"Up the Ditch." The History of Elsinore, Utah, 1874-1977

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"UP THE DITCH:" THE HISTORY OF ELSINORE, UTAH, 1874-1977
by
Ken Cregg Hansen

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF ART in History

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UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY
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Ken Cregg Hansen
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ABSTRACT
"Up the Ditch:" The History of Elsinore, Utah, 1874-1977
by
Ken Cregg Hansen, Master of Science
Utah State University, 1978

Major Professor: Dr. S. George Ellsworth
Department: History

The purpose of this study is to examine the settlement and institutions of Elsinore, Utah. The community was founded by Scandinavian converts to the Mormon church in the late Nineteenth Century. Their experience in adapting to the arid region of south central Utah is a chapter in the general movement by the Mormons to settle the Mountain West.

The historical method was utilized to uncover extant documents on the subject. Interviews were held with the oldest citizens of the community and those who had a vast knowledge of the town. A period of three months was spent living in Elsinore and associating with the citizens. Present problems facing the town were examined along with the historic problems of the community.

The study of Elsinore shows how an alien people adapted to the arid south central region of Utah by adhering to the guidance of the Mormon church. These Scandinavians accepted and rejected some of the Mormon institutions after experience with them. The assimilation of these people was delayed by the people themselves with the creation of
institutions protecting their culture. Eventually, the people of Elsinore were assimilated into the broad American mass by attrition and loss of cultural symbols.

(145 pages)
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

In the Mormon settlement of the Mountain West there was a variety of settlement experiences from place to place, and among people of different national origins. The small community of Elsinore, Sevier County, Utah, in the south central part of the state, holds an important place in the settlement of Sevier Valley. The Scandinavian dominance in the town provides an interesting insight to how these people developed their essential institutions in an arid region.

The history of Elsinore illuminates a portion of the settlement history of the Mountain West, and illustrates Mormon Scandinavian response to living in America and in Utah, accommodating to much that was American but retaining much of the old world cultural heritage. Elsinore fits into the mainstream of Mormon settlement. The cultural makeup of the community makes it unique in the Sevier Valley settlement experience because of the prevalence and longevity of the Scandinavian culture.

The Elsinore experience shows a reliance upon the guidance of the Mormon church to survive but also an independence by the people to mold their own community. Reliance upon the Mormon church was needed in adapting to an arid region where the farming techniques and irrigation were completely unfamiliar to the Scandinavians. Even though relying on the counsel of the Mormon church these people developed their community along the lines of their native culture. They combined their culture and their new found religion to establish a center
for Scandinavians. This cultural pocket was against Mormon church policy. All foreign born were to be assimilated into the broad American society and give up their native culture.

The settlement experience in Elsinore shows how a cultural group unaccustomed to the aridity of south central Utah adapted their lifestyle to meet the challenge of the new environment. The settlers of Elsinore originated in the several regions of Scandinavia. The contrast between the physical conditions of the Sevier Valley and those of Scandinavia was great. Denmark is comprised of large, flat plains divided into sections of wasteland, dunes, marshland, and very limited woodlands.¹ Northern Jutland, where the Mormons won a large following,² is flat and bleak with very few trees.³ Those Danes from Copenhagen were accustomed to seeing large, flat plains with limited woodlands of mainly beech and spruce, as most of their region was under cultivation during the Nineteenth Century.⁴

The Mormon converts from Denmark and Sweden were accustomed to heavy annual precipitation.⁵ The mean annual precipitation was

¹Elwyn Davies, Denmark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1944), 73-82.


³Davies, 12-20.

⁴Davies, 81-82.

twenty-five inches (Figure 1). It ranged from thirty-two inches in southwest Jutland to about sixteen inches on Sprog in the Great Belt. The Sevier Valley region receives far less than that of Scandinavia. The average annual precipitation is thirteen inches. The pattern of rainfall in both areas is quite different. In Scandinavia the months of heavy rainfall are August and October. The Sevier Valley receives the majority of its rainfall between December and May. This wide discrepancy in both time and amount of rainfall forced the Scandinavians to adopt new methods of farming and watering their crops. The change in physical environment necessitated a dependency by the Scandinavians on guidance rather than their own experience. The adjustment by these Nordic peoples to the arid West was greatly facilitated by the strong guidance and leadership of the Mormon church.

During the second half of the Nineteenth Century 30,000 Mormon converts left Scandinavia for Zion. The Sanpete Valley became an early stronghold for these people. As the population increased and land became scarce, it assumed the position of a staging area for further settlements. Most of the early settlers of Elsinore came to the Sevier Valley by way of Sanpete.

7 Ibid.
9 Rice, 15.
10 William Mulder, Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), x.
Figure 1. Precipitation in Sevier County.
William Mulder stated that there were no exclusive Scandinavian settlements in Utah as this would have been contradictory to the Mormon notion of building Zion whereby fellowship overrode cultural distinction.\(^{11}\) A large number of Scandinavians resided in the Sanpete Valley but they were kept in balance by other foreign-born people. Ephraim gained a high concentration of Danish and Swedish but not nearly as high as Elsinore's 92 percent in 1880.\(^{12}\)

The new settlers underwent a change in their agricultural practices. The move from the humid, infertile areas of Denmark and Sweden to the arid valleys of Utah necessitated making accommodations to the environment.\(^{13}\) New techniques in farming were needed in addition to something very new to the Scandinavians irrigation. A story is told of an early Elsinore farmer's struggle with the land. It seems that the man farmed his land as he had done in Denmark. He tried to dig post holes in the dry clay and found it too hard. His wife complained that the crops hadn't grown any bigger than pepper grass. The plants looked as dry and ugly as the pepper grass but only half the size. She cried out in disgust that the land lacked fertility. The watermaster overhearing the cries of frustration politely informed the duo that one needed to irrigate the land for the crops to grow well. The response from the farmer was, "What is irrigation."\(^{14}\)

\(^{11}\)William Mulder, Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), 196.

\(^{12}\)United States, Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Manuscript Census for Utah, 1880.

\(^{13}\)Rice, 37.

\(^{14}\)Interview, Leon Madsen, Elsinore, Utah, 1972 (Church Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah), 1.
The early structure of Elsinore is typical of most Mormon villages. The town plat follows the City of Zion plan with few alterations. Prior to 1892, both monogamous and polygamous marriages existed in the predominantly Mormon town. It may be said that many towns were designed to be large family units but absent of extensive blood-line relationships. A unique facet found in the Elsinore society was that people resembled an integrated homogeneous family unit during the early years. It is an interesting fact that many of the early families, involved in the settling of Elsinore, became related to one another by marriage or by direct blood-lines. A gentleman who moved to the area in the mid-twentieth century observed that everyone in the town seemed to be related to one another. How these people came to be so intimately entwined is a major facet of the evolution of the Elsinore family structure.

All aspects of Elsinore and its institutions provide an interesting look at the secondary Mormon settlement phase in the Sevier Valley. The experiences of these Scandinavians show how a people unfamiliar with the arid region adapt. This process includes how a town grows and how it is affected by internal and external forces. The acceptance and rejection of certain institutions is important in the adjustment to the land.

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15 Interview, Mrs. William Etters, Elsinore, Utah, February 19, 1977.
CHAPTER II
FOUNDING

The Elsinore settlement experience is typical of the pattern in the Sevier Valley. The high rate of growth in Richfield spawned the beginnings of several communities of which Elsinore was part. The initial phase in the Sevier Valley occurred between 1863 and 1867. The towns of Richfield, Salina, Glenwood, Joseph and Monroe were established. The secondary phase a cluster of towns around Richfield during the period from 1872 to 1876.

The people who settled Elsinore had different motives for starting their own community. They desired to have their own cultural autonomy and have people in their town with whom they were acquainted. The town itself is typical in many ways to those throughout Utah but typical in several respects. Overall, Elsinore is still part of the mainstream of Mormon settlement in Utah.

During the late 1860s, south central Utah settlers were under extreme pressure from the Black Hawk War and it was this threat that forced the settlers to leave until safer times. Mormon settlements were abandoned until the 1870s at which time the settlers gradually returned, adhering to the counsel of Brigham Young.1

This migration of people back to Richfield in the 1870s showed an increase of new settlers from Sanpete rather than the former

1Irvin L. Warnock, Thru the Years: Sevier County Centennial History (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1947), 33.
residents returning. Early settlers to the Sevier Valley traded their land with Sanpeters for land in Sanpete and vice versa. An example of this trading is found in the case of Jens Iver Jensen of Ephraim. In 1872, he traded his land in Ephraim for land in Richfield. When Jensen moved to Richfield he found nine families already settled.

Richfield underwent a period of rapid growth after 1872. As it grew, the amount of land under the plow increased to a point where the farmers were traveling from seven to ten miles each day to their fields. This traveling caused several men to rethink their position in Richfield. Several residents of Richfield took under consideration the idea of relocating somewhere else in the valley during this expansion.

At the time of discussion the people of Richfield had entered into an institution of the Mormon church known as the United Order. The United Order was designed to make a community self-sufficient. Members of the Order consecrated all their worldly goods to the church and received in return what was needed to get along. The direction of this institution was towards equality.

2 Jens Iver Jensen, Autobiography, 10.
3 Ibid, 11.
5 Warnock, Thru the Years, 143; Jensen, Autobiography, 12.
in its functions. The land these men were farming showed promise but it required a lot of time each day traveling to and from the fields. Because of the distance these men traveled each day a discussion in earnest began on whether to settle nearer their fields.

In the spring of 1874, a group of Scandinavians from Richfield, seven miles north of the present site of Elsinore, made the decision to move from their established homes to build a new community of their choice closer to the fields. These men realized that it would be advantageous for them to be located nearer their fields rather than to continued daily travel. Lars Hansen suggested that the men settle on the land they had commenced to cultivate. This plan met with general disfavor among the men. About the same time, Jens Iver Jensen proposed a plan of forming a settlement in the neighborhood of the Sevier River and the Richfield Canal.

Even though these men belonged to the Richfield United Order they longed to be separated from it. For them to leave the Order without permission would be difficult, but would if necessary. They desired a separate community of their choosing. At this point, these men were breaking from the traditional mode of Utah colonization, as directed by the Mormon church. The men responsible for the move deemed it a

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7History of Early Elsinore, Minutes kept by Jens Iver Jensen, Church Historical Department, 1. (Hereafter referred to as History of Elsinore.)

8Jensen, Autobiography, 12.

9History of Elsinore, 1-2.
necessity so they could be nearer their fields, and possibly for a second reason—to bring about a selected Scandinavian center. This group of settlers was composed of two sets of brothers—the Jensens (Jens Iver Jensen, Christian Julius Jensen, and Niels Peter Jensen), and the Smiths (Vigo Smith, and William Smith)—and by four other men: James C. Jensen, Charles H. Nielsen, Lars Hansen, and Niels Ericksen.10

To obtain the sanction of the stake presidency, Jens Iver Jensen suggested a plan for settlement. To persuade the stake leaders he suggested that this new settlement be established under the auspices of the United Order. The associates of Jensen supported the proposal.11 A triumvirate of men, consisting of J.I. Jensen, James C. Jensen, and Charles Nielsen, approached President Joseph A. Young about forming a settlement, at a location "Up the Ditch" from Richfield, as it was termed.12 They met on a Sunday with President Young at the home of A.K. Thurber. Present at the meeting was Apostle George Q. Cannon.13 Young suggested that they unite with the United Order of Richfield.14 The trio previously had been associated with it and knew of its weaknesses and were not desirous to stay with that organization. Jens Iver Jensen's reply was: "We have no aim to get around the United

10 Jacobson, 4.

11 History of Elsinore, 2.

12 Ibid, 2.

13 Ibid, 4.

14 Ibid, 2.
Order but would rather have a company of our own." Jen Iver recorded that the group wondered if the settlement would have the sanction of the presiding priesthood leadership after their meeting with the stake president. President Young finally replied to their proposal by stating, "I am pleased with your plan and you are permitted to go and form a settlement; you have my sanction and will assist you." He proposed a day to meet with him to select a location for the town. According to appointment the three men met with Young in Richfield and after due consideration decided on the ground where the town of Elsinore is now located.

The problem of naming the community arose and the committee could not decide upon a satisfactory name. After much deliberation these representatives inquired of President Young as to what they should call their town. President Young replied,

Since the townsite was selected I have passed by there several times coming from the Clear Creek and every time I turn on that bend I think of my visit to Denmark--coming from England, coming in through Kattegat and entering the Oresund, having Elsinore on the right hand; not that I demand it of you but would suggest that your town be called 'Elsinore.'

