BEEHIVE HISTORY 27



power & disparity

POWER & DISPARITY

What happens when groups that are unequal in cultural power and economic standing interact? Those who are more powerful might stereotype, exploit, or commit acts of violence. Or perhaps they might respond with respect and compassion. On the other hand, those with less power might react with fear or resistance. They might assert (and share) their own identity. Or they might seek to quickly assimilate into the dominant culture.

Often, however, disparate groups simply avoid interaction as much as possible, segregating physically or socially into separate communities. Throughout Utah's settled history, many groups —native peoples and Euro-Americans, Mormons and non-Mormons, new immigrants and established residents, the wealthy and the poor, corporate heads and employees, Republicans and Democrats—have at times used this strategy. Those with more power feel deserving of and comfortable in their privileged status, and those with less power feel unfairly shut out. From their separate, safe enclaves, each group may find it easy to stereotype and criticize the other.

Although this issue of *Beehive History* cannot address all the complexities of disparity, it does raise questions. What kinds of economic and power disparities exist? How do groups separate themselves? What is it like to be in one group or another? How do people maintain power, and how do they cope with discrimination? How do they help or might they help the disadvantaged? Finally, can the divisive behaviors between disparate groups ever be eliminated?

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BURIED STRUGGLES

BY KRISTEN ROGERS

In 1893 cowboy-"archaeologist" Richard Wetherill found in an alcove in southeastern Utah the bones of ninety persons. They had not died peacefully. Heads had been bludgeoned. Bodies had been stabbed. Scalps had been taken. A later study of some of these skeletons found in "Cave 7" showed that in around A.D. 400, forty adult males, fifteen adult females, and nine young people had been slaughtered—either massacred or killed in a violent battle.

Why did it happen? We can only guess. Maybe one group attacked another for its food supply or possessions. Or maybe vengeance was involved, or ritual, or the desire for more territory. Maybe violence between groups was simply a part of the culture.

Whatever the reason, this was clearly a power struggle. One group exercised power over another and came out on top. The losers ended up beneath the sand of the alcove.

It may be easy for us today, through ignorance or ethnocentrism, to dismiss these prehistoric people as uncivilized and brutal. But to do that would be to discount our own power struggles. There is no society on earth that is not divided into ranks of the more powerful and less powerful. In almost every political division and organization, some people work to get on top and in the process step on those below them. In Utah, no less than in the Balkans, people divide into groups. Very often, members of one group either subtly or overtly look down on the others.

Whatever drove the Anasazi of A.D. 400 to violence, those factors still exist today: tribalism, greed, vengeance, scarcity, and the tendency to treat others as mere objects. Thus, oppression and exploitation are not characteristics only of the distant past. As both history and current events show, when the circumstances are right, subtle enmity can break into violence at any time.

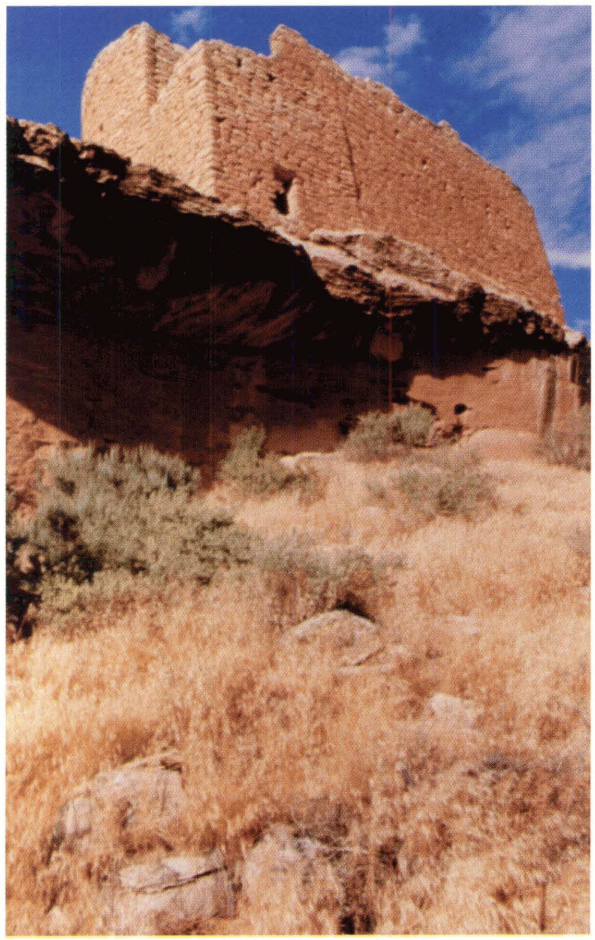
The violence within the Anasazi culture is becoming increasingly understood through the archaeological record. One aspect of recent scholarship that many find dismaying is the suggestion that cannibalism was at times part of that violence. When archaeologist Christy Turner published *Man Corn*, a book that presents evidence of cannibalism in the Southwest, many, including fellow archaeologists and Pueblo Indians, indignantly rejected his conclusions. But when other researchers found human muscle protein in a coprolite—a piece of dried human dung—the reality of cannibalism could not be dismissed so easily.

Ironically, these meals of human flesh took place during a time that was mostly free from war. Between A.D. 0 and 900, groups had battled from time to time. But then, beginning in 900, the climate improved, food became more abundant, and the fighting virtually stopped. The remarkable "Chaco phenomenon," centered at Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, emerged. During this period the Anasazi built large cities, and for the first and only time in the prehistoric Southwest, there began to be a dichotomy in living structures. "Great houses" with several stories, many rooms, and distinctive masonry rose above more common dwellings. Those who inhabited the impres-

sive buildings also collected luxury items such as macaws and copper bells from Mexico, carved pendants, flutes, and shells from the oceans.

Nearby stood small and simply built farmsteads and housing clusters. The bones of those who lived in these dwellings show that they were less well nourished than those in the great houses, and the children who lived here died at a rate three times that of the children of the great houses. The emerging archaeological record suggests to many scholars (though not to all) that Chaco was a tiered, economically complex society. It appears as though a select few may have benefited from the labors of farmers and workers who not only built elaborate structures and large kivas but also an extensive system of roads.

With Chaco Canyon at its heart, this culture covered a wide area. Arizona, Utah, and Colorado all had great-house communities. These may have been outliers of a centrally organized system, or they may have been copies of the society of Chaco Canyon. For instance, the great house at Bluff, Utah, which was recently excavated by University of Colorado professor Cathy Cameron, does not appear to have been directly connected to Chaco; the masonry and pottery in Bluff differ from that used in the canyon. But whether the outlying great houses were part of the Chaco polity or not, those who lived in the local great houses may have been using the symbols of the Chaco system to exert social and political control.



WILLIAM B. SMART

During the Chaco period, from 900 to 1150 A.D., warfare was rare. But cannibalism was not. In Utah, eight sites of probable cannibalism have been identified. One of these is on Mustang Mesa, northeast of Blanding. There, the bones of two infants, five children, four adolescents, and nine adults show that a butchering operation occurred in the late 1000s. Coarse, heavy cuts around the joints indicate dismemberment. Vertebrae were crushed and broken. Some bones were charred.

The bones suggest a wrenching, almost unimaginable picture. Again, why did it happen?

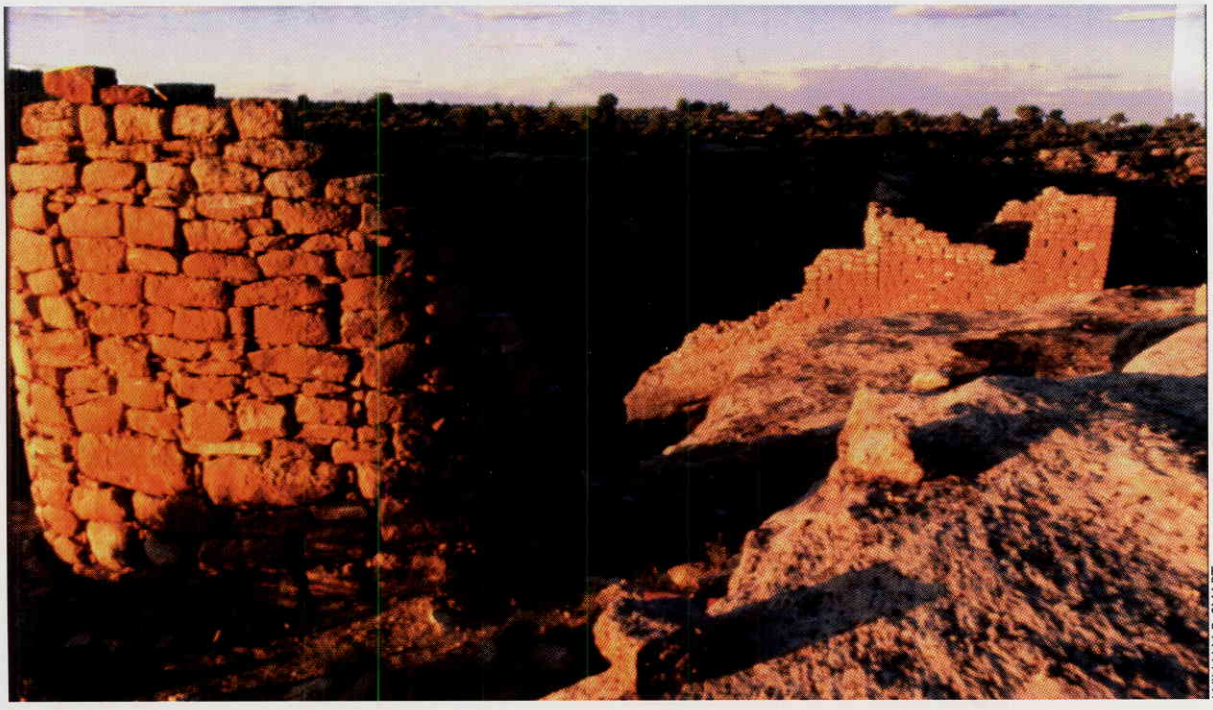
Archaeologist Steven LeBlanc has proposed some possible explanations. His hypotheses are as yet untested, but they are interesting. He suggests that Chaco was a society of the powerful exploiting the weak. As he points out, a community of social equals would not kill, mangle, and cannibalize members of its own group. Although some have suggested that the Anasazi used violence as part of ritual, LeBlanc believes this is unlikely; he says that anthropologists have never come across a group that killed and mistreated the bodies of a large number of their own community.

LeBlanc suggests this possible scenario: In the great houses lived an elite class of people who prospered through the labors of the "common" people. But if the farmers and workers resisted their demands, the great house rulers used intimidation to force obedience. Perhaps they kept forces of trained thugs to put down rebellions and conquer new communities. In other words, the powerful used terrorism to get what they wanted.

Christy Turner has his own hypothesis, also untested, that such a system of social control came from central Mexico, where cannibalism was common. Invaders from the Toltec culture, he says, may have moved into the Southwest, taken over, and controlled the Anasazi through terror for 200 years.

If this was terrorism, the bones imply that it must have been very, very effective.

It is important to recognize, however, that others hypothesize different scenarios. Colin Renfrew for instance, suggests that Chaco Canyon was not the "Rome" of its time but



WILLIAM B. SMART

instead more like "Mecca," a religious center built and maintained through devotion. This does not rule out the possibility, of course, that religious leaders gained power and other advantages from people's devotion.

The Chaco system collapsed by A.D. 1150. The climate had been worsening, and violent conflicts had increased. Then during the 1200s the climate seriously deteriorated, food resources declined sharply, and warfare apparently became "virulent." LeBlanc says that during this period warfare was so widespread that "virtually everyone had to live in some type of fortress." Again, groups competed for resources against others, struggling for power and survival.

To protect themselves and their resources the Anasazi moved to defensive sites such as cliff alcoves and the edges of steep mesas. They gathered in large communities and fortified them, painted and pecked war motifs in their rock art, and perfected their weaponry. In Utah, skeletons of males found on Alkali Ridge, southeast of the Abajo Mountains, indicate that over time perhaps one-fifth of the community's males died violently during this period. Around the entire region, the archaeological record indicates widespread aggression and fear.

