1900. These are the important years of church-sponsored cooperative institutions in Cache Valley. The general plan of cooperation was introduced formally in the October Conference of 1868. There were a few cooperative stores in operation prior to this time, however. The movement grew to magnanimous proportions before dwindling to a mere trickle by 1900. There were only a few concerns that extended beyond this date.

Data for this study has been obtained from many sources. Newspapers, journals, and other manuscripts have been the most valuable sources. Other important sources have included personal interviews, secondary sources, and company records.

Organization of Material. -- The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has maintained as a basic principle from its beginning, the

concept of cooperation in the spiritual and temporal phases of life.

Cooperation has taken form in a number of interesting social experiments that have achieved varying degrees of success. In Utah, the cooperative plan and the United Order were the most successful of those tried before the turn of the century. These two might be considered as having been very successful in Cache Valley. They provide the basis for this study.

The contents of this study are presented in the following order:

- (1) Early Mormon cooperative efforts. This includes a brief review of such experiments as the Law of Consecration, tithing, resource laws, the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, and the various economic "missions."
  - (2) Early Utah cooperatives, the forerunners of the plan of 1868.
  - (3) The launching of the Cooperative Plan of 1868, and its spread through the Utah Territory.
  - (4) A general survey of the early forms of cooperative efforts in Cache Valley.
  - (5) Cooperative merchandising in Cache Valley, the heart of the System.
  - (6) The Cache Valley Board of Trade which was a coordinating agency in the commerce of Cache Valley.
  - (7) Cooperative Manufacturing and the United Order. Introduced in 1874, the United Order integrated with the cooperatives in an expansion program that included extensive manufacturing and "home industry."
  - (8) The history of each individual cooperative institution in the Valley. Organization, operation, and business policies followed a similar pattern in each of the cooperative stores.
  - (9) History of the United Order Enterprises in Cache Valley. The ecclesiastical organization of the United Order was established in all communities. Only part of the settlements established manufacturing as a part of the "Order." The cooperative stores became a part of the United Order and served as an outlet for the products manufactured.
- (1) The boycott

against the Gentile merchants. In conjunction with the cooperative movement, the church counseled its members to cease trading with the "enemy" Gentile merchants who were charging high prices, and in other ways doing injustices to their LDS patrons. The church introduced the boycott to protect its members from unscrupulous merchandising practices. (11) The Decline of the Cooperative Movement. Lack of loyalty, selfishness, and poor organization by the stockholders and the company officers, contributed to the individual downfall of the several cooperatives. Outside factors also took their toll in the form of the anti-polygamy movement, a depression, completion of the railroad, and economic transition stages.

Justification. -- Utah and its predominantly Latter-day Saint populace is now occupied by third and fourth generation descendants of the original pioneer settlers that changed a barren wasteland into a habitable and pleasant place to live. With the coming of each new generation, the relics, manuscripts, and items of culture that provide us with a record of the period become scarcer. The author feels that the study made concerning a most important phase of the economic well-being of the original settlers has been significant. The two phases of life have been referred to as the "spiritual" and the "temporal" sides of life. Certainly these were the two most important considerations of pioneer life. The necessities of life had to be provided, and to the Latter-day Saint, the spiritual side of life assured him peace of mind here, and hope for the life to come. All other activities were subservient to these two. In reality, there is a very thin line between them, hence the importance of gaining an appreciation for this great contributing factor to the success of both -- cooperation.