The three men liked the name because it reminded them of their former homeland. The name Elsinore provided the people with a close link

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15 History of Elsinore, 2.
16 Ibid, 2.
17 Ibid, 2.
18 Ibid, 2.
19 Ibid, 2.
to their former country. Besides being a reminder, the name became a symbol of the Danish culture in a new land. J.I. Jensen commented on the name in his report to the church.

The city of Helsingor, Denmark, after which our town is named, is situated on the Isle of Sjælland about thirty English miles north of Copenhagen. By said Helsingor is a strong fortification, and in olden times a vessel passing said point was to pay duty to the Danish government. Our Elsinore is situated in an excellent point, not for duty but for traveling and traffic by the traveling public.20

The early period was marked by steady growth in the settlement. The townsite was laid out according to the City of Zion plat. There were thirty-two lots, fifteen by fifteen rods and the streets 83 feet wide. This made each lot about 248 feet by 248 feet with the streets 83 feet wide. The acreage of each lot was 1.4.21 James M. Peterson of Richfield supervised the surveying and laying out of the town.22

Soon after the townsite was ready the United Order was instituted in 1875 but by early 1876 it failed because of internal problems related to the leadership.23

These men who withdrew themselves from the Richfield United Order had committed themselves to live under Order rules after they had settled their new homes. Several of the men had experience in directing the functions of the United Order. The Elsinore United Order was established December 1874, with a full complement of leaders and

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20 History of Elsinore, 3.
21 Jacobson, 4.
22 Warnock, Thru the Years, 143.
President Young appointed Rasmus Raphaelsen to act in the office of president with Charles H. Nielsen, vice-president, James C. Jensen and Lars Hansen, as directors, and Jens I. Jensen as secretary-treasurer.

The type of order that was established in Elsinore resembled the St. George pattern. Under this version of the United Order all members in the community contributed all their economic property to the Order. Each member would then receive from the Order wages and dividends according to his labor and the property contributed.

The Elsinore United Order functioned for approximately one year. It seems that most of the members of the Order were happy in living under the guidance of the organization ideals and principles but there were some who felt too restricted by the rules and rebelled. It is interesting to note that the ones who became dissatisfied with the Elsinore Order were the same men who dissented from the Richfield Order.

Rasmus Raphaelson seemed to be a troublemaker when things were not going well. It didn't matter that he was part of the leadership and had his say in everything. In Richfield, prior to settling in Elsinore, he had left the organization because he couldn't get along with the presiding leadership. He was unable to cooperate with people for any extensive period of time.

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24 History of Elsinore, 4.
26 Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 330-33.
27 History of Elsinore, 3.
28 Ibid, 3.
The idea of the United Order came out of a desire to unify and establish self-sufficiency among the Mormons. Even though the idea had good intentions one brother widely remarked, "It takes pure people to live pure principles."\(^{29}\) The dissenters in Elsinore seemed to be no different from the others throughout the church who found problems living the United Order.

In the instance of Slaterville, Utah, the main cause for dissension was that men were seeking position. Edwin W. Smout left the church because he wasn't picked to be the branch president. Others who left the Slaterville organization, did so because they lacked a good understanding of the United Order.\(^{30}\) Lack of understanding of precepts caused problems throughout the church.

Seven miles to the south, at Joseph, the problem of understanding the United Order came up. The bishop of the community commented that he expected to die in the church, but "He could not see the Order." Because he failed to adhere to the counsel of the stake leadership he was replaced in his position by someone who could sustain the United Order.\(^{31}\)

The leaders in the Elsinore United Order, who absolved themselves, did so for reasons which are not altogether clear. J.I. Jensen, the Order secretary-treasurer, stated that the reason for Raphaelsen,


\(^{31}\) Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*, 178.
Hansen, and Nielsen leaving the Order centered in a difference of opinion between themselves and Joseph A. Young. Apparently, the disagreement revolved around the manner and use of the priesthood. The problem Raphaelsen had about the Elsinore Order was probably similar to the one he had while in the Richfield Order. He initially expressed a great deal of enthusiasm towards the organization but in a few months he grew cool and went to fault-finding of the priesthood leadership.  

The Elsinore United Order reached its failing point early in 1876. The Order president and presiding elder, Rasmus Raphaelsen, refused to serve in his position of responsibility and took what he said was his dissolving all ties with the organization. He declared openly that Mormonism and any other religion was nothing but humbug. At this time church services ceased to be held in the community. Previously, all meetings had been held in private homes. The three major dissenters—Raphaelsen, Hansen, and Nielsen—caused ill feelings with members of the infant community. J.I. Jensen, upset over the circumstances, traveled to Richfield to see the new stake president, A.K. Thurber, to ask for help. The former stake president, Joseph A. Young, had died about the time the Elsinore problems started. Jensen informed President Thurber that church meetings were no longer held and there had been a period

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32 History of Elsinore, 3.
33 Ibid, 3.
34 Ibid, 7-8.
36 Ibid, 7.
lasting nearly three months since the former leadership functioned. He appealed to Thurber to do something about the problems. After several trips to see the stake leader, Thurber made an appointment to visit Elsinore and see for himself firsthand.

President Thurber traveled to Elsinore in the fall of 1876, at the appointed time, to see the predicament. From what he heard previously and the words of Rasmus Raphaelsen at the meeting he responded to the people of Elsinore as if they were a pretty hard bunch. He roughly inquired of the congregation whether he should choose their new leader or leave it to the people of Elsinore. The congregation conceded that he should make the choice. Thurber replied that he would call upon one J.W. Sylvester of Central with the proposal.

Thurber approached Sylvester on the subject of acting as the presiding elder in Elsinore. Sylvester accepted the call issued by the stake president to put the town back on its feet. It is interesting to note that this new leader had not belonged to the Richfield United Order because he had been at odds with the former stake president concerning the consecration of property. It seems that Sylvester brought with him large numbers of cattle, sheep and horses as well as foodstuffs when he had arrived in Richfield in 1874. He had asked for one thing in return for the consecration of all his property to the Order and that was a house for his two wives and children. Joseph A.

37 History of Elsinore, 7.
38 Ibid, 7.
39 Ibid, 8.
Young, the leader at that time, rejected his offer. Sylvester promptly purchased land in the Central area and settled there, outside of the Richfield United Order. 41

In the fall of 1876, Joshua W. Sylvester assumed his position in Elsinore. It was his responsibility to take care of the spiritual and temporal affairs of the people. The problem of the dissenters remained for several years. They came and went from Elsinore frequently. Sylvester had to combat the influences of these people to increase the growth of Elsinore. The conduct of some of the dissenters restricted growth.

At the demise of the Order, Lars Hansen directed the distribution of the property among the claimants. He was referred to as the "Boss." 42 This parcelling of the land back to the people was clouded by the methods and questionable honesty of Lars Hansen. The failure of the United Order and the inequities of men such as Lars Hansen produced a mood in the community which restricted growth.

The growth of the community slowly increased by continued to be hindered by the dissenters who stayed on in Elsinore. The first nine families arrived in 1874. 43 In 1875, they were followed by nine additional families. 44 Sixteen more families swelled the number to 41Robert H. Sylvester, "The Fighting Bishop of Elsinore: A Brief Biographical Sketch of Bishop J.W. Sylvester," typescript, 2-3.

42History of Elsinore, 1, 6.

43Warnock, Thru the Years, 153.

44Ibid, 153.
34 in 1876. According to the records of Bishop Sylvester there were forty families residing in Elsinore by 1877. 46 At that point growth leveled off and the 1880 manuscript census for Elsinore indicates that there were thirty-nine families in residence. 47 Examination of additional materials shows that the number of households was nearer to forty-five. 48 A possible reason for the discrepancy in numbers lies in the apostasy in the community. The apostate families may have departed Elsinore prior to the census in June, 1880, making up the apparent error in the numbers of families.

Gradually the apostate families did leave Elsinore along with about seven other families who could not comply with the Mormon doctrine. The ringleader, Ramus Raphaelsen, left Elsinore in 1876 and returned to St. Louis. Later, he went to New Orleans. After about a year he returned to resettle in Elsinore. He bought new land and began farming but before long he left again. This time he went to Oregon where he seemed to find what he was searching for. He came back to Elsinore and persuaded other families to return with him to Oregon. 49 According to J.I. Jensen, after these families left Elsinore, the entire atmosphere of the community improved.

The first six years of the community were filled with struggle and challenges. Most communities face trials in their early stages of development but Elsinore endured some problems that might have

45 Warnock, Thru the Years, 153.
46 Jacobson, 77.
47 Manuscript Census for Utah, 1880.
48 Jacobson, 66-77.
49 History of Elsinore, 11-12.
destroyed the infant community before it had a chance to grow. They had to overcome the problems that grew out of the United Order to keep their community intact. The United Order did not help the people to have an equal society because several residents were too greedy to fit into an equal society. The settlement of Elsinore found that one of the Mormon church institutions was not a good thing for the community at that time. During the pioneer period of Elsinore the people had to pick and reject those institutions that were introduced by the Mormon church. Some would have a place while others would be discarded.
CHAPTER III
LAND AND IRRIGATION

Land and water played the most important roles in the settlement of the Sevier Valley. The availability of fertile land attracted many people and most were alien to the arid environment. The settlers had to rely upon an unsteady and unpredictable water supply. The land had the potential to be productive but without water there would be nothing. The new immigrants had to adapt themselves to the arid region using a new method of watering—irrigation.

Water was the most fought over item in the history of the Sevier Valley. The fight with the Indians over the land was relatively short in contrast to the disputes over water which lasted over one hundred years. Elsinore's participation in claiming water provides a basic insight into the conflicts over obtaining and keeping the water. The methods to utilize more efficiently the Elsinore water depicts the slow development of water management. Water companies were an outgrowth of this problem of effectively using water. They add an important light to the problem of water in the Sevier Valley.

Obtaining official title to the land was much easier than establishing water rights to the Sevier River. Land could be obtained by homesteading and paying the price for the land. Land passed hands without much problem during the Nineteenth Century but during the Twentieth Century it became difficult. Early users of the water did not worry about whose water it was but just took it. As new settlements sprouted up across the face of the valley a deep concern over
water rights emerged. Elsinore's claim to land and water provides an insight into the problems associated with each.

Land played an integral part in the settlement of Elsinore. It was the lure of land that brought the first settlers. The land they moved to was relatively untouched but potentially fertile. The amount of land one man could own was more than if he stayed in Richfield. The Scandinavians refused to be restricted to a mere 5 or 10 acres but to have in their grasp 20 to 50 and in some cases hundred of acres. The settlers of Elsinore left Richfield in their desire for more land.

The land for the townsite of Elsinore was granted under the Act of 1820 which abolished the credit system of purchasing lands but made provisions for certain preemption rights.\(^1\) The Act of 1820 is entitled, "An Act Making Further Provisions for the Sale of the Public Lands and the Acts Supplemental thereto including Section 2887 of the Revised Statutes."\(^2\) The original site covered 200 acres of the south-east quarter of section 29 in township 24 range west of Salt Lake Meridian (Figure 2).\(^3\) This location placed the town at the base of the foothills with the fields located around the eastern perimeter (Figure 3).

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\(^2\)Original Deed to Elsinore Townsite, #2153, dated April 29, 1882, Bureau of Land Management, Salt Lake City.

\(^3\)Ibid.
Figure 2. Elsinore original townsite.
Figure 3. Approximate total acreage of farmland.
The town was surveyed by James M. Peterson of Richfield during January, 1875.  He laid the town out in thirty-two lots, each one 15 x 15 rods, with streets five rods wide. Each man was allowed one city lot covering less than 1 1/2 acres. The size of the city lot was sufficient to have a house and a garden. This is typical of the City of Zion plan. Before these people moved to Elsinore the fields were located at the present location of Austin, two miles to the east (Figure 4).

Soon after the town of Elsinore was established, under the direction of the presiding church leader Joseph A. Young, the town reorganized under the auspices of the Elsinore United Order. The United Order proved to be more of a burden than a blessing. Several of the leaders chosen by Young failed to give equity to the townspeople. After the Order failed the land was redistributed to the people. The parcelling out of the land caused additional problems.

Lars Hansen, a former member of the United Order leadership, took it upon himself to distribute the land to the Elsinore residents. Guidelines were set down to make sure everyone received his inheritance. Each of the early settlers were to receive land in accordance with

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4History of Elsinore, 6.


6History of Elsinore, 4.

7Ibid, 5.

8Ibid, 6.
Figure 4. Austin area fields heavy outline area.
the amount of capital invested. If this plan had been followed, most of the recipients would have been satisfied.

The division of the land was inequitable and can best be expressed in the words of J.I. Jensen, an early settler and member of the United Order leadership.