By 1300 the Anasazi had abandoned the Utah area completely, and much of the remaining population of the Colorado Plateau had gathered in 120 large defensive pueblos. This was a dramatic cultural change: from scattered small farming communities to fortresses.

What happened to the great house inhabitants of the Chaco culture? Archaeologist David Stuart points out that when the rainfall first decreased, the Chacoans kept building more roads, more great houses, and more kivas, almost as if they were trying to "pump up the economy." Or perhaps they were trying to please the gods. But the building projects did not produce more food, and when more serious drought hit, everyone had to abandon both the physical and social structures they had clung to. Survival became the paramount goal.

Eventually, the climate moderated, and the Anasazi restructured their culture into the pueblo societies that the Spanish conquistadors found when they entered the Southwest. Of course, what happened next between the Europeans and the Pueblo Indians was yet another power struggle.

But that is another story—as is what happened after that, and after that, to this very day.

PHOTOS: ruins at Cottonwood Canyon (page 3) and Hovenweep (page 4 and above).

Kristen Rogers is the editor of Beehive History

Sources: Cathy Cameron, telephone conversation with author, February 14, 2001. Julie Cart, "A Theory of Anasazi Savagery," *Los Angeles Times*, June 11, 1999. Bill Davis, telephone conversation with author, February 13, 2001. Steven A. LeBlanc, *Prehistoric Warfare in the American Southwest.* Colin Renfrew, "Production and Consumption in a Sacred Economy," *American Antiquity* 66 (January 2001). David E. Stewart, *Anasazi America: Seventeen Centuries on the Road from Center Place.* Christy Turner, *Man Corn: Cannibalism and Violence in the Prehistoric American Southwest.*



We had to help ourselves

A case of who is on the bottom

by Philip F. Notarianni

Early Asian, southern and eastern European, African American, and Mexican immigrants who ventured into Utah to work in the mines, mills, and smelters and on railroads often faced a hostile social environment. As "minorities," they entered the scene on the lower rungs of the socio-economic ladder. Because their physical appearances, languages, and customs differed from those who occupied the "dominant" roles in Utah, they faced issues of poverty, disparity, and inequality. But these resilient peoples relied on family, converged in ethnic neighborhoods, formed fraternal and social organizations to provide self-help, and journeyed toward survival. A look at the idea of dominant and minority status among various cultural groups will shed light on the role of inequality in shaping individual and group behavior in Utah.

Although many of the earliest immigrants had come to Utah as converts to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, by the turn of the twentieth century the church had become "an almost homogenous institution." As noted by ethnic historian Helen Papanikolas, "The national origins, customs, and folklore of immigrant converts were fast vanishing." Those immigrants who began arriving at the end of the nineteenth century in response to Utah's rapid industrialization—Italians, Greeks, Yugoslavs, Japanese, Mexicans, and more—found themselves, along with the Chinese and African Americans, in a minority situation.

Visible and cultural traits distinguished different groups. Quickly, peoples were labeled "white" and other. A Price newspaper wrote that the Chinese railroad workers had been replaced by "white men and Italians." Established residents watched the immigrants arriving by train and told each other, "If God had dipped them in once more, they'd have come out black." The stereotyping went both ways, however. The folklore of the Serbs attributed the power of evil-eye bewitchment to blue eyes—and Serbian immigrants had to get used to seeing a lot of blue eyes in Utah. "The Cretan Greeks, for whom the combination of blue eyes and red hair spoke of the devil, saw such people walking around [in Utah] with no shame at all...."

The majority population made generalizations about those with different skin colors. At the news of the transfer of a unit of African American soldiers to Fort Douglas in 1896, the *Salt Lake Tribune* editorialized its concern:

PHOTOS: Above, a Greek American Progressive Association picnic in Utah, c. 1921. Opposite, Columbus Day 1929 celebrated by the Federazione Columbiana, Lodge no. 68, Bingham Canyon, and first-place cup given to the "Italian Columbus Society" for its winning float, "First Pioneer in America: Columbus," in the July 24, 1931, parade.

They [the Sixteenth Regiment] are to be substituted by a colored regiment, and while the colored man is just as good as the white man; while he ought to have every privilege that the white man has, there is no occasion on earth to try to force a change in conditions which will involve a strong revulsion in the minds of the best people in the city.

The resident portion of Salt Lake is on the way between the main business part of the city and Fort Douglas. When our theaters are running the best people of the city, in crowds, have to take street-cars to go home at night. They do not want to be brought in direct contact with drunken colored soldiers on the way from the city to Fort Douglas. By that we do not mean to say the colored men will drink any more than the white men do, but a drunken white soldier naturally shrinks from getting into the car with ladies and gentlemen, whereas the colored soldier, under the same conditions, will be sure to want to assert himself.

The writer was judging the entire group, sight unseen, as different from—and inferior to—their Anglo counterparts.

Sixty years later, the same kind of prejudice was still common in Utah. Reverend France Davis, writing of a notorious Salt Lake City restaurant, noted, "The stereotypes of the grinning Darky, obsequious Mammy, and Uncle Tom promoted by this establishment, and even its very name—Coon Chicken Inn—were for many African Americans the ultimate insult."

Prejudice belittles entire groups of people, despising not only skin color but cultural values as well. Prejudice is based on distorted perceptions and stereotypes that tend to unfavorably emphasize traits that differ from those valued by the dominant group. A master's thesis at the University of Utah written in 1915 savaged the culture of Greeks and Italians, calling them

perhaps the most careless and shiftless people found.... Comfort to them is unknown unless it is in the form of a smoke by the fire or a drink. Not only is this true of the hundreds of men who rent a house for themselves...but the families as well.... The standard of living among [Italians] is lower than of any other nationality.

A woman who lived in the coal-mining town of Sunnyside complained of the cultural practices of her Southern European neighbors in 1915:

They hollowed out one side of the foundation of their house and installed several hogs. The smell was awful.... They butchered them on the kitchen floor, and when the lady of the house decided to clean the entrails to stuff them with sausage, she tied one end of them securely to the faucet of the only water hydrant in the neighborhood and turned on the water. The odors from this and the entire family nearly drove the Americans out of the neighborhood.

Labeled as foreigners, aliens, colored, or nonbelievers, minority groups often clustered in separate neighborhoods. These distinct communities functioned primarily as a means of self-preservation or a way of avoiding the structure of the dominant group. "Little Italys" and "Finn," "Greek," "Jap," "China," and "Bohunk" towns flourished in various communities, especially in mining towns. Mexican immigrants founded *colonias* in the areas they settled. Sixty Spanish-speaking families established a colonia at Garland in 1918 and, without a Catholic church or consul nearby, cooperated in creating celebrations and building a schoolhouse. Other sugar beet areas of Utah, such as Delta and Spanish Fork, also housed small colonias.



But separation reinforced the patterns of dominance. When groups lived in clusters, the dominant group could more easily identify and condemn cultural values and thus justify discriminatory practices. For instance, Chinatowns provided Chinese with economic opportunities, family relations and culture. But in Park City, the "China Bridge," built in about 1886, spanned the city's Chinese section, keeping residents of Rossie Hill from



having to walk through that "undesirable" section on their way to Main Street. Several other examples illustrate the point:

[In Silver City, Tintic Mining District], Turks [Greeks] were housed in large rooming and boarding houses near the smelter and much to themselves [sic] and a good thing because these people were considered very dangerous and most of them carried long knives in the wide sash around their waist and we kids were admonished to stay away from that part of town or we would be butchered and eaten.



[In Sunnyside] I was raised with a whole hearted contempt for Greeks, Italians, and other southern Europeans who lived there.... Intermarriage with foreigners was considered almost as bad as death. If they had become Americanized it was not so bad.

Their [South Slavs'] presence in a mining town, or any other town for that matter, adds nothing to its dignity, its wealth or its importance.... For the first time in the history of Eureka the "bohunks" have got a foothold here, over one hundred of them being at work at present time. What does it mean? Where is it going to end?

In other cases, segregation was enforced. Betty Moore of Ogden recalled, "We [African Americans] couldn't sit where we wanted in movie theaters. My dad was a tax payer, but we couldn't take advantage of municipal facilities." Salt Lake City's Florence Lawrence remembered that "We would go to Salt Air—lots of prejudice, couldn't go swimming or into the pavilions.... The barrier hadn't been broken down and you just weren't allowed to go [to] those places."

For immigrants and minority groups, the threat or use of force loomed as a key factor in the continuation of minority status. When workers sought to better their lives through labor unions, those who had economic and political power often responded with force. National Guard troops were dispatched to guard the interests of the mining companies in the Carbon County coal miners' strike of 1903–1904, the Bingham Canyon strike of 1912, and the coal miners' strikes of 1922 and 1933. The presence of the troops ultimately broke the strikes.

Even negotiation could serve as a way of establishing dominance. Indian treaties represented an extreme example because American Indians were the recipients of treaties, not partners in their creation. And these treaties, once made, could easily be broken by the powerful. For example, the Uintah Reservation was opened to white homesteaders in 1905, and in 1910 Congress extinguished the Utes' title to the land now under Strawberry Reservoir.

Economics have been a major factor in the desire of the dominant to remain on top. Many people criticized the ethnics who sent money back to the homeland and who, by working for small wages, displaced "Americans." The *Ogden Junction* wrote,

The Chinese...save money on wages which would not pay the cigar bills of a large number of the male population.... The savings are not invested in the community, nor do they go, directly, or indirectly, towards benefiting the locality or State from which the money is derived.... On the other hand, again, they do work which the refined Caucasian would not stoop to; they are, in fact, the sewers of society, and their labors are performed for such prices as render them available to all kinds of people....

The above quote, written in 1879, preceded the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which stopped Chinese immigration into the United States. Subsequent immigration laws in 1921 and 1924, known as the Quota Acts, virtually closed immigration from southern and eastern Europe and prohibited Japanese immigration. These laws proved decisive in stopping this immigration into Utah until after World War II.

Such laws, coupled with customs, discrimination, and segregation, were used to stabilize dominant status. The prejudice that fueled these actions existed in abundance in Utah, keeping ethnic and minority groups at the bottom of the economic ladder. In turn, groups found ways to deal with the hostile atmosphere and work toward basic survival. In the words of two Italian brothers, "We had to help ourselves."

Chinese immigrants formed *tongs*. Salt Lake City's Bing Kung Tong provided jobs and job counseling, transportation, translations, lawyers, letter-writing, and social activity.

In the late 1890s Italians used mutual aid societies to provide members with health insurance,

death benefits, and opportunities for savings and sociality. The *Stella D'America, Società Minatori Italiana, Principe di Napoli* (Carbon County), *La Società Cristoforo Colombo, Figli D'Italia* (Salt Lake City), and *La Società Di Beneficenza* (Bingham) provided services that Italian immigrants could receive no other way.

South Slavs formed fraternal organizations and printed newspapers to help their members adapt to a new country. Also, their extended families gave them a sense of security in the new land and helped alleviate homesickness. Mexicans socialized with friends and family, giving them a sense of security in the midst of an "unfriendly world." And African Americans, excluded from full participation in public, private, political, and religious institutions, formed their own institutions.



Fraternal and social groups could also function as a means of adapting to the dominant culture. The AHEPA [American Hellenic Educational Progress Association] was founded in 1922 to "counteract hostility toward Greeks" and help its members become more assimilated into the American culture. During the depression, Italians formed the Italian–American Civic League for largely the same reasons. It is no wonder that these groups sought assimilation into the American culture. When dominance is established, the dominant group defines the appropriate responses of the subordinate groups: accommodation or acculturation. In accommodation, both groups accept each other's different patterns of behavior and attitudes. In assimilation, minorities are incorporated into the dominant culture; the traits learned in the new culture supersede those of the old.

In the cauldron of dominant and minority relationships, ethnic groups in Utah have followed and continue to follow their own paths toward accommodation, finding their way to that vital sense of security. Those who maintain their ethnic connections in the midst of the American economy and culture may find that, as in the past, group solidarity helps people weather storms. As one observer wrote,

Economic inequality in America has always existed. What has changed is that economic inequality is increasing at precisely the point when meaning and happiness are increasingly determined by the vanities of the world: the desire for fame, the lust for sensation, and the will to power. The alternative sources of meaning and happiness—religion, ethnicity, neighborhood, and family—that mitigated the dramatic inequality of, say, early twentieth century America are disappearing.