In the fall of 1875, the land under Richfield Canal held by the early settlers of Elsinore was divided according to capital invested. The U.O. was at that time at an end. In the dividing of the land, L. Hansen was as usual the Boss, and it was done to suit his fancy--he took what he wanted and told the others where they could have their inheritances. Will here give a sample of his idea of equalization--among other of his choices he selected what he called twenty acres situated about where A. Johansen's land is; he called it 4 to 6 acres--it seemed he was not sure in arithmetic or surveying, for he did of the same 20 acres sell 30 acres and yet had over 30 acres remaining further east. He selected a piece of land for J.I. Jensen which he called 25 acres which will then to this day be found nothing more nor less than 25 acres which he valued at 13.00 per acre.

This method of parcelling out land caused a widespread feeling of distrust and anxiety for the leaders.

After the land division was made many of the early settlers were left with small lots of land. The new leadership sensed that additional land needed to be distributed. It was decided that new lands would be offered in a different part of Elsinore in exchange for labor in extending the Elsinore Canal.

The plan was to continue the Elsinore Canal from Elsinore to a point approximately 2.5 miles south of Richfield. Participants in the

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9 History of Elsinore, 6.
10 Ibid, 6.
11 Ibid, 6.
proposed extention were to be rewarded with varying amounts of land based on their involvement. Each man would receive according to his labors sections of land in increment of 10, 5, and 2 acres. The land to be divided lay below the ditch nearly to Central (Figure 5). Many Central residents participated in the project.

A major difficulty arose with the land around Elsinore as irrigation waters were turned on the land. The soil, though very rich, had a consistency much like the China loss. The reason for this type of soil is that around Joseph, Elsinore, and Monroe the soils are underlined by well rounded, coarse river gravel which continues for several hundred feet in depth, with occasional intervening strata of finer materials or clay. It extends well toward the foothills, but is there covered by a greater depth of soil. The soil was very fine and had a tendency to settle when watered. After the irrigation waters flooded the fields a great deal of sinking occurred. During the first five or six years the ground sank from two to ten feet in places. The sinking of the land had both serious and humorous aspects associated with it. One of the more humorous incidents of the sinking occurred after a heavy rainstorm. A townsman passing by

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12 History of Elsinore, 6-7.

13 Ibid, 7.


15 Jacobson, 8.
Figure 5. Land opened near Central at the time the Elsinore Canal was extended in 1876.
the cemetery noticed that many of the coffins were rising to the surface. Following this incident most of the coffins were moved while the cemetery was watered down to cause additional sinking. The coffins were returned after the land was stabilized. Even though care was taken to make sure of the identities of the graves, twelve remained unknown after being returned to the cemetery. One would think after nearly a century that the ground would have settled but contrary to opinion several parts of the cemetery continue to sink but at a less drastic pace.

Official title to the land in the Sevier Valley came from the federal government by way of a trustee. The first trustee was William Morrison, probate judge in Richfield. The county land records show Judge Morrison receiving land in Sevier as trustee, September 25, 1874. The judge for the county, acting in trust, dispersed land as claims were filed. Judge George W. Bean followed Morrison as the probate judge.

Official title to Elsinore was issued in 1881. Judge Bean issued the title to the town of Elsinore. Land title and exchanges prior to 1881 seldom show up in the county land records. Bureau of Land Management original deed records show Ham Nielsen as the first

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16Johnson, interview.
17Elsinore, Utah, Cemetery Records.
18Sevier County, Utah, Records of Deeds, Book A.
19Ibid.
20Original Deed to Elsinore Townsite, #2153.
Figure 6. People who owned the land in 1881.
After Sylvester left the office of bishop his successor, J.I. Jensen, held lands in trust in addition to water shares.\(^{25}\) The church retained several sections of land in Elsinore but at the present time they are in the name of the local church unit rather than in the name of a trustee.\(^{26}\)

In the beginning all the communities centered their land use around agriculture. As the land was cultivated and developed, livestock was relied upon more and more. The land today has a dual purpose. Grains are planted on some of the acreage while a larger portion is used for alfalfa. This part of the land is used to support the livestock and honeybee industry.

The rich, abundant land around Elsinore lured many settlers but as the land was taken up a movement away started. There have been three occasions when major moves away from Elsinore have happened. The away for more land began at the turn of the century. The Soderberg family along with several families left for Canada.\(^{27}\) New lands had opened for settlement in western Canada near the towns of Cardston and Raymond.\(^{28}\) Utah and Idaho Mormons poured into the new Canadian settlements. The reasons for leaving Utah, at this time, seemed to be economic rather than legal. The hope of gaining economic stability in a new and growing


\(^{26}\)Ibid.

\(^{27}\)Deseret Evening News, April 4, 1900.

county sustained the immigrants. This move to Canada lasted for several years. Many farmers were drawn by the future of the sugar beet industry in Canada.

Within a decade after the move to Canada started new homestead lands in Idaho opened (Figure 7). The Salmon Tract region centered in the Twin Falls area opened around 1909. Several farmers from Elsinore packed up and moved to Idaho as soon as they could. The promise of land and a cornucopia carried them to the Salmon Tract. The Peter Michael Hansen family, long time residents of Elsinore, settled on the Salmon Tract around 1910-1911. The ties of the Elsinore farmers to the land in Sevier had been weakened with the increased move towards livestock. Farmers who needed more land moved to new places to get it.

The third group that left Elsinore moved to Johns Valley. Will Sylvester headed an assemblage of several families on this migration. Sylvester had been a very successful farmer in Elsinore. He sold his farm thinking that there would be more opportunity for his children. The group of families stayed in Johns Valley for several years but eventually returned because conditions weren't as good as they had been in Elsinore. It seems that many of those who moved away from Elsinore, in search of better land, returned within a few years.

29 Tagg, 53.
30 Tagg, 105-106.
31 John Hansen, Biography of Boyd Peter Hansen.
32 Ibid.
33 Interview, Vera Bitter Jensen, Salt Lake City, January 30-31, 1976, 25.
34 Welby A. Johnson, Recollections, 4.
Figure 7. Elsinore land divisions.
Some groups did not return to stay. The people who moved to the Salmon Tract did not return to live in Elsinore but only to visit. The Sylvesters and the Soderbergs as well as others returned by those who did not move back kept their ties intact with residents and relative in Elsinore. The Hansens often came down from Idaho to visit because of their love for the area and for their people.\(^{35}\)

Land lured people to it and water kept them there. Water was the key to utilizing the land for farming and livestock. Without this precious commodity nothing could exist. It caused problems but yet, it solved some predicaments.

Most of the settlers had no prior experience in irrigation before coming to Utah. Fortunately, some of the first settlers of Elsinore had received experience while living in Sanpete County. One of the first things the early settlers did to make it possible for them to live on the west side of the Sevier Valley was to dig irrigation canals to supply their water needs. The first section of canal was undertaken by the Jensen brothers, J.I., Christ J. and Peter. They plowed the first furrow on the Elsinore Canal in the spring of 1874.\(^{36}\) The plowing of the canal was extremely difficult and hard work for both horse and man. It took three men to do the job with one span of mules and one span of horses. One man would drive while one would hold the plow and the other to stand on the double tree holding onto the mules'...
tails. It took several months to plow the canal a distance of two and a half miles. This venture provided the town with water that spring.

Before the canal was constructed the people of Elsinore had to convey water from the Sevier River, the southern boundary of the town. The Sevier River provided water for both culinary and irrigation purposes. At first the people took what water they could from the river but as many parties laid claim to the waters of the Sevier rights and apportionments had to be distributed. Elsinore had a claim for a maximum of 6,800 acre feet of water from the Sevier River in 1874. They were also guaranteed a minimum of 5,500 acre feet. They gained additional water from the Sevier as more irrigation and water companies filed on the water with their home base in Elsinore. Elsinore also had access to received water from the Sevier Valley Canal which received its water from the Sevier River. The number of water sources for Elsinore increased as there was a demand.

Elsinore housed five irrigation and water companies: the Elsinore Canal Company, the Brooklyn Canal Company, and the Elsinore Water Works. The water companies regulated the flow of water to the

37 Jacobson, 4; History of Elsinore, 5.

38 George M. Bacon, Proposed Determination of Water Rights on the Sevier River System ... ([n.p.], 1926).

39 Ibid.

40 Articles of Incorporation for the Elsinore Canal Company, Elsinore Irrigation Company, Elsinore Bench Irrigation Company, and the Brooklyn Canal Company, Sevier County Records, Court House, Richfield, Utah.
various sections of town. To receive water one had to own shares in a water company. Several of the water companies grew out of a need for water to be provided in additional sections of town. Elsinore could not have survived without the establishment of the water companies.

The people did not have complete reliance upon the waters from the canals. Early in the history of Elsinore mountain springs were tapped for culinary water. Elsinore now has claims to approximately four springs. The treatment of water problems by the town has been important throughout its history.

The manner in which the leaders have handled water problems has kept the town supplied with an adequate supply of water. At the time Elsinore incorporated, the town council designated permanent lines of streets and sidewalks on which to build fences and make water ditches. Many of the lots in town cannot be watered from the general canals so out of necessity roadside waterways were developed to carry both culinary and irrigation water to those lots. Water planning was important especially in the early days.

The early leaders had enough foresight to know that a reservoir would be needed. In March, 1893, a petition was presented by J.I. Jensen in behalf of himself and seven others proposing that the town construct a holding reservoir on Second North or between First and Second North on the Sevier Valley Canal. The purpose of the reservoir would be for filtering the water to be used for the Elsinore Water Works Company. At the same time the town council granted that water

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41Elsinore, Town Council Minutes, March 18, 1892.

42Ibid, March 24, 1893.
pipes would be laid throughout the town. Plans were made for digging the trenches and laying the water pipes. The Elsinore Water Works Company became incorporated at the same time as the petition was presented to the Elsinore Town Council. According to the Sevier County Incorporation Records, the new water company was composed of forty people.\(^43\)

Even though the town was opting for progress there still remained problems to be conquered. A major problem that faced the people of Elsinore was keeping their culinary water ditch uncontaminated. During the latter part of 1893, Michael Abraham Hansen, a resident of the town, made an allegation against one Peter Larsen. The complaint stated that Larsen was keeping his corral too close to the culinary water ditch. A committee was formed. They examined the charge and discovered evidence supporting the allegation. Larsen was fined a substantial sum of money and required to move his corral a greater distance from the canal.\(^44\) Other cases of contaminating the water cropped up at various intervals. J.C. Johansen, on July 15, 1902, accused his neighbor, C.K. Christensen, of befouling the culinary water by allowing straw and rubbish to blow into the ditch and also allowing stock in the ditch.\(^45\) Christensen too, received harsh punishment for his negligence. Neglect for the culinary ditches caused some of the worst epidemics that Elsinore experienced. The water that Elsinore had came at a high price and the lack of water at times caused some misfortune.

\(^{43}\) Articles of Incorporation, #54, Elsinore Water Works Company, March 18, 1893.

\(^{44}\) Elsinore, Town Council Minutes, December 22, 1893.

\(^{45}\) Ibid, July 15, 1902.
At the turn of the century, a fire in the small town of Brooklyn, just south of Elsinore, destroyed the home of Mrs. Shaw. The home was located nearly a mile from the nearest supply of water. The people of Elsinore and Brooklyn formed bucket brigades but within two hours the home burned to the ground. Even today, water for fighting fires is not readily available. The fire at the White Rock School House, July 1877, is typical of the problem. Kids playing with fireworks on the school grounds accidentally ignited a fire on the roof and within a short time the entire roof was consumed by flames. The town tried to use the fire hydrants but found to their dismay that there was not enough pressure to spray the water on the roof. In one case it was found that there was no water coming from a hydrant. The town leaders have tried to change that predicament by proposing the installation of a new water system which would have the capacity to supply an adequate water force in case of fires. The renovation would also do away with the use of the irrigation canals with the introduction of a sprinkling system. It has taken the town nearly 80 years to move on the problem to get adequate water pressure to all sections of the town.

Besides the problems of supplying water for fires and keeping the water unpolluted the problem of priority to the water arose. Even though the people of Elsinore had legal rights to the water sometimes they were deprived of their water. Each canal system had a watermaster

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46 Deseret Evening News, September 1, 1900.


and a ditchrider. The ditchrider would make daily rounds to the farms so the farmers could take their scheduled turn to receive water. Richfield asserted her authority at times to get more water. A story in point portrays the need of Richfield and the reaction of the Elsinore people to being deprived of their water.

During a dry summer around the turn of the century a farmer by the name of Peter Michael Hansen was preparing to take his water turn. He arrived early at the gate with his hired man to make sure everything was all right. As the time for his water turn came and went he became worried. Eventually, the rider appeared. He told Hansen that he could not have his water turn for the day because the people in Richfield needed the water. Their fields were burning up with the heat. Hansen angered by the news replied to the ditchrider, "If Richfield is burning up they will need this!" He pulled up the ditch gate and heaved it into the Sevier River.49

The amount of water that the town of Elsinore claims in the Sevier River was set at a certain amount by the Early Water Rights Decree (1926) and the Coy Decree (1931).50 It seemed to the leadership of the community that more water was needed in case of emergency. From this realization the town council held a special meeting at which the leaders discussed the possibility of drilling for underground water. An offer was made for the drilling and a potential site was introduced.

49 Interview, Willard Christensen, Elsinore, Utah, August 19, 1977.

July, 1901. Even well water was of doubtful quality. In 1903, the water from C.F. Johansen's well was tested and reported dangerous. At the same time the canal water was tested and proved to be safe. Drilling for wells of questionable quality caused a great deal of discussion as to where safe water could be obtained. In 1904, an investigation was started to determine where safe water could be obtained.

The investigation for good water centered around the feasibility of using the mountain springs. The first spring to be examined was the Oak Springs. After due consideration the town purchased the springs from the state. A total area in and around the spring of eight acres came with the purchase price. With the realization that the water obtained from the mountain springs would be of high quality, additional springs were sought. The town filed on the unused water in Thompson's Creek, December 1, 1906. The filing on Thompson's Creek caused an uproar.

The town of Elsinore filed on the unused water in the creek but they did not plan to take the water away from Mrs. Thompson without just consideration. The town council authorized payment to Mrs. Thompson for fifteen acres of land and the water above the canal or $1500 for Thompson's Creek. Four months later a protest against the Elsinore
claim was filed June, 1907, by members of the Thompson family.\footnote{Elsinore, Town Council Minutes, June 8, 1907.}

Eventually, the town obtained the water but it took a long time and it cost the town more than it had planned for the project.

It was necessary to control the water in which Elsinore had rights. In 1903, three water companies were formed to regulate the water use. The three companies were the Elsinore Water Works, the Elsinore Bench Irrigation Company and the Elsinore Canal Company.\footnote{Articles of Incorporation, Elsinore Water Works, Elsinore Bench Irrigation Company, and Elsinore Canal Company.}

The people involved in the water companies were basically the same. For instance, J.I. Jensen owned five shares of the Elsinore Irrigation Company and in the Elsinore Canal Company he had 6½ shares. Nine members of the Elsinore Irrigation Company held shares in the Elsinore Canal Company. For the most part the number of shares held by each individual was greater in the Irrigation Company than in the other water companies because of the number of shares allowed to be sold. Eight members of the Irrigation Company held shares in the Bench Company.

The methods by which shares were distributed among the shareholders provides an interesting insight into the water companies of the area. The Elsinore Irrigation Company divided its shares equally to members at a rate of five valued at $50. Only one shareholder held less than the regular five share increments and that was S. Sorensen.\footnote{Articles of Incorporation, Elsinore Irrigation Company.} He had only two shares but in the Canal Company at a cost...
of $175 he held 17½ shares. The Elsinore Canal Company provided a greater number of shares for purchase than did any of the other companies. A good percentage of the shareholders in the Canal Company were residents of Central and Richfield. A major shareholder was Jas. M. Peterson of Richfield. He had participated in the construction of the canal and surveyed the community in 1874.

The Elsinore Bench Company sold fewer shares because of its lesser claims to water (Table 1). The total number of shares ranged between 45 and 50. One man purchased two shares to be the largest shareholder. The remainder of the stockholders possessed only one share, with the exception of two men, William Bell and Anton Sorensen. They each had one-half share. Oftentimes a man would put the ownership of the shares in a spouse's name to be able to have more water.

According to the records many women held shares in the companies at the same time as their husbands. Possible explanation for this occurrence lies in the fact that some of the men whose wives were listed as shareholders were polygamists and a desire for more water. The idea of having the ownership of the water shares in the name of the woman made it less conspicuous during the polygamist hunts by federal marshalls during the 1880s. By appearances it would seem that the woman was a widow having property and possessions. An example of this situation is found in the Elsinore Canal Company records. The names of S.C. Peterson

59 Articles of Incorporation, Elsinore Canal Company.

60 Ibid.

61 Articles of Incorporation, Elsinore Bench Irrigation Company.
Table 1. Water shares.

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46
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<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
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and Anne Peterson Hyten are found listed consecutively. Anne was the first wife of S.C. Peterson. She held twelve shares in the company while he had forty-two.62 Another example is the case of Vigo Smith and his wife, Matilda. They are both listed in the Elsinore Irrigation Company in two separate places. Both parties held five shares of water.63 In this particular instance polygamy is not an issue. The Smiths were only after more water. Another case where polygamy is a basis for having extra shares of water is that of Hannah Frandsen, wife of Lars Frandsen. She was the second wife and apparently lived separately from the first family.64

The people of Brooklyn received their water from the Elsinore water companies for a price. After nearly thirty years of having less water than the residents of Elsinore and undergoing disastrous fires, then decided to create water companies of their own. During February, 1905, the people of Brooklyn filed their application for the Brooklyn Water Development Company.65 The share holders were comprised of people from Elsinore, Austin, and Monroe. It is a little deceiving that the records state the shareholders represented mainly Elsinore. In reality, all of the individuals listed as residents of Elsinore were in fact living in the unidentified confines of Brooklyn. These individuals controlled 60 percent of the shares.66 The shares were divided

62 Articles of Incorporation, Elsinore Canal Company.
63 Articles of Incorporation, Elsinore Irrigation Company.
64 Ibid.
65 Articles of Incorporation, Brooklyn Water Development Company.
66 Ibid.
in increments of thousands. Each shareholder possessed 2,000 shares. What a share was equal to is not clearly understood. In the cases of Elsinore Irrigation Company and the Elsinore Bench Irrigation Company, the division was in acre-feet of water. It is not believable that each of the shareholders of the Brooklyn Company each possessed 2,000 acre-feet of water. That is more water than they had claims for in the Sevier River.

The water problem continually emerges in the discussions of the Elsinore town meetings. The desire for more and better water motivated the leaders of the town to work at keeping the water flowing and pure. Towards the end of the depression in 1938, the water works of Elsinore were completely examined and repairs made when necessary. Brooklyn seemed to be the millstone around the neck of Elsinore when it came to water. During the same year that the water lines were closed, Brooklyn asked that they receive more water for the minimum cost. The leadership of the community decided that no more water could be allowed to Brooklyn for the minimum price. Frequent examinations of the springs were made to be sure of the quality of the water that the people of Elsinore and Brooklyn would be receiving. During World War II, R.G. Christensen reported that North and South Creeks needed to have the drain cleaned and made bigger as it was in bad condition.

67 Articles of Incorporation, Elsinore Irrigation Company, and Elsinore Bench Irrigation Company.

68 LeRoy H. Cox, Decree .

69 Elsinore, Town Council Minutes, 1938.

70 Ibid, November 12, 1938 and December 3, 1938.

71 Ibid, June 1, 1942.
given in June was followed up by a report by Christensen in October stating that the work on the headhouse had been completed. All was in good condition.  

Additions had to be made periodically to the Elsinore water system. On March 14, 1956, water from Oak Springs was piped down to the farms. It was decided that a new distributing reservoir needed to be constructed above the town. By May, everything was in preparation for the new water system above town. The need to keep adequate water supplies for the town continually motivates the leadership of the town to do better.

During the summer of 1977, the town leaders once again made a proposal to the residents of the town for a new water system which would make it possible for Elsinore to handle a population between one and two thousand. This move to improve the water system shows that the problem of water is a never ending situation in the arid region in which Elsinore is located. If there is no water to drink and irrigate the land there is no life. The problem has changed little in over one hundred years.

Land in Elsinore prior to 1977 had no more than agricultural value. With present growth spreading out from Richfield the land in Elsinore has increased greatly. Most of the land is being taken up for building lots. The changing role of land is making a new future for Elsinore but the problems over water will never cease.

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72 Elsinore Town Council Minutes, October 5, 1942.


Water is an item that sustains life, for the lack of it brings about death. The claims to water in the Sevier River have increased as well as the claims to both spring and well water. To preserve the existence of Elsinore the claims to the water had to be made fast. Without the priceless water the town would die and the south winds would blow the fertile soil away.
CHAPTER IV

THE ECONOMY

The economy of Elsinore has been influenced by many different determinants including local and national trends. Elsinore's economy vacillated as it was influenced by various factors. Both negative and positive effects can be seen from the varied trends. These influences have directed the economy for the better and sometimes for the worse. The major determinants that have affected Elsinore are livestock, the railroad, mining, agriculture, business failures, depressions, wars, and natural disasters. Some of these causes forced the economy down while others built it up.

Even though the economy is influenced by both internal and external factors the Scandinavians of Elsinore showed an ability to adapt. The determinants that had negative effects upon the economy were soon eliminated. One such factor was the United Order. It did not work and therefore was dissolved. The people started over using a different approach. As they found something that did not work, it was quickly abandoned and a new institution taken under consideration.

This economic development of Elsinore shows the capacity of a group unfamiliar to the West to adapt to success and failure. Much of the Elsinore experience deals with failures of business. The people had to learn to overcome the problems and live from the bad to the good times. Elsinore is a part of the mainstream of Mormon settlement and its economy shows a typical uphill battle.
After the departure of the dissidents from Elsinore the town made improvements. The weakened community experienced trials during the late 1870's but the 1880's showed positive development. New families increased the population as well as increased the number of businesses and land under the plot. Even before the dissenters left Elsinore, economic improvements had begin, such as the Elsinore Cooperative Mercantile Store. Only a short year after the Order had failed the store was organized.¹

The cooperative movement was a phase of Mormon economic organization which lasted from 1868 to 1884. It featured the establishment of retail stores and factories in nearly every Mormon village in the West. In November, 1868, the title Zions Co-operative Mercantile Institution came to be used in reference to the retail stores. The purpose of the co-op was to provide the Mormon community with a chance to buy merchandise at reduced prices and to partake of the profits derived from the stores.² The Elsinore Co-op was a branch of this system.

The store was an outgrowth of the counsel of Mormon church leaders. The majority of residents adhered to the counsel of their leaders as before. When the group made the break from the Richfield United Order, J.I. Jensen, spokesman for the party, informed Joseph A. Young that "We have no aim to get around the Order but would rather have a company of our own."³ This proposal was an act of faith. The Scandinavians of

¹History of Elsinore, 8.
²Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 243-99.
³History of Elsinore, 2.
Elsinore would abide by nearly all the tenets of the church. In the year 1877, a year after the Order's demise, the co-op store was organized. Once again these people were complying with the advice of the church leaders in Salt Lake. Eight years prior to this event Brigham Young had given a sermon concerning the organization of a cooperative mercantile store. He had suggested that everybody contribute toward the concern, especially the poor. He stated:

When you start your cooperative store in a ward, you will find the men of capital stepping forward, and one says, 'I will put in ten thousand dollars;' another says, 'I will put in five thousand' but I say to you, bishops, do not let these men take five thousand, or one thousand, but call on the brethren and sisters who are poor and tell them to put in their five dollars or their twenty-five, and let those who have capital stand back and give the poor the advantage of this quick trading.  

Young's suggestion tended to have a misleading effect upon smaller communities. In the case of Elsinore, the first amount they started with after all donations had been collected amounted to a little more than $100 cash. The kind of money that Young spoke of did not exist in Elsinore. Therefore, the co-op of Elsinore would be much like the idea he expounded. The idea of dealing with one central distributor, providing discount prices, enticed many to make what donations they could.

The leadership of the Elsinore Cooperative Mercantile Institution resembled nearly to the man the Elsinore ward bishopric: J.W. Sylvester, president, C.H. Nielsen, vice-president, and J.C. Jensen and S. Sorensen, salesmen.

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4 Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 303.
5 History of Elsinore, 8.
6 Ibid, 8.
The initial location of the store was a small room in the rear of the J.C. Jensen home. The business moved frequently as the size of the venture increased until it finally found a permanent place in the tithing house.

The realities of the general cooperative movement, the Zion Cooperative Mercantile Institution, came quickly to a few closely involved with the local operation. J.I. Jensen in his autobiography states bluntly that the venture was not a big success. The stability of the business wavered like a flag in the breeze until it was finally dissolved. An experience of J.I. Jensen depicts the treatment that became co-op, such as Elsinore, received from the parent Z.C.M.I.