Through centering on religion, ethnicity, neighborhood, and family, many groups accommodated to life in Utah. Ironically, some groups and individuals who exhibited a liberal attitude while climbing the social and economic ladder from the bottom rung have demonstrated a less than accepting attitude toward other ethnics beginning the journey.

Philip F. Notarianni is the public programs coordinator for USHS.

PHOTOS: Serbian hats; Chinese Bing Kung Tong building in Salt Lake City.

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"Foreigner"

Irene Sheranian Hoyt was born to Armenian immigrants living in Murray. She and her family suffered discrimination because of both ethnicity and economic class. She remembers the physical layout of disparity: Murray was split by State Street, with the privileged families on the east and the families of modest income, including immigrants, on the west side. This memoir is excerpted and edited from an oral history recorded February 6, 1996, by Douglas Alder as Irene spoke to his history class at Dixie State College.



Irene, second from left, with her sisters. Their parents' names were Nishan Krikor Sherinian and Rebecca Nigogos Sherinian. Later, the family changed the spelling to Sheranian.

My parents grew up in a small community called the Sevas, in the province of Zera. It was right in the interior of Turkey in the mountains. My father was a barber, a storekeeper, and also a minister of the Disciple of Christ Church. In Turkey there were problems. The Turks were Muslims and the Armenians were Christians.

A man by the name of Ferdinand Hintze was sent on a mission [for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints] to [Turkey]. He found my father, and my father accepted the gospel. This was in 1888. He had to save his money in order to come to this country. He could not do it and be flashy about it. If there was any Armenian who looked prosperous, the Turkish military would come in and confiscate what they had and put them down to just a meager living. So my father had to save all the money that he could very, very privately, which he did by digging a hole in the center of the living room, putting an urn in it, and putting a rug over it. He accumulated his money over the years, and in 1902 he brought his family [a wife and three children] here [to Utah] because of the church.

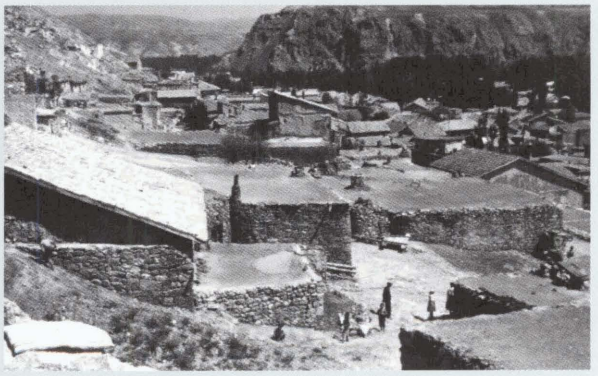
He decided he would come to where Ferdinand [Hintze] lived. That's why we settled in Murray. Ferdinand met him. He helped him get settled, helped him buy a piece of land on the west side of State Street in Murray. We lived one block from State Street. Then [Ferdinand] helped him with building his home and getting settled.

At that time, State Street divided Murray. All of the wealthy people, the leaders of the community, lived on the east side and all of the foreigners were placed on the west side. On the west side was where the smelter was. On the east side was where the elementary school, church, the library, the high school [were]. So immediately the community was divided—right from the beginning. We felt this [in the] community, church, schools.

My mother, when she went to Relief Societies [the women's organization of the LDS church], was never allowed—although she was a beautiful seamstress—to sew on the very lovely quilts

an Armenian American family on the West Side

by Irene Sheranian Hoyt





ABOVE: Zara, Sivas province, Armenia, the home village of many LDS convert-immigrants. BELOW: Looking southwest on State Street, Murray, 1940.

that they had in Relief Society. [She was] always told to do her quilting on the coarse fabrics, on the nine-patch quilts and so on. She was very sensitive about that.

[Irene was born several years after her family moved here.]

When I was just in elementary [school], we lived four blocks from Arlington Elementary School. The boys who lived on the east side of town would always criticize, would insult us, would pull our hair. I can remember so many, many times as I walked home from school alone these boys would cut a willow from the trees along the street, and they would switch my legs as I walked home. And you couldn't run away because they'd catch up with you. Finally, when they got to 48th, we separated. They went east to their homes and I went west to mine, and by the time I got home I was in tears and my legs hurt.

When I got to sixth grade, these feelings [were] very strong. In other words: You're a foreigner. You're not equal. You're a foreigner. You're not as good. You grow up with that, and it's a hard thing to accept. In the sixth grade the teacher assigned a friend of mine and me a project that we had to do together and then make a report. My friend's father was a mortician and had a beautiful home on State Street. He was a wealthy man and a very influential man in the community. This day we were walking together past her home, and she said, "Come on into the house and let's start the project together." So very innocently I went and we set our books off and we were talking. Suddenly her mother walked in the room, and the moment she saw me, she said, "*Take up your things and leave this house, and don't you ever come back again.*" So I gathered my things. I left the house. I was embarrassed. I was hurt. By the time I got home two blocks away, I was in tears. My mother met me. Of course I told her what the problem was. I felt that [the woman had] sent me home because I had done something wrong. And I said, "Mama, I didn't do anything." She said, "I know you didn't." And when our tears mingled, she tried to explain to me what the problem was. Of course at that time I didn't understand it.

Murray High School was seventh to twelfth grades. So we went to junior high right in the same buildings. I wanted to be in speech. I wanted to be in drama. But in all of those six years—I tried out for even the most minor role in dramas—and I never in those six years got a part, any association at all with drama. I tried out for the debating team. I would be the only girl who was not part of the team, [who] was left out. That was Murray High.



[After attending the LDS High School, where she joined the debate team, Irene went to the University of Utah and was able to debate there, including two years on the competitive traveling team.]

The University of Utah at that time was divided—absolutely right down the line.... It was a school where the elite people of Salt Lake—the people who had the money, who had the business, who had the influence—it was their children who attended the University of Utah. The rest of us were just anyone who had money enough to attend. The year was 1928. At that time it was distinct, a real separation. You were looked down on.

You had to be a member of a sorority or a fraternity or you weren't anything. I had friends, and one girl said to me, "I want you to come into our sorority." And I thought, "Oh that would just be wonderful if I could get in." So she presented my name, and I was turned down. You can imagine how devastating that would be to me at that time.

When I graduated [in 1930], of course getting a job was very, very hard. But the University of Utah did have a Placement Bureau. So I filled out the application. I was called in. The woman who was interviewing—the very first question she asked me the moment I stepped in was: "What sorority do you belong to?" I said, "I don't belong to any of them." She picked up my paper and put it over on the table and very abruptly said, "If there's anything turns up, we'll let you know." The Placement Bureau did not get a job for me.



ABOVE: Armenian converts to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Aintab, Armenia, 1905. LEFT: Irene c. late 1920s.

Irene Sheranian got a job teaching in Kamas, where, she says, she was the first "black" that ever walked in to town. She married Elmo Hoyt in 1935. All the years of being unwanted remained hurtful to her, but she was also influenced by her father, who encouraged his children to achieve in school. He also said, "If you cannot find in America life what you are looking for, you will find it nowhere else in the world" and "With the gospel of Jesus Christ and your education, you can rise to anything in the world."

Mrs. Hoyt eventually became president of the Utah Education Association and president of the National Cattlewomen's Association. And she maintained a deep love for the United States. "This country has given you a freedom that you will have in no other country in the world," she told a class of college students. "It's up to you to take advantage of it. I tell you we are blessed...with the opportunities that are ours—if we'll just take advantage of them."

HIGHLAND PARK

AND CLASS DIVISIONS IN THE SUBURBS OF SALT LAKE CITY

By Polly Hart

Middle-class Americans have been moving from cities to the suburbs since the late nineteenth century, when the Industrial Revolution, along with large waves of immigration from eastern and southern Europe, began to change the face of urban America. Prior to the late eighteenth century, American cities were relatively small and could easily be navigated on foot. Each neighborhood contained a mix of uses, including residential, office, and commercial, and the fashionable neighborhoods were always located at the center of town. As the physical and social urban landscape began to change with the influx of industry and new people, however, increasingly more city dwellers desired to escape the cities.

America's first planned suburb, Llewellyn Park, was designed in 1856 in West Orange, New Jersey (thirteen miles from Manhattan), by architect Alexander Jackson Davis. The goal was to create a picturesque community that would be protected from the pollution and dangers of the cities, and this was assured with a covenant that prohibited factories, shops, slaughterhouses, and industry of any kind. Winding streets and carefully landscaped woodlands created an imagery that idealized country living while taming and controlling the "wildness" of true rural life.

Because of the costs of commuting, amenities, and larger lots, most of the early suburbs catered to wealthier merchants and businessmen. But as the wealthy moved and the cities declined, the middle-class urban dwellers began to yearn for a haven of their own. By the second decade of the twentieth century, bungalow subdivisions were sprouting up both in urban areas and peripheral locations.

Suburban expansion in Salt Lake City actually began in the late 1880s with the aid of the city's streetcar system, established in 1882. Although the city was still small by national standards, its residents followed the larger trend and were driven by the desire to escape, mostly because of health issues. By the turn of the century, Salt Lake Valley was plagued with pollution from burning wood and coal, and tuberculosis was a threat. Also, residents perceived new immigrants moving into Salt Lake City as a threat to the safety and social balance of middle-class homogeneous neighborhoods.

By 1900, more than 300 subdivision plats had been filed, mostly outside of the core area of the original city boundaries (600 North, 1350 East, 900 South, and 1200 West). As subdivisions in a range of moderate prices sprang up across the Salt Lake Valley, they created another layer of class distinction and separation. East-side subdivisions such as Highland Park catered to middle-class professionals, while the west-side communities became a haven for



Newspaper ad for Highland Park, 1914.



Children at the Poplar Grove School, 1910.

working-class laborers.

On the west side, Garden City, later known as Brighton, was platted in November 1888 by attorney and real estate developer Edwin W. Senior as one of the earliest and most ambitious subdivisions in the valley. The first plat covered 49 blocks and contained more than 1,000 lots. Situated outside the city limits at approximately 1300 South and 3600 West, Brighton differed from most subdivisions in that it was intended to be a city in its own right, connected to Salt Lake City by streetcar. Improvements included street grading, more than 30 artesian wells, an irrigation canal, 3,000 ornamental shade trees, and a ten-acre public park with an artificial lake.

Like many west-side developments, Brighton attracted working-class families who could not afford to buy homes in the central or eastern sections of the city. Many of them commuted to jobs in the city, but some worked in Brighton at the numerous businesses there.

In 1890 Edward B. Wicks introduced Poplar Grove to the market. Ambitious in scale, it covered 16 blocks and had 640 lots located between Indiana Avenue (840 South) and Arapahoe Avenue (650 South); and Oquirrh Street (1200 West) and Cheyenne Street (1520 West). Lots sold for $250 to $350, and one newspaper advertisement boasted that "we offer unrivaled advantages to workinmen [sic] seeking homes." Chief among those advantages was a trolley line put in for the subdivision. The ad also claimed that more than 2,000 poplar trees were growing in Poplar Grove. (Improvements such as street grading, sidewalks, sewers, and power were not mentioned in the newspaper.) Like most west-side subdivisions, Poplar Grove was created for the working class. Unlike Brighton, however, it was exclusively residential, being situated "only two blocks from Utah Central Shops" and within easy commuting distance to the city.

In 1889 George M. Cannon purchased Forest Farm from Brigham Young's descendants. He subdivided much of the land into building lots and renamed the area Forest Dale. On April 4, 1890, he filed a subdivision plat that covered 20 blocks and included some 550 lots, with boundaries running between 2100 South and 2700 South and between 500 East and Highland Drive. Cannon also arranged for the first electric streetcar line beyond the city limits to be built to service his development. Forest Dale attracted young, predominantly Mormon professionals who were increasingly eager to escape downtown living but who still relied on the city for their livelihoods.