The store had been functioning nearly eight months when J.I. Jensen went to Salt Lake for a load of goods. He took as trade egg down (chicken down). The Z.C.M.I. took the shipment of down on account. The monetary value of the down covered all but $60 of the standing account. To the surprise of J.I., Superintendent H.S. Eldredge informed him that the Elsinore Branch could not have anything more on credit. Jens Iver made every effort to persuade the superintendent to let them keep their account open but to no avail. Extremely frustrated, he went to see Bishop Hunter. Hunter advised him to go to the firm of Barnes and Davis or W. Jennings to see what they could do for him. Jens Iver visited with the two concerns but was informed by both of them that he would not have anything unless he could get Bishop

7 History of Elsinore, 8.
8 Ibid, 8.
9 Ibid, 8-9.
Hunter to stand by Elsinore's debts if they were not paid. The bishop was informed of the situation and he replied in the following way, "How much do you want?" Jens Iver meekly asked for the collateral for $100. The bishop answered, "I will let you have $150," repeating it three times. He then asked, "Do you want to go back to Z.C.M.I.?" Jensen's reply was in the negative to which Hunter responded, "That's right, that's right, the devil is there, the devil is there!" Jensen proceeded to take goods from the firm of Barnes and Davis. By having the security backing of Bishop Hunter the firm gave Jensen credit to the amount of $300.\(^{10}\) The Elsinore Co-op dealt with the firm for about three or four years for sums in the thousand. The bulk of the trade returned to the Z.C.M.I. in 1882.

The return of the Elsinore Co-op's business to the Z.C.M.I. in Salt Lake City remains a part of a general pattern in the 1880s. In 1882, John Taylor, the president of the church, announced that anyone could pursue a future in the retail business.\(^{11}\) Taylor had taken the lid off the free enterprise system and was allowing anyone to get his piece of the action. With the announcement, many individuals built their own retail stores. This boom overexpanded the retail field, causing many failures. Virtually all the private enterprises as well as the co-ops patronized the Z.C.M.I. for the sake of better buys.\(^{12}\) The Elsinore venture fell in line like many others by returning to the fold of the Z.C.M.I.

\(^{10}\) History of Elsinore, 8-9.

\(^{11}\) Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 313-14.

\(^{12}\) Ibid., 314.
The first few years after the town was settled, the pattern of growth showed a slow rise. It is known that the town had a black cloud of depression hanging over it due to the apostasy that occurred when the Raphaelsons, Hansens, and others chose to leave the church and cause problems for the rest of the community. These men were driven by an avarice for money and land which far exceeded their religious ties. Soon after these people left Elsinore, the town began to grow with a certainty that there was a future for the town. During the 1880s, new businesses grew with the town. By the mid 80s there were several new stores including Marquardson-Jensen and Jonas Ostlund. The town had two hotels run by Christian J. Jensen and his brother, Jens Iver. The first motel, run by C.J., was started during the 80s while J.I. Jensen did not get involved until the early 90s. These hotels experienced a lot of traffic into the Twentieth Century. Many a drummer spent a night at a Jensen hotel. The most common stop was the Elsinore House, owned and operated by J.I. Jensen. The reasons that most of the drummers tended to stop there was good food, good company, and girls. J.I. Jensen's wife and daughter formed the Elsinore House staff. They were friendly and helpful to the weary travelers.

A drummer by the name of Henry C. "Shall" Jacobs reminisced about his stops in Elsinore. He relates the following:

13 Jacobson, 10.


15 Ibid, 34.
In Elsinore Bishop J.I. Jensen owned the hotel where I stayed. His wife was a top-notch cook, and his daughters were some of the most attractive and fine girls that I ever met. I liked to attend dances while there, and sometimes the Jensen girls would drop me a note and tell me when they were planning to have a special party or dance. They were a hospitable family, and after our evening meal we often sat in the parlor and sang songs or had a program.

Another family I looked to visit in Elsinore were the Ostlunds who lived on Main Street. They had a store in their home, which was a red rock structure that is still standing, I could always depend on Sister Ostlund's treating me to newly baked buns and fresh buttermilk when I put in an appearance.16

It appears that the life of a drummer was not as weary and tiresome as might be expected. The hospitality of the people he encountered reflects his acceptance of Elsinore. Drummers in general were usually treated with apprehension as the parents did not know whether these salesmen were going to give their daughters a sales pitch to lead them astray or if they were honest men doing a job. At a dance in Ephraim, the bishop stopped a dance because he heard that drummers were in their presence. After speaking with the drummers in question he announced to the congregation that it was all right because they were Z.C.M.I. drummers.17 In Elsinore drummers were treated with caution but those known to the people were treated like family.

Many drummers fitted in like family at each stop as they made their sales rounds. It seems that Mr. Jacobs was held in very high esteem by the Jensen girls. They corresponded with him. The following letter depicts their relationship with this particular drummer.

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Mr. Shall Jacobs  
Ogden, Utah  

Dear Shall:  

We received your most welcome letter some time ago. It was very kind of you to remember us and we appreciate it so very much.  

Tonight we are lonely and alone, not a person here but Tom, of course. He is playing "High Lonesome." Ha! Ha! Tom isn't nearly as funny as he use to be; guess prospects are not as bright as they were.  

We are all well and happy, but Miss Emma and we are continually sighing for "Shall" and a few other fellows. Say you must try and come down this summer, you know how happy we will be to see you. We will do all in our power to make your visit pleasureable. Your successor hasn't called yet. We are quite anxious to see him, but are sure he can't take the place of "Shall."  

Emma is Mrs. Lund now, just think of it. She is living in Salt Lake City now. Call and see her some day. She will be so glad to see you. Dear girl, it nearly broke our hearts to have her go. But she is still our own dear "Em."  

Ma and Pa join us in sending love. Now don't forget us but think of us as your sisters.  

Minnie and Tina  

The hotel business thrived for the Jesens for several years because of the unique position in which Elsinore found itself from 1897 to 1909. During this period the county was thriving as mines opened up in Kimberly. The railroad came to Elsinore in 1896, which made 

18 Buchanan, 29.  

it the shipping terminus for the southern end of the county and for the mines. Livestock, produce, and ores were the primary items shipped out of Elsinore. While the sugar factor was in operation millions of pounds of sugar were shipped out. Even with an industrial boom the economic base for the town remained in agricultural products. After the introduction of lucerne to the valley, the Elsinore farmers planted both alfalfa and wheat. A side industry to the alfalfa was the honey industry. Thomas Nielsen ran a honey bee farm for many years.

The honey bee industry in Elsinore provided more than a good crop of honey, it also provided for humor and anguish. It seems during the early trials at apiculture often times someone would stray into the field which housed the hives. More times than not both horse and driver would be repulsed from the area with numerous stings. The experience of Peter Christensen Kroner depicts the problems of the bees. One day he was going around the field road but decided to take a shortcut along the ditch bank through the Nielsen grainfield with his selfbinder. When he got within a short distance of the hives, the bees attacked him and his horse. He yelled for help. Thomas Nielsen ran through the sweet clover in an attempt to lure away the bees that were preparing to attack poor Peter Kroner. When Nielsen finally reached the furious horses they had fallen into a deep ditch and it was necessary to cut their harnesses before they could be released. The bees could be helpful but also harmful on occasion.

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20 Jacobson, 12.

Apiculture fitted into the Elsinore agriculture scene as most farmers grew alfalfa.

Thomas Nielsen raised honey to sell and trade for what he needed. From his hives he collected several thousand pounds of honey each year. Before the sugar factory was built and operating Nielsen had a broad market for his honey because sugar was expensive and hard to come by. The Madsen family also raised bees and sold honey. Leon Madsen is known for his trading of pure honey for enough wood to build his home.22

The land around Elsinore has been used to grow wheat for as long as the Mormons have been there. The productivity of the land has been very high. In the first year that they had a full harvest they netted nearly 18,000 bushels, an average of 30 bushels to an acre.23 Because Elsinore produced large amounts of wheat there was a real need for a mill. The first attempt at a mill came in 1879 but it failed to reach fruition. In 1890, Andrew Bertelsen, formerly of Monroe, came to Elsinore and built the first operating mill. The mill was called the Elsinore Roller Mill. It was located on the Sevier River at the southern most boundary of the city. The mill began operations in late 1880, producing a brand of flour called, "Golden Belt Flour." This flour was very popular and soon was being shipped to many towns throughout the west.24 People came from as far south as Kanab to trade for flour. Often they had to camp for days waiting for it.

22 Interview, Leon T. Madsen, Elsinore, Utah, 1972, 16-17.
23 History of Elsinore, 7.
24 Jacobson, 8-9.
In 1890, Bertelsen sold the mill to an association of men from Elsinore: the Riddles, Sorensons, Jensen, Staples, Marquardson's and Rosses. The price they paid included forty acres of land around the mill. This group went into the production of feed, the buying and feeding of hogs, slaughtering, and the packing of meat, Danish style, in addition to the production of flour.  

The association sold the mill to James M. Parry in 1899. He built a new mill and installed modern machinery. Parry turned to wide advertisement to sell his patented flour. He changed the name of the flour to "Elsinore's High Patent Flour." It was ranked A-1 and became a household word in flour in many communities. Since the time that Parry sold out there has been a string of owners. Ernest Wilson, one of the last owners, added the old Denver & Rio Grande station to the mill and built feeding yards for the cattle. 

The roller mill prospered for nearly seventy-seven years before a disaster brought it to an end. On the evening of March 8, 1957, fire struck the old roller mill and within a few hours burned it to the ground, taking with it tons of grain, pulp, soy beans, pellets, and oil. The loss totaled nearly $100,000. 

As the town of Elsinore grew economically there was a hint of disaster in the air. It happened more than once. Disasters plaqued Elsinore in the form of fires, earthquakes, and stock market crashes. The people of Elsinore survived easily the drought and severe winters but the major disasters took their fight away.

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25 Jacobson, 9.
26 Ibid.
Even with the promise of new growth and expansion, Elsinore has a history of disasters. Since the early 1880s Elsinore has been plagued with disasters. In the early period of the town it was disease that attacked. Diptheria caused the deaths of more children than any other one cause. The first diptheria plague hit Elsinore in 1877. During the winter the epidemic took the lives of fifteen children. In later epidemics, sometimes four or five children would die during the night. Some families lost three and four at a time. The disease did not care whether it was the young, the old, or the newborn that it took. The disease was so contagious that the dead were taken to the cemetery during the night and buried without funeral services. This precaution was to prevent the spread of the disease to others of the community. Medical attention was limited during these seiges. Several midwives and sometimes a doctor would brave the onslaught of the disease to try and save the lives of the afflicted. Disease struck a chord of fear in the lives of the people but even more than the fear of disease the people of Elsinore dreaded the rumblings of earthquakes.

Elsinore's geographical location in the Sevier Valley is in a place that was relatively dangerous. The town is located along a fault on the west side of the valley which makes the town susceptible to earthquakes. During the autumn of 1921, nature belted Elsinore with a series of earthquakes. The quakes forced the people of Elsinore

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28 History of Elsinore, 10.
29 Jacobson, 12.
30 Johnson, interview.
to flee into the night because they feared their houses would fall down upon them. Nearly all the homes were left with cracked chimneys and some with structural damage. A feeling of panic stung the people and they sought shelter in places of safety. Beds were provided for those who had lost their homes. Subterranean rumbling sometimes gave warning of further earthquakes, as everything movable was set in motion. Houses careened on their foundations, trees bowed, big boulders rolled down the mountainsides, cracks appeared in the earth, and dust was thick in the air from damaged buildings and falling chimneys.31

The greatest damage was done to the new schoolhouse in 1921. Cement coping around the top of the building was torn loose and strewn along the ground.32 The old Elsinore White Rock Schoolhouse endured the quake better than any of the other buildings in town. A son of the man who built the old schoolhouse witnessed the durability of the building. During an inspection of the building after a tremor, a second quake hit Elsinore. As the shake reached its peak, the stones in one of the corners separated and seemed to hang there for a long time but as the quake subsided the stones snapped back into their proper place.33

Evidence of the quake surfaced in Monroe as the hot springs were colored blood-red from the disturbance of iron oxide.34 The quake was

31 Jacobson, 22.
32 Ibid, 22.
33 Johnson, interview.
34 Jacobson, 22.
felt from Salina to Marysvale. Dr. Fred J. Pack from the University of Utah came to Elsinore to observe the situation and assure the people that all would be well. The people would not listen to him and they stayed in those places which did not have stone walls or heavy ceilings until the earthquakes had completely passed.

Besides being attacked by disease and earthquakes the town had been plagued by fires. The first of the fires occurred in the early 1900s. The first fire took the print shop that had been publishing an Elsinore newspaper known as The Sevier County Times. The shop stood next to the Co-op building which also was damaged. The second fire to strike the town happened shortly after the first. The section of town known as "Chinatown" a section of shacks south of the opera house. There were no Chinese but the close proximity of the buildings made it look like a village in them. The shacks were used for living purposes and several little shops which at times had been a confectionary store, a bowling alley, a cafe and a dance hall.