Highland Park subdivision, platted to the south of the Sugar House area by Kimball & Richards Land Merchants in 1909, is significant as an early example of how developers used suburban planning to further separate the mid-

dle and working classes. This subdivision was the largest to date, offering 2,519 lots in its first plat. It was also one of the earliest local developments to employ restrictive covenants.

Restrictive covenants became common during the first half of the twentieth century. Typical covenants ensured that undesirable commercial buildings and cheap shanties would never be permitted in the residential neighborhoods. Setbacks and fence restrictions created visual uniformity.

In addition to design restrictions, racial restrictions became popular across the nation in the 1920s as the result of a large wave of immigration from eastern Europe. These restrictions were put in place in the belief that they would prevent the deterioration and decline of the subdivisions.

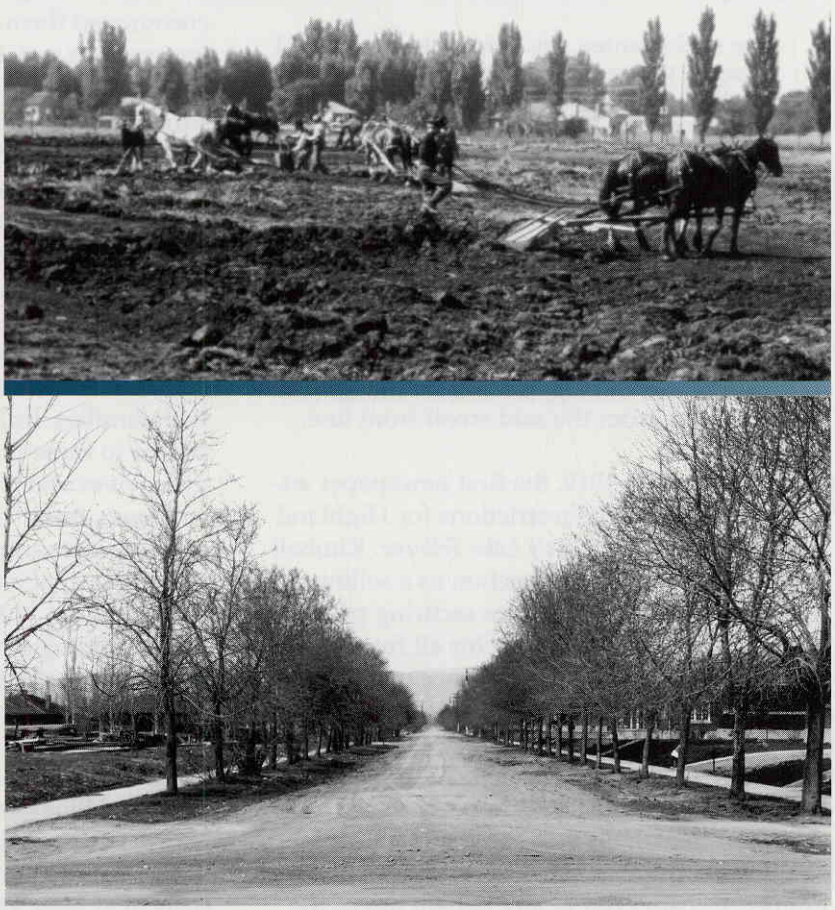
Building restrictions appeared in Salt Lake City as early as 1890, when the owners of Perkins' Addition required that all new buildings must cost no less than $2,500 and be in keeping with those already erected. They also prohibited commercial and industrial buildings. However, these restrictions were not included in the property deeds and were difficult to enforce.

In 1905 brothers Clark and Earl Dunshee expanded the scope of restrictive covenants in their new subdivision, Westminster Heights, requiring that homes be single detached dwellings with 20-foot setbacks and that no outbuilding could be built more than 30 feet from the rear property line. No signboards were allowed, and front fences could not exceed two feet in height. These covenants were written into all property deeds to make them legally binding; however, these restrictions terminated on January 1, 1950.

In 1913 Dunshee Bros. added a new restriction to the standard list for their Westmoreland Place: the purchase of property in this subdivision was limited to members of the Caucasian race. Although racial restrictions would not become commonplace in Salt Lake City until 1920, the middle and upper middle classes in Salt Lake City—those who could afford life on the east bench—were already dominated by Caucasians. It was not until ethnically diverse people began to elevate their financial status and move into the suburbs, creating a perceived threat to neighborhood stability, that developers felt it was necessary to put racial restrictions on paper.

The wave of immigration that began with the mines and railroads in the 1880s and 1890s peaked during the industrialization period of the first quarter of the twentieth century. This new rush of immigrants came primarily from the Balkans, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East. Apparently, the newcomers began to buy homes on the east side; alongside the typical English and Scandinavian names found in the early Highland Park abstracts are surnames such as Buma, Polanshek, Gygi, Vranizan, and Cibrario.

Grading for the Highland Park subdivision, 1909; Looking north on 13th East from 27th South, 1929.





Streetcar riders, Salt Lake City, not dated.

A June 1910 newspaper advertisement for Highland Park boasted strong but reasonable building restrictions. In addition to requiring minimum building costs, they did not allow "shacks" or "saloons." The earliest recorded deeds in Highland Park included restrictive covenants that were designed to protect the homeowners without being burdensome. They required that

> the said grantee, his heirs, successors and assigns will not erect, cause or permit to be erected on the lots above described and purchased by him any building or construction to be used for any purpose other than a dwelling house, excepting only a barn, garage, and the customary outhouses, and that no dwelling house shall be erected or permitted to be erected on said lots which shall cost less than eighteen hundred ($1800.00) dollars; or any barn, garage or outhouse within ninety (90) feet of the street front line of said lots, and that the said house shall be set at least fifteen (15) feet back from the said street front line.

On January 19, 1919, the first newspaper advertisement on racial restrictions for Highland Park appeared in the *Salt Lake Tribune*. Kimball & Richards used this restriction as a selling point, claiming that "you are securing protection for your home and property for all future time." Another ad stated, "[The presence of restrictions] means that when you buy a homesite in this properly Regulated home place, you will forever be assured of desirable neighbors." Beginning in the same year, property deeds were amended to include that "no estate in or possession of said premises shall be sold, transferred, granted or conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian race." By the mid-1920s the covenants for most of the east-side subdivisions included similar clauses. A 1938 amendment to the Douglas Park covenant went so far as to impose this restriction on renters and tenants.

Restrictive covenants, especially those concerning race, continued to be popular until after World War II. In fact, beginning in 1934, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) strongly encouraged them in order to avoid mixing "inharmonious racial or nationality groups." The FHA, which held mortgages to properties, had a strong interest in retaining the stability of suburban neighborhoods. Its underwriting manual openly recommended the use of racially restrictive covenants until 1948, when the U. S. Supreme Court ruled in Shelley v. Kraemer that they were "unenforceable as law and contrary to public policy."

Like most east-side developments, Highland Park catered to middle-class, salaried white men with families. Its location and restrictions appealed to these family men, who could locate their wives and children up in the "pure air" and away from "questionable" neighbors. Despite an early advertisement that claimed "terms within reach of anyone" for lots that ranged in price between $125 and $270, the required minimum building costs of $1,800 prevented working-class people (those perceived as "questionable") from ever being able to move to Highland Park. Although it was never written into the deeds, Kimball & Richards advertised that only brick dwellings were allowed in Highland Park in order to ensure a fine community. In 1910 most building permits for brick homes reflected costs of at least $2,000, while their frame coun-

terparts ranged between $300 and $1,000. Most of the building permits for cheaper frame dwellings were on the west side, indicating that the working classes could not afford to build in brick.

Kimball & Richards focused its marketing strategies on men, stressing the value and growth of an investment in a home and the quick convenient commute into the city. One advertisement entitled "A Sunday Talk to Young Men" suggested that the "accumulation of character goes with the accumulation of wealth," i.e., property. Another ad addressed to men acknowledged the wife's role in the decision, encouraging husbands to bring their wives to Highland Park and hold a "family consultation."

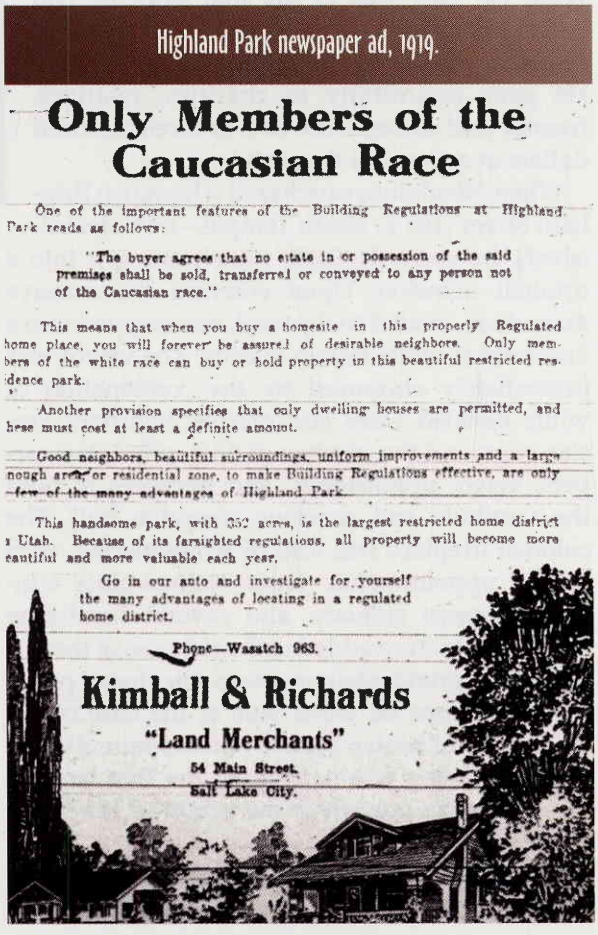
Today, Highland Park remains largely the same as it was in the 1920s. Most homes have only modest alterations and additions, and the residential profile has remained consistent. A random sample of 130 Highland Park residents in the 1925 Polk Directory indicates that most of its occupants were middle class and for the most part fit the marketing profile. The sample included thirteen clerks, eleven department managers, nine salesmen, three bookkeepers, seven engineers, eleven men in the various building trades, three teachers, six employees for the railroads and utilities, and six business owners. A title search on these homes indicates that this profile has not changed greatly over time. An excellent example is 2500 S. Beverly Street, which was first owned by Frank C. Davis, Sr. He was the manager of the Johnson Locke & Mercantile Institution before becoming the bookkeeper and accountant for KSL radio station. The subsequent owner, William L. Gaddis, was a dispatcher for the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad; in 1969 his widow sold the home to a switchman for the same company.

A sample of twenty-four Highland Drive homes and their residents, including owners and tenants, between 1910 and 1969 shows that most of the first occupants lived in their houses for more than five years, and the average was approximately fourteen years. Those who stayed for shorter periods of time were usually tenants who rented the properties, and some of those who owned their homes stayed for their whole lives. Millen A. Moffett owned 2470 S. Highland Drive, and he lived there from the time it was built in 1921 until his death in 1981. Henry Miller purchased his newly built home at 2541 S. Highland Drive in 1928, and he remained there until his death in 1965. Forrest Cates moved into his new home at 2488 S. Highland Drive in 1938 and stayed until his death in 1970. His daughter inherited the house and still lives there today.

Polly Hart has a Masters of Architectural Studies in Historic Preservation from the U of U. Her master's project laid the groundwork for the Highland Park National Register Historic District nomination, which she wrote in 1998. She lives in Salt Lake City's Marmalade District and works as a historic preservation consultant.

Sources: Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. A/P Associates Planning and Research, *Architectural/Historical Survey: Central/Southern Survey Area* (Salt Lake City, 1983); John Fred Aergerter, "Inglewood and Parkview: A Look at Urban Expansion and Early Subdivision in Salt Lake City's Original Agricultural Plats" (Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1988); Helen Z. Papanikolas, ed., *The Peoples of Utah*. Marc Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builder*. Jane Brinkerhoff and Stephanie Turner, *Westmoreland Place: A Retrospective of Homes Built between 1913 and the Early 1920s*. Property deeds from Federal Heights, Westminster Heights, Douglas Park, and Gilmer Park. Property deed dated February 27, 1913, between Kimball & Richards and Wallace Farmer for Highland Park "A" lots 30 and 31. Property deed dated January 17, 1919, between Kimball & Richards and Altossa Bair for Highland Park "A" lots 205, 206, and 207. *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 5, 1910.

Highland Park newspaper ad, 1919.



Only Members of the Caucasian Race

One of the important features of the Building Regulations at Highland Park reads as follows:

"The buyer agrees that no estate in or possession of the said premises shall be sold, transferred or conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian race."

This means that when you buy a homesite in this properly Regulated home place, you will forever be assured of desirable neighbors. Only members of the white race can buy or hold property in this beautiful restricted residence park.

Another provision specifies that only dwelling houses are permitted, and these must cost at least a definite amount.

Good neighbors, beautiful surroundings, uniform improvements and a large enough area for residential zone, to make Building Regulations effective, are only few of the many advantages of Highland Park.

This handsome park, with 352 acres, is the largest restricted home district in Utah. Because of its farsighted regulations, all property will become more beautiful and more valuable each year.

Go in our auto and investigate for yourself the many advantages of locating in a regulated home district.

Phone—Wasatch 963.

Kimball & Richards

"Land Merchants"

54 Main Street.
Salt Lake City.

Lifestyles of the rich and famous:

Samuel & Ida Newhouse

excerpted from
Brigham Street
by Margaret D. Lester



THE NEWHOUSES' story began in a small mining town high in the mountains west of Denver, Colorado. Sixteen-year-old Ida Stingley was waiting on tables in her mother's boardinghouse in Leadville when she and Samuel Newhouse first met.

Sam would become one of the flamboyant personalities of the early mining days in Colorado and Utah. He became owner of numerous mines in Colorado, later selling his mining property in Cripple Creek for several million dollars. His first investment in Utah mines was with Thomas Weir in the Highland Boy property at Bingham Canyon.

Newhouse was able to interest foreign stockholders in his budding enterprise. He dashed between Salt Lake City, New York, London, and Paris like a brilliant butterfly, scattering money, yet constantly increasing his wealth. He had mansions in Salt Lake City and London, an estate on Long Island, and a chateau in France near Paris. He was on a first-name basis with titled and important people wherever he went.

Newhouse was courteous, dignified, and cosmopolitan and had a sincere belief in people and a deep affection for his new home in the West. He later was to say that since he had taken his wealth from Utah, he wanted to return in service what the state had given him. He gave bountifully to charities, relatives, friends, and causes—not two or three hundred dollars at a time but thousands.

When Newhouse purchased a home on Brigham Street [165 E. South Temple—now demolished], he spent $100,000 transforming it into a colonial mansion. Upon entering the massive main door, located to the west, one stepped into a vestibule of white Italian marble. The visitor was immediately entranced by the combination of white paneled walls and marble; luxuriant Persian rugs; and the crimson of deep-piled stair carpets, velvet upholsteries, and portieres in both the vestibule and spacious reception hall. The colonial fireplace was also of white marble, with copper appointments. Three stained-glass windows, bronze statuary, and several handsome pieces of furniture added to the richness of the setting. The grand stairway was the focal point. Colonial lamps on either side at the base of the stairs were of beaten bronze with opaque shades; the stair railing was copper. At the first landing was a life-size portrait of the beautiful Ida Newhouse.

The paneled walls and ceiling of the dining room were of highly polished mahogany. A green silk wall covering divided the high wood panels from the ceiling and repeated the green onyx of the fireplace. Two built-in cabinets contained a variety of glassware from the smallest of liqueur glasses to tall stemware, all bearing the Newhouse monogram. On the mahogany credenza were the silver service and candelabra. A large mahogany table and high-backed chairs completed the room.

Adjacent to both the drawing room and dining room was the Palm Room. The white background wallcovering in this room was printed in a green leaf design. Drapes were of sheer green, and the white wicker furniture was upholstered in a colorful fabric of yellows and greens.

Although it was a favorite spot for the ladies, male friends entered the room for quite another purpose. A concealed electric button released a trap door exposing a stair ladder to the room below. With the assistance of a rod to begin the descent and ropes to ease the journey, one entered into a large room entirely surrounded by wine racks. Newhouse was a connoisseur of rare wines and had collected them for many years. His storehouse in London contained thousands of bottles, and from this supply his various homes were kept well stocked.

The home was the scene of lavish parties at which, it was whispered among outsiders, guests ate from solid gold plates. Even though Ida was not often in residence in Salt Lake City, seeming to prefer their homes on the Continent, Newhouse himself entertained in high style.

Sam knew he had a jewel in his lovely young

Ida. He hired a tutor to teach her to speak properly, and she had been taught the accepted manners of European high society and of the royal courts. With her Dresden-like beauty, the bluest of eyes, and brown hair, she was as lovely as any socialite on either continent. She had a personal maid who could fashion her long hair to the envy of others, and she wore her clothes and jewels like a queen. Her natural Irish wit added to her charm. A notable Englishman had been paid a handsome sum of money to introduce her to the right people and to arrange her entry to the British court.



In 1907 Newhouse initiated a building program on Salt Lake City's Main Street and personally financed the construction of the city's first skyscrapers, the Newhouse and Boston buildings. The Newhouse Hotel, built several years later, was planned to be a grand hotel, and he spared no expense. He donated the land on Exchange Place east of his two skyscrapers for the Salt Lake Stock Exchange and Commercial Club building.

THE SHORT STREET called Exchange Place became a little Wall Street. Here mining kings, bankers, merchants, and other stockholders bargained over stocks by day in the largest mining exchange in the United States. The splendor and comfort of the nearby Commercial Club offered athletic facilities and the best cuisine. The smoke of good cigars rose lazily in the air and cocktail glasses clinked as men fraternized, negotiated, exchanged news of the day, and planned civic projects. The club became a favorite place for parties, many of the wealthy socialites using its spacious and elegant rooms in preference to their own homes. Newhouse also purchased a slaughter yard in the northeast section of the city called Popperton and was instrumental in its transformation into a beautiful suburb eventually known as Federal Heights.

PERHAPS SAMUEL NEWHOUSE moved too fast. The economic conditions preceding the United States' entry into World War I made loans almost impossible to obtain, and high-grade ore could not forever finance his enterprises. His financial fortunes began to slide downhill toward ultimate collapse. A few of his friends rallied to raise what money they could, hoping to bail him out. His South Temple home was sacrificed for seventy-five thousand dollars.

At this crucial time a few select lady friends climbed the long granite stairs to the splendid mansion, walked past the tall white columns, and entered the great doors. They were to lunch with Ida Newhouse, perhaps for the last time. After lunch in the Palm Room, the gracious Ida led them to the formal dining room, where on the large table before them was displayed an array of magnificent jewels, reportedly worth in excess of one million dollars. Boyd Park, prominent Salt Lake jeweler, was to arrive that afternoon to make an appraisal. The entire collection was bought by a New York firm, the proceeds being used for the living expenses of the Newhouses.

In 1914 Sam and Ida parted ways. From 1915 to 1919, he lived at the Newhouse Hotel. He then sold the hotel and left for France. Mrs. Newhouse had gone on to Los Angeles, where she lived at the Beverly Hills Hotel until her money was exhausted. In a one-room flat she finished her life, living on the charity of her friends. One Salt Lake friend paid all expenses during her last years in a convalescent home. No passerby chancing to see this lady would ever have known that she was once the darling of the Edwardian court.

Mr. Newhouse lived out his remaining years at Marnes Le Coquette, the chateau he had given to his sister years before. There at the chateau on September 22, 1930, he died at 76 years of age. But Samuel Newhouse had left his name stamped indelibly on a community at the crossroads of the American West.

PHOTO: Samuel Newhouse (seated by two women) and friends at the University Club's Roof Garden.

UTAH LAKE

a safety net for the needy

by D. Robert Carter



UTAH LAKE RANKS HIGH on the current list of our state's most maligned and abused bodies of water. Its turbid, algae-laden, carp-filled waters and mud-covered bottom do little to enhance its desirability. However, in the early years, when the lake was in healthier condition, the settlers overlooked its few shortcomings and appreciated its attributes. The lake's waters were probably never crystal clear, but in times of need, fish from this rather common lake have come to the aid of Utah's common man. On many occasions, Utah Lake's finny tribe have provided a safety net for the needy.

For thousands of years hungry Native Americans relied on the lake for sustenance. Members of the Domínguez–Escalante Expedition and wandering groups of trappers, traders, and explorers no doubt dined on fish from the lake. However, the first large group of needy Euro-Americans to rely on the lake arrived in the Great Basin in 1847. In the early years of settlement, these Mormons frequently stared into hunger's face. During at least three years of the first decade these new settlers spent in their Rocky Mountain home, they witnessed significant problems getting enough to eat. Each time, the lake succored those in need.

During the winter of 1847–48, some of the settlers did not possess enough supplies to last until the next harvest. That winter and spring, many of them suffered acute hunger and desperately needed help. Late in February the Salt Lake High Council (the city's governing body) instructed the city's bishops to collect donations from those who could spare provisions and distribute the food collected to the needy.

When the situation worsened in the spring, the high council responded with a new plan. The leaders determined that those in need of food should take a list of all their personal property to their bishops. The various bishops then gave the lists to Bishops Lewis and Hunter, who were empowered to act as agents to conduct trading between the haves and the have-nots. Items from the property lists were exchanged for food.

Dimick B. Huntington and his family, who had recently returned from a tour of duty with the Mormon Battalion, were among those who suffered intensely. They had no bread the last four months before harvest but subsisted on roots, salt beef, rawhide, beef entrails, and fish. Very likely, most of the fish he and others ate came from Utah Lake.

Apostle Parley P. Pratt and his family also suffered privations. Pratt had journeyed to Salt Lake Valley in the fall of 1847 directly after returning from a mission, and he was poorly prepared to spend the winter in the Great Basin. By early March 1848, he claimed to "have neither milk, meat, nor butter." Pratt had fished and explored Utah Lake the previous December. Now the apostle proposed to the high council that a colony should be established in Utah Valley and that fishing companies should be sent to the lake to catch fish for the poor and needy in Salt Lake Valley. The council gave Pratt permission to establish a colony and start a fishery if he could secure the permission of the Utes and raise a group of twenty men to go with him.



Pratt never did start his settlement, but fishing companies did go to Utah Lake. John Forsgren and others formed the Eutaw Fishing Company. Families helped knit cotton nets, and the men made other preparations to go "a fishing." Although the Eutaw Fishing Company and other fishermen appear not to have been exceptionally successful in their early fishing efforts, they furnished enough suckers, trout, and chubs to help the hungry of Salt Lake Valley survive the difficult spring and summer of 1848. The fish they sent back to the valley were all the more important after frosts killed early sprouting plants and swarms of hungry crickets damaged the remaining crops.

PERHAPS UTAH LAKE'S GREATEST contribution to the poor and needy of the territory came during the drought and grasshopper plague of 1855–56. Grasshoppers had ravaged the settlers' crops in 1851 and 1853, so settlers along the Wasatch Front must have surely felt a chilling foreboding when in 1854 immense clouds of grasshoppers dimmed the sun. Wherever they landed, everything green disappeared. George A. Smith estimated that they destroyed 20 percent of the crop.

The settlers confronted two major problems caused by the warm, dry winter of 1854–55: the lack of sufficient irrigation water and the fact that the dry weather provided an ideal hatching environment for grasshoppers. Utah's worst grasshopper infestation of the century began in April 1855. Again, the skies filled with Rocky Mountain locusts (the migratory form of grasshoppers), which settled to the ground and commenced to harvest the pioneers' already-meager crops.

When the grasshoppers finally took flight, many flew westward. A phenomenal number of them perished in the Great Salt Lake. Wilford Woodruff estimated that more than a million and a half bushels of the dead insects lay along the shores, forming a belt around the lake "several rods wide, and varying from six to eighteen inches deep."

George A. Smith summarized the situation in July:

> All the crops of Millard, San Pete, and Juab Counties were destroyed, and two thirds of the wheat in Utah, Great Salt Lake, and Tooele Counties shared the same fate. The Northern counties have suffered less from grasshoppers than from the extreme drouth; their crops, however, will be about one half the general average.