The fires which were most tragic to the town happened in the 1950s. In 1955, fire completely engulfed the Elsinore Hardware and Gordon's Drug Store. Heat from the fire was so intense that it cracked windows in Ned's Cafe and Service Station across the street. Damage amounted to over $40,000 and it forced several families to move elsewhere to find a living. The most expensive fire hit Elsinore in March, 1957.


36 Jacobson, 22.

37 Jacobson, 22.

38 Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Church Historical Department, Salt Lake City, January 17, 1955. (Hereafter: Journal History).
The Elsinore Roller Mills burned to the ground in a short time. Damages nearly reached $100,000.\textsuperscript{39} These fires had a detrimental effect upon the community. Businesses were destroyed that would never be rebuilt again. The loss to the community was in both money and people.

Elsinore experienced its first big boom between 1892 and 1908. The gold mines at Kimberly in Piute County ignited a major growth in Elsinore.\textsuperscript{40} The mines needed everything from leather gloves and boots to vegetables, meat, and flour. It is recorded that during this period the Marquardson-Jensen Store sent out more car loads of truck vegetables than any other store in the county.\textsuperscript{41} Several meat stores opened to meet the demand for beef for the miners. It was during this economic boom that the livestock industry grew.\textsuperscript{42} The size of the herds increased to handle the demand for leather and meat. A large freighting industry developed and flourished until the railroad was extended to the mines.

The reliance of the people on the gold mines for a livelihood eventually brought about a deep economic depression when the mines petered out.\textsuperscript{43} The level of mining activity never reached the fervor experienced in Park City and Eureka, but it was enough to cause growth in Elsinore. The growth could not be continued with the failure of the mines. In 1908, the mines failed to produce enough gold to make

\textsuperscript{39}Salt Lake Tribune, March 10, 1957.

\textsuperscript{40}Butler, Ore Deposits of Utah, 540-41.

\textsuperscript{41}Jacobson, 19.

\textsuperscript{42}Daughters of Utah Pioneers (DUP), Camp Belknap, Records.

\textsuperscript{43}Butler, Ore Deposits of Utah, 540.
the operation profitable. Too, they were starting to mine minerals unfamiliar to them. Apparently, large deposits of alunite were uncovered and large amounts of sulphur. 44 It was at this time that the decision was made to shut down the mines in and around Kimberly. 45 The number of men from Elsinore who worked in the mines never were very high. According to the 1900 manuscript census only two men worked full-time as miners. 46 Most of the occupations listed show that the people of Elsinore were involved in providing services. 47 Elsinore acted as the main source of supply in the county for the mining operations. It was during this mining boom and failure that the cattle and sheep industry catapulted to the lead as the major money-making industry.

The livestock industry became the very lifeblood of Elsinore during the second decade of the Twentieth Century. With the availability of the railroad, the livestockmen began shipping large numbers of cattle and sheep to markets. A major product of the sheep industry was wool. According to one report, there were stacks of wool two blocks long, west of the depot, awaiting shipment. 48 During the spring of 1900, over 300,000 pounds of wool had been shipped out of Elsinore. 49

44 Butler, Ore Deposits of Utah, 541.
46 United States, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Manuscript Census, 1900 (Denver Records Center, Denver, Colorado).
47 Ibid.
48 Jacobson, 19.
49 Deseret Evening News, June 26, 1900.
In addition to cattle and sheep Elsinore farmers raised large numbers of poultry. During November and December, 1922, 25,000 pounds of dressed turkeys and 7,000 pounds of dressed geese and ducks were shipped from Elsinore by Benjamin Brown to the Harry Phillips Company of Los Angeles.\(^{50}\)

Livestock in Elsinore has been important from the time the town was initially settled but became even more important in the Twentieth Century. The first livestock experience began with the community herds. There were two herds run by the United Order. One herd was for dairy purposes and the second was range cattle. The herds grazed on the foothills and brush until 1876.\(^{51}\) With the failure of the Order the cattle were divided among the people and lots were cast for land for grazing, but an open range policy was to be abided by in the case of the mountains.\(^{52}\) Interestingly enough, the town of Elsinore block formation shows that the interior area is designed mainly for livestock. This geographic center of livestock in Elsinore lies in the northeast quadrant of town. These blocks are crisscrossed with livestock holding corrals, loading areas, and meadows for grazing (Figure 8). Haystacks lie adjacent to the maze of corrals. The livestock structures of the town continue to be used at the present, 1978.

The number of cattle run by the Elsinore ranches depicts a relationship between human and cattle population. It seems that

\(^{50}\)Gunnison Valley News, November 23, 1922, and December 27, 1922.  
\(^{51}\)DUP, Camp Belknap, Records.  
\(^{52}\)Ibid.
Figure 8. Area west of Elsinore in the National Forest was used for livestock grazing.
whenever the number of cattle increase, the population of the town increases proportionately and vice verse. When the livestock numbers were high the population of Elsinore was at its highest point. This occurred during the period from 1910 to 1927. The sugar factory was operating at full capacity during this same time which also had a beneficial effect upon the population. Many of the ranchers were raising sugar beets for a dual purpose. Initially, the sugar beets were a money crop and secondly, the leftover beet pulp provided a winter feed for the livestock.

Elsinore cattlemen did not specialize in the breeding of their cattle or sheep until recently. For the most part the majority of the ranchers raised range cattle. They relied upon quantity rather than quality. This is not to say they did not have good range cattle but to state that they relied upon large numbers to make a profit rather than a selected breed. Several livestockmen in the Sanpete Valley showed the way into the breeding of registered cattle. They realized they could not run as many head on the grazing lands of the National Forest forever. "Old Man Kesko" Olsen and John Seeley were the first to cut their herds and rely on a better breed. Olsen had the first registered Hereford ranch in Utah. The Elsinore ranchers continued to run range cattle in large numbers on the forest until the Forest Service cut down the numbers allowed to a permit.

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53 Interview, Willard Christensen, Elsinore, Utah, August, 19, 1977.
54 Ibid.
56 Christensen, interview.
The problems of grazing did not materialize until the Twentieth Century. Before the formation of the Fish Lake National Forest in 1899, the ranchers had verbal agreements as to where one would graze his cattle on the west mountains. Any problems concerning local grazing were handled by the town council. Before grazing permits were issued by the Forest Service for the west mountains, the Elsinore Town Council regulated the permits. At one point there were nearly 40,000 head of cattle in addition to thousands of sheep grazing on those mountainlands. With the advent of the Forest Reserve, the numbers of cattle grazing on the districts of West Mountain and Cottonwoods decreased to 3,257 head. On privately owned land in the vicinity another 500 head grazed. Each year the numbers of cattle allowed by permit to graze on the west mountains, decreased at last report only about 2,000 head were permitted in the forest. Also, the time the cattle can be placed on the grazing lands has been restricted. The permit may state a date but the local ranger may alter that according to conditions on the range. This policy has not set well with the local ranchers because it is never consistent in their eyes. Some believe that the rangers are against the ranchers.

57DUP, Camp Belknap, Records.
58Ibid.
59Christensen, interview.
60DUP, Camp Belknap, Records.
61Ibid.
62Christensen, interview.
The Forest Service saw a need to restrict the numbers of livestock on the forest lands to protect the grazing areas and the watershed. It was necessary to monitor the livestock on the grazing land to prevent overgrazing which would inhibit the prime grazing areas. The Fish Lake National Forest representatives followed the precedents initiated by the rangers on the Manti-LaSal National Forest. If they did not protect the land there would be no place to graze on the forest. The rangers take under consideration the weather each year prior to the time the grazing lands are opened. How much precipitation received is taken into consideration as to when and how many cattle and sheep are to be allowed on the forest. The Forest Service is not perfect but it is trying to preserve and rotate grazing lands so that they can be used without fear of losing the natural growth on the grazing lands.63

The livestock business increased immensely between 1890-1902 to the point that many of the ranchers joined together to form a cattle company. The Elsinore Cattle and Grazing Company was formed February 1, 1902.64 This cattle corporation originated in Elsinore with all but two of the shareholders residing in Elsinore. The lone exceptions were residents of Brooklyn and Inverury (Central). The capital stock issued at the time of incorporation was only 267 shares valued at $1335.65 Many of the early settlers are listed as stockholders.


64 Articles of Incorporation, Elsinore Cattle and Grazing Company.

65 Ibid.
As times changed several men diversified their holdings from agriculture to livestock. Several men became part-time cattlemen.

Some of the stockholders raised cattle as a secondary source of income. The best example for this period is the case of J.I. Jensen. At the time of the cattle company organization Jensen was involved in several ventures. He and Marquardson were running a mercantile store. Jensen owned the Elsinore House, a hotel often frequented by travelers and drummers. Jensen's involvement in livestock appeared to be of a secondary nature.

The shareholders of the company each purchased X number of shares. The value of each share was $5.00. Each member paid only a part of his obligation except one man, A.R. Hawley of Inverury. He paid his account in full at the time of incorporation. It seems that all of the men should have had the money to buy their shares. Why they did not is difficult to understand. There is the possibility that maybe those who did not pay in full, at the time of incorporation, were planning to pay in installments or to use their profits to pay for their shares.

The company attracted the main cattlemen and prominent men of the community. The list of shareholders reads like a Who's Who in Elsinore. Names like J.I. Jensen, Hans Nielsen, Vigo Smith,

66 Jacobson, 19.
67 Gunn, 30.
68 Articles of Incorporation, Elsinore Cattle and Grazing Company.
E.P. Marquardon, Hans Lorensen, P.K. Christensen, August Kotter and Fred Lee head the list.  

The livestock industry in Elsinore developed a humor and folklore about their cattlemen. Each year there would be a roundup with a big drive. Cattle would be separated and branded during the operation. Each day would culminate in a round of storytelling. As the campfire burned dim the cowboys would play their jokes and tell their tall tales. The playing of a joke seemed to highlight the evenings entertainment. One of the best jokes is called, "Wild Man Joke or Trick." Many a new cowhand had to prove his mettle by enduring this prank.  

Everyone would play as if they were asleep as the fire burned down. Then the "Wild Man" would approach the camp. The "Wild Man" was always played by one of the cowboys. He would cut the hair from a horse's tail and drape it under his hat in the most gruesome manner. As he came close to the encampment one of the cowboys would jump up and yell, "Wild Man!" Everyone would jump up and begin shooting in the air. The new cowhand would sometimes run a long distance or begin shooting in every direction. When this happened the cowboys would make a dive for his legs and guns and then do some tall explaining.  

The Elsinore cowboys were no different from their counterparts across the West. A good joke or trick could be played on anyone.

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69 Articles of Incorporation, Elsinore Cattle and Grazing Company.  
70 DUP, Camp Belknap, Records.  
71 Ibid.
gullible enough to fall for it. The following story depicts a quiet subterfuge. It is entitled the "Gold Watch Story."\textsuperscript{72}

Fred Lott, an Elsinore cowboy, possessed a gold pocket watch that he was very proud of. He often took the watch out with a grand flourish to examine it. His manner of displaying the watch caught the attention of a young cowboy. A conversation ensued which went like this. "Hey there! What time is it? Want to see your watch? I'll give you a new pair of boots for it." Fred answered dryly to the negative. Fred's sidekick involved himself by asking, "Oh, will you throw in the chaps too?" The young cowboy agreed to the deal and in return received Fred Lott's Arbuckles Coffee Coupon Watch.\textsuperscript{73}

The livestock life in Elsinore has changed but it is still highlighted by jokes and stories. The work is hard but modern transportation has cut down the travel time. Nearly every day the local cowboys, young and old, gather at Steve's Cafe and talk about livestock and old times.

Cattle rustling in Elsinore has been nearly wiped out but at the turn of the century there were a few men who would rather steal cattle than raise their own. A case of Twentieth Century rustling occurred in 1910. The culprit was a man named Dan Hansen. He was apprehended en route from Wayne County with several head of cattle that were alleged to be stolen. The owner identified the stock and testified that Hansen took them without permission. Hansen was tried in the district court and found guilty. He was sentenced to seven years

\textsuperscript{72}DUP, Camp Belknap, Records.

\textsuperscript{73}Ibid.
in the Utah State Prison. Had he been a Nineteenth Century rustler he would have had his neck stretched. 74

During the United Order another aspect of livestock was the dairy herd. A community dairy herd was run from 1876 to 1882 before it was terminated. 75 Hired hands were paid 15¢ a day to herd the dairy cows. 76 The amount of milk produced by the herd must have been quite a bit because in the late 1880s and into the 90s several creameries were established in Brooklyn and Elsinore. 77 The Chris Marquardson creamery produced 600 pounds of cheese a day and reached a peak of one-half ton. 78 The dairy industry in Elsinore included an ice cream store which was frequented often by everyone in town.

The Elsinore dairy industry grew at an increased pace to the point that new auxiliary industries had to be developed. In 1925, a new creamery was built to handle some of the milk being produced by the dairy farms. This business began producing 600 pounds of cheese a day which was sent to Salt Lake City and other markets. 79 The industry had its beginning in a small building near the corner of Main and Center on the southwest corner. It was one of the first creameries in

74 State of Utah v. Dan Hansen, Sixth Judicial District Court, Sevier County, Utah, June 17, 1910.
75 DUP, Camp Belknap, Records.
76 Ibid.
77 Johnson, interview.
78 Jacobson, 24.
the state to pay cash for cream. It was owned and operated by Chris Marquardson. The creamery continued to grow to its peak in 1962 with a daily production of 1000 pounds of cheese. There were several other creameries located in the Elsinore-Brooklyn area that operated for many years. Hard times came at the end of the decade.

The livestock raised today is mainly for beef. The industry appears to still be on the decline. Elsinore's livestock industry continues to decline and if it continues at the present rate it will soon be referred to in the past tense.

Elsinore had its genesis as an agricultural town. The major crops were wheat and corn. The first year in Elsinore, 1874, the wheat crop reached 10,000 bushels. The production continued to increase and the town soon was referred to as the "town of stacks." The harvest of 1876 exceeded the 1874 crop by 8,000 bushels. In 1877, J.C. Jensen and others purchased the first threshing machine in Elsinore. That same year the farmers raised 21,000 bushels of grain. This averaged out to be 600 bushels per family. In 1878, the two major crops sown were wheat and lucern. By 1885, the volume of grains harvested from the Elsinore fields reached 25,000 bushels. The

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80 Jacobson, 24.
81 Ibid.
82 Warnock, Thru the Years, 146.
83 Ibid.
84 Journal History, 1877.
amount of grain grown in the Elsinore area necessitated the building of the Elsinore Flour Mill by A. Bertelsen.86

The grain crops grown in Elsinore were the bread and butter crops for years. At the turn of the century many of the farmers started planting sugar beets. It was a money crop and beets grew well there. With the advent of the U & I Sugar factory a new era in agriculture began.

The sugar beet industry began in Elsinore in 1900. The first meeting to convince the farmers that growing sugar beets would be a lucrative venture was held January 4. Instructions on beet culture were given by Superintendent George Austin of the Lehi sugar works. To convince the farmers to involve themselves in the project, Hans Gottfredsen of Salina remarked that if the farmers of Elsinore get involved it would be the highest honor they could pay Bishop Madsen, a pioneer in sugar beets. Prior to the meeting, several farmers signed contracts pledging they would grow sugar beets. The company wanted to see at least one hundred acres in sugar beets for the first year. The people were optimistic after 65 acres were contracted early in the day. The farmers gained greater interest in the industry by March, 1900. At a meeting held on March 12, the total acres tied up in sugar beets reached 178. A rumor was spreading via the Deseret

86 Jacobson, 8-9.
87 Deseret Evening News, January 6, 1900.
88 Ibid.
89 Ibid.
90 Ibid, March 14, 1900.
News and the Richfield Reaper that if every community in the Sevier Valley planted 150 acres in sugar beets that soon there would be a demand for a sugar factory in the county. 91

The early indications on the Sevier Valley sugar beet industry showed promise. The initial yield of sugar beets was high. It was enough to encourage the sugar company to build a factory in 1910. 92 The Elsinore Sugar Factory was owned and operated by the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company. First constructed were the sugar beet sheds, railroad spurs, and the pulp silo. The factory itself was begun in 1911. Operation of the factory started in the fall of that year. In that season, the company purchased from the beet growers approximately 75,000 tons of beets, from which nearly 255,500 bags of sugar were processed. 93 The sugar factory generated money for the county in both taxes and wages.

In addition to producing sugar, the factory had sugar pulp as a residue product. In the beginning, the pulp was sold back to the sugar beet farmers to feed their livestock. It was a cheap but nutritious way of feeding livestock. Towards the end of the sugar factory's operation in Elsinore the beet pulp was hoarded by the superintendent. 94 He was bringing in cattle for fattening before shipping them to market. This point of conflict caused many hurt feelings and in part helped

91 Deseret Evening News, January 17, 1900.
92 Jacobson, 20.
93 Ibid.
94 Cleve C. Jensen, interview.
close the factory in 1928.\textsuperscript{95} The closing of the factory was unfortunate. The factory had shown great promise.

The sugar factory grew to handle the production of the Sevier Valley. The original capacity of the sugar factory in 1911 totalled 500 tons.\textsuperscript{96} Due to the productivity of the area the factory received two additions. The first came in 1916, when the factory was increased to 650 ton capacity. In 1925, the capacity was increased to 900 tons.\textsuperscript{97} Within fourteen years the capacity of the factory had increased nearly 100 percent. The following year the factory was shut down due to smaller sugar beet yields. In 1927, the factory once again opened its doors to give the Sevier area one more chance. Unfortunately, the sugar beet crop was devastated by "Curly Top" infestation.\textsuperscript{98} To this time protection against the Curly Top blight had not been developed. Finally, in 1928, the factory closed its doors on the beet industry in Sevier due to a decrease in sugar beet production.\textsuperscript{99} The loss of the factory hurt Elsinore.

Why did the factory fail? Many times this question has arisen during research. Leonard Arrington attributes the failure of this particular factory to the scourge of sugar beets, Curly Top.\textsuperscript{100} No

\textsuperscript{95}Cleve C. Jensen, interview.


\textsuperscript{97}Ibid, 186.

\textsuperscript{98}Ibid, 186.

\textsuperscript{99}Ibid, 186.

\textsuperscript{100}Ibid, 186.
doubt, Curly Top played a part in the demise of the industry, but it seems like there was more to it than that. One of the sugar beet farmers from Elsinore expressed his feelings on the subject in a different manner. It seems that the farmers had an agreement with the company that the farmers would get so much pulp back after the processing of the beets to feed his livestock. This made the venture of sugar beet farming more appealing because besides raising a money crop the farmers received a winter feed for their livestock. The problem arose when the superintendent of the factory decided not to give the beet pulp back to the farmers but instead fed it to imported cattle. This did not set well with the farmers and they strongly objected to the situation. They began to cut back on their beet crops to raise alfalfa to feed their livestock. This hurt the factory. In addition to the beet cutback the Curly Top problem increased and the already reduced crops were riddled. It then became a time of reckoning for the sugar factory. The factory could not operate on the small volume of beets being raised. In 1928, the factory closed down and the cause for closing was attributed to Curly Top infestation. In reality the infestation of Curly Top did put a stop to the sugar beet industry but the greed of the sugar company representatives kindled a battle which could not be won by either side.

The sugar beet industry fostered a desire to have specific organizations to deal with the industry. The organization that emerged from this feeling was the South Sevier Sugar Beet Association, located

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101 Cleve C. Jensen, interview.
102 Arrington, Beet Sugar in the West, 186.
The membership of the organization began at thirty-five in 1924. Seven members were Elsinore farmers. Apparently, this association saw a future in sugar beets. It is also plausible that these participants wanted to be able to deal with the sugar company on an equal basis. The association was to serve the members by obtaining better prices and guarantees from the company. The association members did not plan to have the factory fail. Some of the beet farmers gave up beets after the factory failed and turned to other crops.

The same time the Elsinore factory closed, several other factories met the same fate. They were located in Lehi, Payson, Springville, Rigby and Brigham City. The reason for the closure of all the factories is the following:

For various reasons of economy, such as concentrating beet supply at strategic points for processing, cutting down overhead, taxes, and maintenance, and in some places because of insufficient beet acreage, the company has dismantled six of its factories. The demise of the sugar industry forced several businesses to close and people to move away. But it was only a prelude to the stock market fall in 1929.

Following World War I the population of Elsinore decreased slightly due to people moving to where jobs were more plentiful. Many

103 Articles of Incorporation, South Sevier Sugar Beet Association, Sevier County Records, Richfield, Utah.

104 Ibid.

105 Fred G. Taylor, A Saga of Sugar, Being a Story of the Romance and Development of Beet Sugar in the Rocky Mountain West (Salt Lake City: Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1944), 175.
parts of the state were hit by a water shortage but the Sevier Valley seemed to have enough. Elsinore felt the post-war depression less than other places as indicated by a newspaper account of March, 1920. The reporter said of Elsinore, "High cost of living is not affecting Elsinore. The cow gives her daily milk and butter, the hen her eggs. Hay stacks are still high and beef good and tender. In fact, Elsinore's cornucopia is full to the neck, and her people are happy and prosperous."\textsuperscript{106} It would seem that the people of Elsinore were riding a high tide and had not come down yet.

During the third decade of the Twentieth Century new organizations sprouted up in Elsinore. In 1922, a local farm bureau was organized to accommodate the agricultural needs of the farmers. Four years later a women's auxiliary came into existence as the Ladies Farm Bureau.\textsuperscript{107} In 1925, the Elsinore-Joseph Poultry Association was formed which served as another progressive step in the agricultural endeavors of the local farmers. New inventions by local people added incentive to the poultry business.\textsuperscript{108} The conditions of the decade were spawning greater growth in nearly every area.

The economics up to 1929 showed an increasing level in Elsinore. There seemed to be plenty of food, work, and money. The development of the economy to 1929 showed a diversity in industries and production. Mining had its fling and boosted the economy but as its failure lowered the level of the economy. The sugar beet industry bolstered and then

\textsuperscript{106} Jacobson, 22.
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid, 23.
\textsuperscript{108} Ibid.
crippled the economy. Disasters undermined positive development. Economic development was slow but each aspect of the economy had its place.

Each separate industry aided the economy. Agriculture provided subsistence level in the low demand years and profits in high demand years. Mining and the railroad boosted the capacity of local industries. Livestock became a valued commodity. With the availability of the railroad more markets were open to the Elsinore ranchers. Local businessmen thrived on the wave of prosperity but success could not last. The economy ran head on into a downfall. The depression following the stock market crash of October, 1929, brought the fledgling Elsinore economy to an abrupt halt.
CHAPTER V
THE PEOPLE

The Scandinavians of Elsinore gave their community a distinct character and family infra-structure by utilizing institutions of the Mormon church and their own native culture. In developing a family infra-structure for their community polygamy and endogamy were important. Members of the early Elsinore families intermarried in their community keeping a close family situation. Polygamy enforced this experience by involving more families in a multiple marriage process. This example of endogamy kept the Scandinavian culture intact as most of the people were Danish and Swedish.

Polygamy played an important part in the selection of high church leaders in the community and in the calling of missionaries to proselyte for the Mormon church. Each of these two areas of church ministration had demands on different segments of the male society. Polygamists were placed in the upper level of church leadership and monogamists were chosen for the missionary service. This separation of the polygamists and the monogamists necessitated an adaptation of several individuals to new roles.

Intrusions by various religious sects and foreign-born people depict the close knit character of Elsinore by the rejection and non-attention to these groups. Other religious sects received little recognition and gained few converts; their part in the development of Elsinore falls in the category of education. One particular religious group upgraded the level of education in the Elsinore system. The
representatives of these organizations aided the people during the disasters that plagued the town. Many served as nurses and midwives. The non-Scandinavian people who came to Elsinore found it difficult to be accepted. Elsinore was for the Scandinavian, and few non-Nordic peoples were accepted. The percentage of non-Scandinavian people did not exceed more than 10 percent in the first thirty years of the community. Non-Mormons and non-Scandinavians had not been taken into consideration by the founders of Elsinore and they found it difficult to accept them into the community (Figure 9).

The development of Elsinore as a homogeneous society was directed by three basic factors: family solidarity, Scandinavian culture and marital patterns. Each of these focus on a different part of the Elsinore society. The first and second attractions, family solidarity and Scandinavian culture, are very hard to separate. The town is predominantly Danish and Swedish, and is dominated by several families. It is necessary to see how each of these factors influenced Elsinore in its early years.

The first factor is family solidarity. In 1874, as the early settlers began to build their new home, several families were deeply involved. Two sets of brothers comprised five of the nine founders. Vigo and William Smith, Jens Iver, Christian Julius, and Niels Peter Jensen provide an example of the family magnetism attracting their families to Elsinore.¹

The Smiths and Jensens began drawing their families to Elsinore almost as soon as they laid out the town. Vigo Smith encouraged his

¹ Jacobson, 70, 75.
Figure 9. Sevier County settlements in 1880.
mother to bring the rest of the family to Elsinore. His brother Charles Claudius Smith was the first to arrive. He worked with his brothers for less than a year before he unexpectedly died in 1877. Later, the remaining members of the Smith family--mother Smith, Zionlena, and Sophie Matilda--arrived in Elsinore.