In addition to the damage inflicted by the drought and grasshoppers, large black insects damaged the potato crops in Utah County, and for some unknown reason, many cattle died.

Early in 1855 some families were already short on food and began rationing in anticipation of worse shortages before the next harvest. In June Parley P. Pratt's family limited themselves to a daily allowance of one-half pound of flour each. Near the end of the year, William Knox, who labored on the public works in Salt Lake City, outlined his grim situation in his journal: "We are only alowed half Pound of Bread stuff per day, a little meet and squash, some times a few Potatoes. I have hard to work but still I feel thankful for what I do git." Many people shared a similar situation.

This dire need forced settlers to turn to their emergency food supply—and they increased fishing activity on Utah Lake and its tributaries. As early as February, a company of men left Salt Lake City heading for the fishing grounds in the valley to the south. That month, fish (probably suckers) sold on the streets of the city for five cents a pound. People in Utah Valley bought

ABOVE: Fishing crew on Utah Lake, about 1894. George Madsen is the third from the left.
PAGES 22 & 23: Utah Lake seiners cleaning common fish for market; fishing boats at the mouth of Provo River. Photos courtesy of author.



their fish for less; Eunice P. Stewart of Provo bought 225 fish for the equivalent of $4.25.

Later in the year, many individuals from surrounding valleys visited Utah Lake to purchase or catch a supply of fish. Wilford Woodruff visited the lake twice that year. In June he came visiting with Brigham Young and other authorities. The first day he caught two bushels of fish with a net, and the next morning he hooked enough fish to provide President Young and the other leaders a good breakfast. When Woodruff returned in September, he came to get a supply of fish to last his family through the winter. Commercial fishermen working near the mouth of Provo River packed a barrel of suckers for him (the average barrel of fish weighed about 200 pounds).

FISH FROM UTAH LAKE played an important part in feeding men who labored for the public works in Salt Lake. In 1855 church authorities in Salt Lake City notified Provo bishop Elias H. Blackburn that he needed to collect more tithing in kind from the town's fishermen. Blackburn collected the tithing fish and transported them to the general tithing yard in Salt Lake, where they were given to the needy workers. During the last ten months of 1853, men employed on the public works drew 2,301 pounds of fish. If this total represents a true 10 percent tithe, it represents 23,010 pounds of caught fish. This heightened fishing activity in 1855 proved to be a mere prelude to the intensive fish harvest of the next year.

As Utah pioneers looked back on the mild, dry winter of 1854–55, they likely hoped the coming winter would provide cold, wet weather to kill the grasshopper eggs and create a larger snowpack for irrigation. If indeed they did hope for these two things, they received more than they bargained for. An enormous amount of snow fell in the mountains, and temperatures in some areas dipped below zero for several days at a time. This snow and cold weather ravaged Utah's cattle herd, and the people of the territory lost about 4,000 cattle. Even in the city many cattle and horses died. Those who had relied on beef to replace bread in 1855 now found themselves without red meat, and they suffered more intensely than they had the previous year.

In an effort to help the needy, church leaders initiated fast days. People who felt that they could spare provisions were asked to skip at least one meal each month and donate the food they saved to the church. Bishops then distributed the food to the destitute.

Church authorities also tried another unique program. In a February 1856 presiding bishop's meeting, Seth Taft, a Salt Lake bishop, suggested that the church congregations (wards) send out parties to catch fish for the needy who had resorted to begging in the streets, digging roots, and gathering wild plant food to survive. Following this suggestion, some of the less-affluent wards sent fishing parties to Utah Lake.

During the remainder of the winter, through spring, and into early harvest time, the usually quiet Provo River bottoms and the shores of Utah Lake were gradually transformed into a priesthood version of a fur trapper rendezvous. The men who normally fished the river and the lake were joined not only by ward fishing com-



panies but also by hungry individuals from neighboring valleys.

Provo municipal authorities temporarily cancelled all commercial fishing charters and opened the river and lake to all fishermen. On May 30 Wilford Woodruff described the scene: "The shores of Utah Lake are crowded like a fair with wagons—there are so many catching and drying fish." Until the end of July a continual flow of people visited the fishing grounds. Utah Valley commercial fishermen Peter Madsen, William Wordsworth, Tobias Dallin, and others helped catch fish for the destitute and frequently supplied them free of charge.

There is no doubt that the needy harvested huge amounts of fish. We can only speculate on how many pounds were caught. Joseph W. Bates, who fished for Salt Lake's First Ward, wrote, "I spent about 6 weeks at the Lake and caught Some 8 tons of fish." There were at least six ward fishing companies, and possibly more. If each of the known companies caught an amount similar to that caught by the First Ward, the total reaped by these groups alone would reach 96,000 pounds. In 1856 Salt Lake's public workmen received 6,728 pounds of tithing fish. This represents a tithe paid on 67,280 pounds of fish. Individual families who came to the river and lake certainly added thousands of pounds more to the total caught.

It seems safe to say that the needy used hundreds of thousands of pounds of suckers, chubs, and trout. These finny creatures helped the destitute settlers survive two of the most impoverished years in early Utah history. While a monument to the memory of the fish of Utah Lake has never been constructed on Temple Square, the important role they played in lessening malnutrition and possibly staving off starvation during the drought and grasshopper infestation of 1855–56 is at least as notable as the role reportedly played by the seagulls during the cricket infestation of 1848.

THE EXCESSIVE AMOUNTS of fish taken from Utah Lake during the mid- and late 1850s, coupled with other destructive, exploitive practices, reduced the number of native fish (not only affecting the settlers but also decimating a major food source for the Ute Indians). The settlers especially mourned the dwindling trout population. By the late 1870s piscaculturalists sought an easy-to-propagate table fish to take the place of trout.

Their attention focused on carp, which were imported to Utah as early as 1881. Jacob Houtz hauled some carp to his Springville mill pond in 1882, and carp found their way into Utah Lake shortly thereafter. They multiplied, grew rapidly, and gradually took over as the lake's most numerous fish.

Carp soon fell out of favor as a table fish in Utah Valley, however. In the 1890s the Springville *Independent* described carp as "a meek, inoffensive sort of fish with small ambitions intellectually, and no desire whatever toward ever becoming good eating...." Despite this prevailing opinion, carp, in the company of suckers and chubs, found their way to the tables of Utah's needy during difficult economic times.

AFTER THE OPTIMISM and speculation that

boomed in the late 1880s, vast international financial businesses failed and money became scarce. Depression followed recession, and by 1893 as many as 48 percent of the state's workmen were unemployed. Some small steps were taken to alleviate the suffering. Well-meaning people transformed unused lands into gardens for the poor, and after considerable thought, Utah's fish commissioner, A. Milton Musser, developed a plan to put Utah Lake's common fish to good use.



Courtesy of Clarence D. Taylor

Buck Dickson, who later became Utah amateur tennis champion, holds a carp from Utah Lake.

On October 31, 1895, Musser sent identical letters to Myron C. Newell, Utah County's fish commissioner, and two prominent Utah Lake fishermen, J. W. Clark and Mads Peter Madsen, asking advice on the best way to catch carp. Then he explained his plan to use the fish to feed the poor and hungry of Salt Lake City. All three responded, and Madsen and Clark volunteered to help catch the fish.

Commissioner Musser put his plan into action with dispatch, though inclement weather kept the fishermen off the lake until November 13. After catching their quota, the fishermen delivered their catch to the railroad tracks, where workmen loaded the denizens of the not-so-deep onto a railroad car and transported them to Salt Lake City free of charge. Mormon bishop William B. Preston received the load and arranged to distribute it from the Bishop's General Storehouse. From there, ministers of various churches doled out 5,000 to 6,000 pounds of fish to the needy regardless of race, religion, or political party. Later in November, fishermen in two Utah County communities implemented a modified version of Musser's plan. Andrew and John Madsen donated 550 pounds of common fish to the poor in the Lakeview Ward; in Payson, volunteers distributed 840 pounds of carp, suckers, and chubs.

THE FISH PROJECTS proved to be so successful and the poor seemed so eager to receive the fish that Musser hoped to make the fish giveaway an annual affair. However, the yearly distribution either did not materialize or was not reported in the paper. Instead, government officials, private individuals, and charitable organizations replaced the LDS church as distributors of fish.

For instance, in 1914 state Fish and Game officials offered to furnish up to 20 or 25 tons of common fish to Salt Lake County for a penny a pound, to cover the cost of catching and loading the fish. County officials did not think they could distribute 20 tons, so they bought only ten tons, enough to feed 2,000–3,000 families for several days.

On February 10, state Fish and Game employees caught the fish in nets pulled under Utah Lake ice and delivered them to Geneva Resort, which was adjacent to the railroad tracks. The next day men loaded the fish on cars, and the Denver and Rio Grande Western hauled them to Salt Lake City free of charge. Workmen dropped off some fish at Sandy and Draper, and the remainder arrived in the city on February 12. They were distributed the next day from the produce house of Hancock & Company. The county pauper clerk, the superintendent of the county infirmary, and the head of the Salt Lake Charities Association oversaw the distribution. Representatives of the Salvation Army and Volunteers of America helped hand out the fish.

On distribution day, people began arriving at 6:30 a.m. By the time men armed with large milk pans began distributing the fish at 8:30 a.m., a crowd of about 1,000 people had assembled and were waiting patiently in a double line a block long. There was no confusion or disorder. About 2,000 people eventually received fish. As an extra bonus, Hancock & Co. distributed 5,000 oranges. Motion picture cameras filmed the event.

THE DISTRIBUTION was reenacted with very few changes in February 1915. This time, 3,000 people carrying sacks, baskets, and boxes lined the street. Capt. M. M. Woods, head of the Salt Lake Charities Association, declared, "The people who went to the fish car...were eager to get the meat and many of them looked as though

they needed it badly." The distributors also gave several hundred pounds of fish to the county infirmary and the boys' and girls' detention homes.

In an effort to benefit more people, the state Fish and Game office tried a new program in 1917 and 1918. In those years, the price of meat rose and its availability fell as a result of the increased foreign market generated by World War I. Hoping to keep the price of fish down, state workmen caught common fish on Utah Lake and distributed them to Salt Lake markets to sell for the fixed price of five cents per pound. In Provo markets, common fish sold for 2½ cents per pound because of the city's proximity to the lake. Markets and state institutions placed orders with the Fish and Game Department. In February 1917 the State Mental Hospital at Provo placed an order for 400 pounds per week, and the Utah State Prison in Sugar House ordered 75 pounds per week. The Madsen brothers of Scofield placed an order and offered to distribute the fish without a profit in order to help miners of the district who were finding it difficult to make ends meet. This state program benefited many.



Courtesy of Boyd Adams

George (provider of fish to the poor) and Nettie Madsen in their wedding photo.

THE EARLY 1930s FOUND UTAHNS in the grasp of the Great Depression. Utah Lake commercial fishermen Henry A. Loy and George Madsen offered some relief by catching several tons of common fish and donating them to the people of Provo. They netted the fish on the west side of Utah Lake and unloaded them near the mouth of Provo River. City trucks brought them into Provo, and Provo Community Welfare distributed them to the needy of the city early in December 1930.

Again in early December 1931 George Madsen announced his intention to provide free common fish for Provo's unemployed. The needy applied for their fish in advance at the fire station; on December 23 two tons of fish were ready for distribution. At a time when he was critically ill and his energies were already overtaxed, Madsen acted very magnanimously. To help Utah's poor, he interrupted his profitable business of shipping 4,000 pounds of carp per week to Los Angeles at 15 cents per pound.

The Fish and Game Department also distributed free fish in Salt Lake in 1932. In January state employees caught the fish at Utah Lake and transported them in trucks owned by Salt Lake County. Four thousand pounds of free fish found their way to the tables of the grateful poor.

In the '30s, many Utah housewives eagerly purchased inexpensive common fish to feed their hungry families. Fish peddlers passed through Utah Valley neighborhoods hawking their haul from Utah Lake with attention-catching jingles such as, "Fresh fish, still alive! Three rotten out of five!"

During World War II and the years shortly thereafter, the author remembers a fish peddler visiting his neighborhood in Provo. Water-filled ten-gallon washtubs full of large common fish sloshed about in the back of his open pickup truck. As the peddler went from door to door, fascinated neighborhood children briefly stood on the truck's back bumper, leaned over the tailgate, and fixed their gaze on large scaly creatures with undulating tails and mouths that looked like suction cups. When the fishmonger returned, the crowd of kids jumped from the bumper, and the truck moved to the next street, where it likely attracted a similar crowd.

Since those days, the economy has heated up, and Utah's taste for common fish has cooled down. However, if times get hard again, Utah Lake and its common fish may once again provide a safety net for the needy.

D. Robert Carter is a historian and retired history teacher.

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Caring for Children

The Orphan's Home and Day Nursery Association

by Floralie Millsaps

It was in 1883 that the idea of a day nursery for working mothers was proposed by Mrs. Harriet Travis to a group of prominent women of the day, dressed in bustles and silks, surrounding her luncheon table.

But it was not until October 1884 that a group of nine "doers" from nine churches in Salt Lake City approved the first constitution that formalized their beginning. Representatives from the Congregational, Presbyterian, Plymouth, Episcopal, Scandinavian, Methodist Independent, Baptist, and Jewish congregations were appointed to support a Day Nursery Association, which would become in a very short time the Orphans' Home and Day Nursery Association. Their intention was to provide assistance to mothers who were forced to work, and for very low wages, and therefore had great difficulty in maintaining their families.

Initially the charge would be ten cents per day per child, with reduced rates for two or more. Blessings would be said before each meal; and a committee on amusements and occupations "was to provide healthful means to interest and occupy the children in expending their superfluous vital forces."

The tradition of caring for little children separately from the almshouse or poorhouse was fairly new in the United States. Before 1867, all sexes and ages, including the mentally ill, were housed together in minimal facilities. Eighty percent of children under the age of one year died within three months; 33 percent of all poorhouse children died within four years.

By 1884 there were perhaps a total of five orphanages in the United States; therefore, these women were innovators in the West, assuming responsibilities that would lead them to far greater accomplishments than they would have believed possible. Each pledged a contribution of $1 monthly; the rest of the budget would be met by donations. A few of the ladies faded from the scene when they found how unremittingly they had to pursue the community and the butcher, baker, and coal yard manager for donations or affordable contracts. Blessedly, a druggist volunteered to supply the children's medicines for free.

In 1886 the legislature appropriated $1,000 per year, giving the Orphan's Home and Day Nursery Association the reliable platform of support it needed.

By 1887, the Catholics and Mormons had sent representatives to the association. Historian Isabel Cameron Brown recorded, "This is the first institution in Utah where Jew and Gentile, Mormon and Catholic, Saint and Sinner, make it together."

With regard to orphaned children, the Mormon church policy had always been one of caring for its own. But the support system could not always match the needs. In 1903 the Orphan's Home historian recorded that 97 percent of the children in the Home were Mormons.

Catholic immigrants also had needs. The Sisters of the Holy Cross, with the support of Father Lawrence Scanlan, were vigorous in their efforts to assist the needy and place the orphaned. They would establish the Catholic St.

Ann's Orphanage by the turn of the century, created particularly to care for the children of unfortunate miners.

By 1887, the Orphans' Home had outgrown a succession of four rented homes, and the women of the board looked for a sizable affordable property to take care of their 40 school-age children and five babies. The property they bought, a large home on State Street and about 1200 South, would be theirs for the next 21 years.

With the children going to a neighborhood school, contagious diseases such as diphtheria, measles, scarlet fever, and chicken pox swept through the Home time after time, especially as it grew crowded with as many as 51 children and 20 babies. Another major hazard was the ditch or well water they drank. The only defense against disease was to fumigate with sulfur or to quarantine the children. And disease always seemed to strike at Christmas time.

Some notes from the records of 1903 read:

Cows appeared on the program; moved and seconded that Mrs. Brown look into the cow business.

The bathroom fund is growing; the names of J. C. McLaughlin and W. N. Rice are to be placed on the bathroom doors.

And from 1904:

2,149 children have passed through the Home. Fanny Smith, who has been a resident at the Home since age 3 or 4, has left to become a nursery maid at $2 a week.

Freddy Palmer was borrowed for a visit Dec. 24th and never returned.

Katie Parke Dunlop, placed three years ago in place of an unsatisfactory maid, came into an inheritance from her employer.

Hans Ford went to Park City for the summer to Col. Ferry's. He returned home in time for school Sept. 1st—well, happy, nicely clothed and $15 in his pocket. He has promised Mrs. Ferry to commit to memory daily a verse of the Bible—and is fast at it.

Personnel problems at the Home were endemic. Matrons frequently left suddenly, and nursery help came and went like the days of the week because the pay was low and the work unending. Imagine one or two women taking care of 20 babies in the days before disposable diapers and automatic laundries. The babies were particularly vulnerable to disease; they often entered in a weakened or neglected state, and some succumbed despite the most devoted efforts of their nurses.

Money was always in short supply. The ladies suspended payment to Utah Power and Light once when they considered the bill too high. And the drug bill—no longer free—was held up for negotiation when the ladies felt the charges were excessive. They did not question, however, the one quart of standard whiskey at $1.20 a bottle that seemed to show up as a regular item on the bill. Board members made up the fiscal deficits themselves; in February 1908 it took a collection of $78 to balance the accounts.

They could—and did—count on the community to meet the needs of the children. The list of their contributors seemed to include almost all of the mining "greats" of that period. Tom Kearns gave $500. Sam Newhouse gave $10 every month, year in and year out, until his fortunes evaporated. David Keith responded to a desperate Thanksgiving season emergency by wiring from a distant city a ton of coal and 100 lbs of turkey. And then there were the Bambergers, the McCornicks, the Mont Ferrys—people with heart, people to count on. Daniel Jackling gave thousands toward the 1909 building fund and $500 to create a manual training school room. Colonel Enos Wall contributed $5,000 to the new building fund, and Matthew Walker left the Home $10,000 in his will.

The Jewish community—the Cohns, Kahns, Goldmans, and Goldsmiths—was unflagging in its support. Keith O'Brien and the Walker Brothers stores could always be counted on. In 1910 J. C. Penney gave $27,000 toward a wing for the new, sixth home.

Benefits and entertainments were sponsored by many other familiar names of the day. Bishop Scanlan planned a theater outing that was short-circuited by another quarantine of the children. Susanna Bransford Emery Holmes, the Silver Queen, loaned her art gallery at the Gardo House for a three-day benefit. Elizabeth Bonnemort, the Sheep Queen, gave a party and benefit at her South Temple home. Maud Adams, the darling of the theater world, gave $2,000 from the proceeds of a benefit performance to help build the east wing of the 1910 home.



PHOTOS: Children at the Catholic St. Anne's Orphanage.

Others supported trips to Lagoon, Saltair, the movie palaces, and the Ringling Brothers Circus. Mr. Russell Tracy entertained the children a number of years at Christmas parties in his home, events that the children started dreaming of in July. Churches loaned their needleworkers' skill and had cake sales, bought furnishings, and provided Sunday School teachers. They also provided opportunities for the children to participate in church parties and camps.

Over the years, the ladies of the board, most of whom had at least a decade of tenure, took each child's life as a serious trust. They placed each child for adoption to the best of their abilities, sometimes on a trial basis. They lent their support by taking home children for extended convalescences, and they grieved at any deaths. They did their best to enrich the children's lives by purchasing encyclopedias, taking them to ranches and summer homes, and arranging for special educational opportunities.

One boy was sent to California on a high school cadet trip with the required uniform and with spending money, which he would repay upon his return with jobs around the Home. Another lad was encouraged to participate in a six-week baseball camp in California. Parties, picnics, summer camps, Christmas presents, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Order of the Knighthood, lectures by male role models in a female-dominated world: the board invested their lives in their children's society.

By 1908 or 1909, the board realized that a much larger home was needed, since they had taken on the babies of the Infants Home and Protective Association in 1906. The women dared to dream big; with the old State Street home worth $10,000, another $10,000 in endowment funds on hand, and $10,000 in promised contributions, they laid plans for a $50,000 facility at 1216 E. 1300 South. The women assumed all of the responsibility of going out for bids on design and construction. The cornerstone was laid in November 1909, followed by a magnificent outpouring of community and church support in readying the facility. Various organizations and churches volunteered responsibility for the room decoration and furnishings.

The occupancy of the wonderful new facility was delayed by yet another round of quarantines. At last, though, on the evening of June 1, 1910, the population of the State Street home formed a procession to the new, beautifully decorated building, with the board members carrying the infants in their arms. The staff included a matron, cook, laundress, nurse assistant and janitor, all for $400 per month.

For the next 20 years, the Home expanded and oversaw a constantly changing population. In 1918, when there were 123 children in the Home, fire broke out in the laundry chute, burning out the roof, ruining the third floor, and leaving the girls homeless.

In 1923 a social worker was hired to take care of receiving and placing. In 1927 the name of the organization was changed to the Children's Service Society of Utah to represent the broader range of services offered. In 1930, the services changed from group care to foster care and adoption placement.

At this time, the Great Depression and unemployment affected every case coming to CSS. Families were under great strain, and some foster homes were unable to continue their service. The venerable old home on 13th South was turned into a clinic and temporary receiving facility for children.

The next trauma was World War II, with the separation of families and the unexpected hazard of high-paying, long-hours war jobs, which sometimes led to high living and neglect or abandonment of children. In 1941, 542 children were receiving care, but now, instead of living under one roof, the children were all in individual volunteer homes. Thirty of the young men formerly of the Home were called to war. By this time, more than 5,000 children had been cared for by the Children's Service Society.

In 1943 there was an opportunity to sell the old Home and move the offices into 576 E. South Temple, formerly the Ezra Thompson home. The form of the Society kept evolving over the years. When it began in 1884, the Society was an all-woman volunteer board, with every person participating directly in recruiting funds and supplies, visiting, and overseeing the management of the Orphan's Home. After the children were placed in foster care, the Board became more involved in shaping policy and raising funds.

Another evolution has been in the spirit of giving. At first, all funding except the annual $1,000 from the legislature came from the parents and by direct contribution from all sectors of the community. Today, government funding covers most of the costs.

Despite changes over the years, CSS has continued to reflect the single-minded strength of its founders in trying to meet the vastly divergent needs of children.

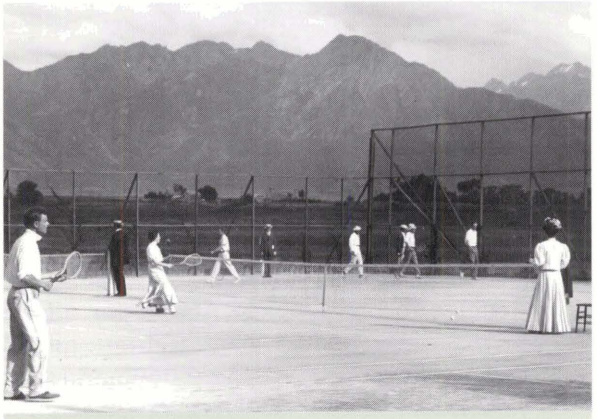
This article was taken from a talk historian Floralie Millsaps gave in 1994 to celebate the 100th birthday of the Children's Service Society. The manuscript is in the USHS collections.

THE GAP

HISTORICAL AND CURRENT PERSPECTIVES

BY KRISTEN ROGERS





Top: Shivwits Paiute women playing a card game. Bottom: Salt Lake Country Club tennis game, 1907.

POVERTY in the midst of affluence—it is the growing sharpness of this contrast that disturbs us. So wrote economist R. A. Gordon in 1965.

That contrast is perhaps sharper than ever today. In 2000, according to the Economic Policy Institute, the wealthiest 1 percent of the nations' households controlled 38 percent of its wealth. The poorest 80 percent controlled only 17 percent of the wealth.

At one time, however, there was no gap between the wealthy and the poor in Utah. Before the arrival of Europeans and horses, indigenous groups hunted and gathered in the Great Basin. One group might have had more resources and power than another, but the differences were not great.

Likewise, when the Euro-American Mormons first settled the valleys of Utah, they lived in dugouts or cabins and worked together to survive and create "Zion." The differences in their wealth were insignificant. But an income gap soon arose. Those who arrived first had better access to land; and those who settled in fertile areas had access to good land. On the other hand, those who came later or who were "called" by Brigham Young to settle marginal places had fewer opportunities. And of course the native peoples were sent to the most marginal lands of all.

Later, the incomes of successful agriculturalists, merchants, and industrialists widened the gap. Those who succeeded in mining, for instance, grew wealthy and lived in mansions. But those who worked for the mine owners usually received paltry wages and often died young from lung disease and accidents. And so it has been throughout Utah's settled history. Although some groups have tried to live communally and cooperatively, competition has always—well, won out.

It is no accident that competition became the foundation of Utah's economy after settlers replaced the hunter-gatherers. Since hunter-gatherer groups are always on the move, they cannot own and carry many possessions. But when ancient peoples settled down to work the land in an agricultural society, they could begin to accumulate "stuff." Contests and competitions assumed more importance, and the concept of private property solidified. (Compare, for example, the worldviews of the American Indians who could not understand how one could own land, with the worldviews of Euro-Americans.)

Large disparities in possessions and power, then, have existed at least from the dawn of agriculture. In fact, some people suggest that the juxtaposition of poverty and wealth is an inherent part of the free-market system. Writing in 1965, Senator-to-be Daniel Moynihan mused on the fact that poverty still existed in America even though the Gross National Product had reached ten times what it was during the Great Depression. Perhaps, he said, the income gap is no accident. Perhaps some of the things that produce prosperity also produce poverty.

Interestingly, the contrast between rich and poor is somewhat less sharp in Utah than elsewhere in the United States. With relatively few numbers of poor and rich, "Utah is the country's ultimate middle-class state," says U of U econo-

mist Thayne Robson. Some reasons: The minority population here is low; Utah has few powerful family-owned business dynasties; the religious emphasis on families, service, and donations probably works against the accumulation of wealth; and 46 percent of Utah's women are in the workforce, which means that although wages here are 16 percent lower than the national average, many families maintain a middle-class lifestyle by having two incomes.



Banquet given by Daniel Jackling at the Hotel Utah, 1912.

BUT NOT EVERYONE in Utah can maintain a middle-class income. The percentage of Utahns living in poverty is currently estimated at 8 percent of the population. Even though that is the second lowest rate in the nation, it still means that one out of every twelve or thirteen Utahns lives below the Federal Poverty Level (FPL). Many more who are not "officially" poor still have inadequate incomes. This is because those families who make even one dollar more than the Federal Poverty Level are not counted in official poverty statistics.

Many of the poor are children. At the beginning of the 21st century, 60,500 of Utah's children under the age of 17 live at *below* the FPL (which is $13,470 for a family of three). And almost one in three of Utah's children—263,000—lives at below 200 percent of FPL, an income that, researchers say, still may not provide basic needs.

Of course, Americans have a standard of living that is higher, in material terms, than that of 100 years ago. Then, only the rich had electricity and indoor plumbing. Today, nearly everyone in the United States has these conveniences. And the poor of Utah have not suffered the devastating famines, refugee camps, and epidemics that have afflicted some groups in undeveloped countries.

But the fact remains that many Utahns, for whatever reason, do suffer hunger, cold, homelessness, lack of adequate health care, and other tribulations of poverty.

THROUGHOUT UTAH'S settled history, churches and other organizations as well as governments have stepped in to help the poor, both within the state and without, in significant ways. Some say, however, that we have not begun to find lasting solutions to poverty, solutions that would help individuals and families to be self-sufficient. Bill Crim, director of Utah Issues, believes that only after we understand the root causes of poverty can we find lasting solutions.

"What we do as a society to address poverty assumes that people are deficient somehow, but they are not," he says. "We try to fix poverty with 'band-aids' and emergency food boxes. Yet we ignore the biggest causes of poverty and thus ignore solutions that would end poverty for most people and get us out of the never-ending cycle of providing assistance."

Advocates for the poor identify five elements of a comprehensive solution:

1) An adequate "safety net" to ensure that no one in America lacks basic necessities such as shelter, food, and physical safety.

2) Access for all to basics such as housing, transportation, health care, and child care. Because the market alone will not provide these to everyone, society must agree that each citizen should have these basics. Policies that favor mass transit over private automobiles, for instance, would help provide transportation.

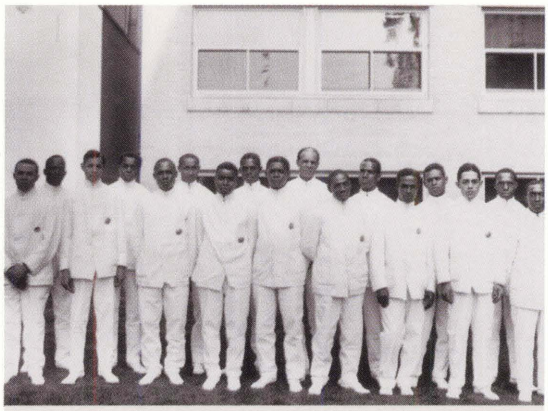
3) Jobs that pay a liveable wage. Work, of course, is a critical part of any solution to poverty. But some 70 percent of those who are officially poor do have jobs. Why aren't they self-sufficient?

One problem is that the working world in Utah, as in the nation, has changed in the past decades. It used to be that a high school graduate or even a dropout could make a good income by going to work for industry. But those jobs have become scarce. For instance, at the beginning of the 1980s Geneva Steel had some 5,000 well-paid workers, and Kennecott Copper Company had about 8,000. Both plants closed down during the '80s to modernize. When they reopened, they had drastically reduced their workforce and dramatically increased production through automation. Geneva now employs about 1,700. Some 2,000 now work at Kennecott, producing more copper than 8,000 once did.

Today, most of the new jobs being created in Utah are in low-wage (and often part-time) work

like telemarketing, retail sales, janitorial services, and child care. Besides typically paying wages that cannot sustain a family, these jobs rarely provide health insurance or other benefits.

For those working at the minimum wage of $5.15, the situation is bleak. Working for 52 weeks at 40 hours per week (with no holidays or time off), a minimum-wage worker would earn only $10,712. Thirty years ago, a person working at minimum wage might stay above the poverty level (in 1971, the minimum wage paid the equivalent of $6.95 in today's dollars, and in 1968 it was as high as $8.08), but that is not possible now. Simply put, the earnings potential of lower-end jobs has eroded. Advocates for the poor insist that public policy must recognize and address this fact.



Waiters at the Hotel Utah, 1913.

4) Training. As the number of well-paying blue-collar jobs has shrunk, the qualifications have increased. In order to work in these industries now, employees generally must have above-high school education, with reasoning skills and reading levels that will enable them to operate sophisticated equipment. However, although one in four Utahns gets a college degree, one out of four also drops out or graduates from high school without adequate skills.

So while incomes for those with access to training or education have been increasing, opportunities and real incomes for those without are falling off. A family with two adults working at low-paying jobs often cannot provide adequate housing, child care, and other essentials, especially when emergency expenses arise.

Some individuals will find ways to gain education or entrepreneurial skills on their own. But many will not. A family who can barely pay for housing and child care may not be able to obtain more education without outside support.

The state does administer programs that help people in poverty, but these programs do not have enough funding to help everyone in need, nor do they address the issue completely. In a report on Utah's disadvantaged working people, Garth Mangum and John Salevurakis suggest that if leaving poverty behind is a "serious social objective" the state must invest much more in training people for jobs that will actually pay family-sustaining wages and benefits. To supplement this training, they say, the state must invest more in health programs, family stability, work experience, childcare, and family subsistence while the wage-earner gains training.

Of course, such training must be coupled with the creation of jobs with adequate wages and benefits.

5) Assistance in building assets. There are several strategies that can be used to help people buy their own homes and build savings.

Beyond these steps, increasingly more observers believe that a new approach to the economy and to community has become imperative. Communities that have experimented with locally centered production and trade, co-ops, mass transit and car sharing, housing trusts, living wage ordinances, and the like have often created meaningful social connections and economic opportunities for community members.

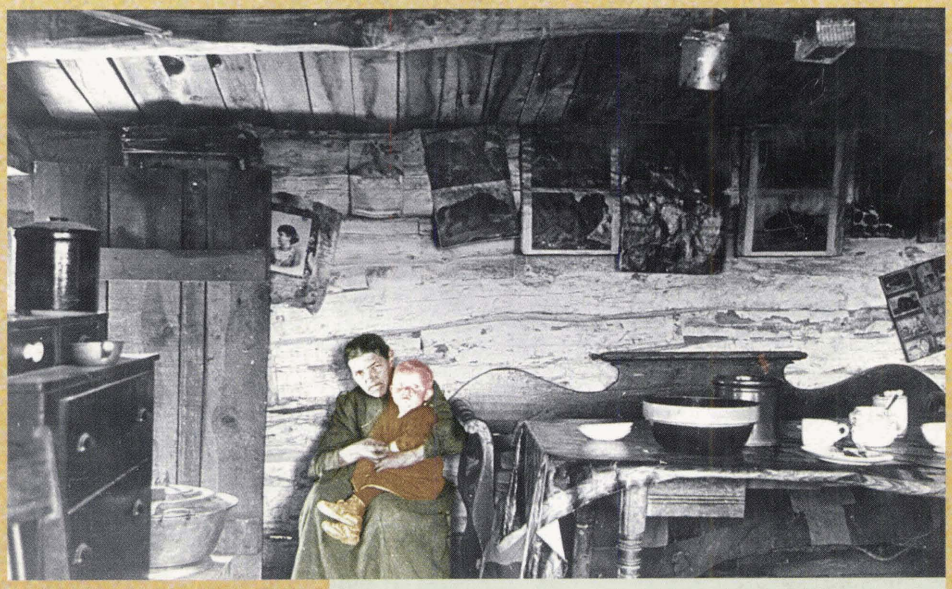
A decision to make changes is no easy matter. The issues of poverty are complex—and are complicated by emotions, individual choices, different values, the global perspective, and disagreements on the meaning of the data.

Besides, poverty is easy to ignore. For many Utahns, the poor are almost invisible. However, Amy Sherman, a senior research fellow at the Hudson Institute, believes that the separation of the classes is destructive. "Secession [of the rich] is bad for the rich, bad for the poor, and bad for American society," she writes. "It severs the rich from the realities of poverty and despair in America. It creates an atmosphere that dehumanizes the poor and demonizes the rich. It shuts the poor out, away from the people and resources that could help them climb out of poverty. It denies us all the enrichment and challenge that come from building relationships across racial, class, and socioeconomic divides."

Maybe "secession of the rich," apathy, and extreme poverty need not endure. Despite the complexity of the issues, Utahns could take vital steps toward closing some gaps—beginning by

recognizing the humanity and life experiences of others. Further, they can foster connections between people from all backgrounds—building relationship bridges across the "gap." Perhaps as people begin to recognize and understand each other, they can begin to work together toward real solutions.

Sources: Sara Bullard, "One Step Forward...," *Ford Foundation Report*, Winter 2001. Bill Crim, telephone conversations with author, April and July 2001. Ken Jensen, "Utah's Workforce, 1939 to 1999," *Utah Labor Market Report*, June 2000. Garth Mangum and John Salevurakis, *Toward a Second Chance for the Disadvantaged among Utah's Workforce: A Response to the Workforce Investment Act of 1998* (University of Utah, 2000). Garth Mangum, Shirley Weathers, Judy Kasten Bell, Scott Lazerus, *On Being Poor in Utah* (1998). Daniel P. Moynihan, "Three Problems in Combating Poverty," in Margaret S. Gorden, ed., *Poverty in America* (1965). Thayne Robson, telephone conversation with author, April 2001. Amy L. Sherman, "Does Inequality = Injustice? How a Fixation on the Gap between Rich and Poor Muddles our Thinking about the Economy," on website of Hudson Institute, www.hudson.org. Earl Shorris, *Riches for the Poor: The Clemente Course in the Humanities* (2000). Utah Issues website, www.utahissues.org.



ABOVE: A household in Davis County, not dated.
BELOW: December 26, 1905, at the W. V. Rice home.