J.I. Jensen encouraged his entire family to relocate to Elsinore. During January, 1875, part of the Thomas Christian Jensen family arrived from Richfield. The relocation of the Jensen family was not a new venture. They had moved from Ephraim to Richfield in 1874 following the promptings of Jens Iver. By 1880, the entire Jensen family with one exception had settled in Elsinore. Four of the brothers and sisters had married prior to 1874. One spouse Michael Abraham Hansen encouraged his parents to move to Elsinore. He and his wife Michaellina Jensen came in 1876 and his parents followed by 1880. The remaining three Jensen children found their spouses in Elsinore. Attraction of family members to Elsinore carried beyond just the Smiths and Jensens.

The process of drawing family members continued with many of the other settlers. James C. Jensen, a former neighbor of Jens Iver Jensen's

2 Jacobson, 74. Elsinore, Cemetery Records.
3 Elsinore, Cemetery Records, 10.
4 Jacobson, 75.
6 Thomas Christian Jensen Family Genealogical Records.
7 Manuscript Census for Utah, 1880.
from Denmark, encouraged his two nephews, Charcles C. and Thomas Fautin, to come to Elsinore. They arrived in 1876. The process of drawing family members continued until about 1900. It was extremely strong in the early years but slackened by the turn of the century. An example of a late attraction involves Paulus Svedin and his mother Cecilia. He came in 1890 and he persuaded her to come within five years. She was a widow and he encouraged her to come to Elsinore nearer to her family.

Besides family, friends were also attracted by the early settlers. James C. Jensen, a former neighbor of the T.C. Jensen family from Saby, Denmark followed his friend, Jens Iver, to Elsinore. They worked together in starting the settlement. Jens Iver attracted several friends from Denmark, Sanpete and Richfield among whom was Soren C. Peterson. Soren C. Peterson must have been a good friend because when Jens Iver joined the Mormon church in Denmark, Soren accompanied him to the baptismal. Peterson arrived in 1875. Uniquely, Michael A. Hansen was attracted for two reasons. One was that his wife was Jens Iver's sister, and secondly, he and Jens had farmed together in Ephraim. Family and friends were attracted together in this venture of establishing their own town. They trusted one another.

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8Jacobson, 68.
9Jacobson, 76.
10Jensen, Autobiography, 4.
11Jensen, Autobiography, 5.
12Warnock, Thru the Years, 153.
13Jensen, Autobiography, 10.
The establishment of a Scandinavian town in the Sevier Valley attracted additional Scandinavians. Elsinore showed itself a distinct cultural atmosphere from the other towns in the Sevier Valley because of the influx of migrating Scandinavians. At one time Richfield's population was nearly 65 percent Nordic, but Elsinore became a center for Scandinavians. It was like a little Denmark in the middle of the Great Basin. Nearly all of the Scandinavian towns were referred to as "Little Denmark," but Elsinore came closer to that concept than most other towns. In 1880, the population was 223. The cultural composition shows distinctly that the Scandinavians composed 92 percent of the population. The manuscript census for 1880 lists 205 people as being of Scandinavian origin. This cultural composition stood out as a drawing card for other Scandinavians.

Danes from other parts of Utah and the newly migrated soon found their way to Elsinore. One family in particular exemplifies the desire to be near a large concentration of Danish. Niels Anderson left Denmark in 1882 for America. He settled in the Danish town of Mantua in Box Elder County. Anderson found it hard to get additional land near Mantua because the valley was quite small. After searching for several years he moved to Elsinore. He obtained additional land and was near his countrymen. This desire to be near people having the same cultural and linguistic patterns plays an integral part in the preservation of one's native characteristics. Brigham Young encouraged

14 Manuscript Census for Utah, 1880.
the people of foreign birth to give up their cultures, be assimilated, and become Americans. These people did not give up their culture but participated in social events, such as dances lasting until dawn, which perpetuated their ways. The most popular dance was the shoddish. Most of the Danish women would brew up a tub of Danish beer to be consumed at the dances. Usually, they drank nothing stronger than the beer but one elderly woman in particular was known for her homemade wine. Even though the Mormon church had passed the Word of Wisdom as a commandment, alcoholic beverages were still served at the dances. Karen Marie Iversen Jensen continued to make her wine into the Twentieth Century. At a double wedding open house for two of her grandchildren, one of the new wives was surprised that wine and beer were consumed as much as they were in Elsinore.

Large groups of Scandinavians were drawn to Elsinore by the promise of a Nordic culture. One group of immigrants came in July, 1881. As they were wending their way southward from Richfield along the cemetery road they viewed Elsinore as they topped the ridge north of town. One man was carried away by what he saw. Instinctively, he

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16 Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 252-53.

17 Johnson, interview.


19 Cleve C. Jensen, interview.

20 Vera Bitter Jensen, interview, 25.

21 Vera Bitter Jensen, interview, 26.
pulled out his cornet, placed it to his lips and played the "Danish Anthem." The Scandinavians continued to be drawn to Elsinore until about 1900. These people definitely had a preference for being around kin and countrymen as they continued to speak their native tongue.

Brigham Young's counsel to become Americanized fell upon deaf ears in the cases of most Elsinore Scandinavians. The Danish of Elsinore dragged their feet as slowly as they could. Richard Poulsen states that the Scandinavians lost all their cultural symbols, i.e., language, architecture and social characteristics and became assimilated into the American culture by the first decades of the Twentieth Century. The Elsinore experience shows a high retention of language into the third decade of the Twentieth Century. Most of the church meetings were held in Danish rather than in English. The church minutes from 1900-1915 show that the language of the meetings was Danish. The minutes were written in English but in each entry it stated that the proceedings of the meeting were in Danish. Another institution the people of Elsinore used to retain their culture was the Scandinavian organization. This organization was designed to get the Scandinavian speaking people together on a regular basis to socialize. It had special activities for the old Danish stalwarts. Festivals and dances highlighted the gatherings. The organization lasted until the

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22 Jacobson, 8.


24 Elsinore Ward, High Priest Minute Books, Church Historical Department.
early 1920s and then there were too few Danish to continue the language and culture.  

The third element that influenced the community's growth and composition was the marriage practices of the people, including polygamy. At the time of settlement nearly all the families of Elsinore were very young, with several bachelors mixed in. The process of endogamy began with the bachelors as they picked their wives from the families with older children. Elsinore's early bachelors were married by 1879. This endogamous practice tied the community closer together.

The entry into marriage by the young bachelors of Elsinore initiated an endogamous cycle in the town which resulted in an early homogeneous society. Christian Julius Jensen was one of the first to marry. He took for his wife, Zionlena Smith, the sister of Vigo and William. They were married on January 25, 1875, approximately nine months after the initial settling of Elsinore. Later, Vigo Smith took for his bride Anna Matilda Jensen, a sister of the Jensen brothers. Here are two early examples of families intermarrying. Another example, James C. Jensen. He married into the Smith family by taking for his wife, Sophia Matilda Smith. By indulging in endogamy the men were integrating the town into a homogeneous unit.

As the town grew additional instances of intermarriage occurred which tied the families of Elsinore together. As new families moved to

27Ibid.
28Jacobson, 70, 75. Elsinore, Cemetery Records.
Elsinore they became a part of the marriage pattern as is natural. They intermarried, relating more families to each other. This marriage process built up a unity among the townspeople. The town resembled a large family with everyone related in one way and another to each other.

A phase of marriage that Utah and the Mormons are well-known for is polygamy. The majority of the families in Elsinore practiced monogamy rather than polygamy. A small percentage of Scandinavians participated in polygamy. In 1885, the ratio of polygamist to monogamist was one in thirteen. 29 By 1890, eleven cases of polygamy are identifiable. 30 Scandinavian men were only involved in 6 of the 11. The rest were of Yankee and English stock. 31 All but two of the polygamists had at least one Scandinavian wife. The Scandinavian men involved in polygamy only selected Scandinavian women for their wives whereas Yankee and Englishmen took at least one Nordic spouse. 32

Most of the polygamous experiences in Elsinore began after the town was pioneered. The cases of J.W. Sylvester and Nelson Higgins illustrate men bringing polygamy with them to Elsinore. 33 Of those practicing polygamy only four men had three wives and the other seven had two. 34 The number of wives in each plural marriage experience in

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29 Jacobson, 66-80.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
34 Jacobson, 66-80.
Elsinore matched the Utah average. William Mulder states that in Scandinavian centers the percentage of Scandinavians involved ranged from 12-13. Elsinore's percentage is only about 6-7.

Polygamy did not exist in Elsinore prior to 1876. The Scandinavians of Elsinore seemed to be slow in taking on the added responsibility of plural marriage. Elsinore's first Scandinavian polygamists were J.I. Jense, Soren C. Peterson, and Erasmus P. Marquardson. Joshua W. Sylvester was the first polygamist in town. At the end of his appointment as bishop he was already practicing polygamy with two Danish wives. Upon the receipt of his new calling, he moved from Central, four miles to the northeast, to Elsinore with his wives and children. The acceptance of the Sylvesters by the Elsinore Scandinavians proceeded slowly. The fact that both his wives were Danish and he could speak Danish aided in his acceptance as their leader. His children remember it was hard for them at first because their father was English.

Acceptance of polygamy by the early pioneers of Elsinore occurred only after the town and their personal finances stabilized.

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35Mulder, Homeward to Zion, 240.
36Ibid.
37Jacobson, 66-80. Leon Madsen, interview.
38Jacobson, 66-80.
40Ibid, 3.
41Interview, Herman Sylvester, Richfield, Utah, February 19, 1977.
42Ibid.
As the economic conditions improved for the men of Elsinore, polygamy became more attractive and receptive to them. Jens Iver Jensen was the only one of the nine original pioneers of Elsinore to engage in polygamy. Jensen waited nearly nine years after settling in Elsinore before he took his plural wife. In his autobiography, he describes his experience which relates to most of the experiences of Scandinavians in polygamy.

October 24, 1883 -- I married Inger Anne Christesen which was in perilous times to enter plural marriage, but I realized the time had come to be obedient to that principle, and I did so in honesty of heart, fully knowing I was to obey that principle now or never. I felt that I would be under condemnation for disobedience. I have passed through many hardships and trials because of it, but now in the evening of my life I testify to the truth of the law that it is of God and has given me valuable experience. I have no regrets for being obedient to this law but feel grateful to God who gave me strength to obey and feel the Lord has blessed and sustained me in it.

His attitude shows the apprehension that some of the Scandinavians had towards polygamy but also the dedication they had to their religion.

The practice of keeping each family in a separate residence was common in Elsinore. Oftentimes the property was listed in the name of the wife. Joshua W. Sylvester provided separate homes for each of his wives in Elsinore. He lived with his first wife Christiana and their children but in a separate residence he supported his second wife, Caroline and her children. The property Caroline

43 Jacobson, 70.


45 Manuscript Census for Utah, 1880.
The separation of families was often used as a decoy to keep the marshals away. Apparently, it worked for J.W. Sylvester because he was never convicted of unlawful cohabitation.

The marriage of J.W. Sylvester to two sisters, Christiana and Caroline, provides an unique experience in polygamy. Joshua married Christiana at Gunnison, Utah, in 1862. He met her while driving wagons from the east to Utah. Christiana bore him seven children. In May of 1873, J.W. married Christiana's half-sister, Caroline. She bore him 13 children. At the death of Christiana in 1881, age 34, Caroline took her sister's children into her home and raised them as her own. She raised them so much like her own that the experience of Herman Sylvester, her eleventh child, depicts how close the children had become. He states that he did not know that part of his brothers and sisters were half relations until he was 24 years old, prior to his departure on an L.D.S. mission, when he was checking on family statistics. After the death of Caroline in 1893, J.W. waited until 1908 before he remarried. According to Herman Sylvester, the loss of the second wife left him depressed. He left Elsinore and moved to Mesquite, Nevada. Joshua left his children in Elsinore to make their own lives. Many of his children remained

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46 Elsinore Townsite Plat "A," Book A.
47 Herman Sylvester, interview, 2.
48 Ibid, 5.
49 Ibid, 12.
50 Ibid, 8.
in Elsinore where they lived, married and died. Others moved away as evidenced by Elizabeth, at whose home, in Eureka, he died.51

The wives of polygamists endured hardships during their plural marriage. Several of these women lost their husbands prematurely. As a second or third wife this caused a problem as to who was going to support the family. Some wives had to care for their husbands until they died.

The second wife of J.I. Jensen, Inger Anne, had an interesting experience. For many years Jensen kept his two families separated nearly to the point that they did not know each other. This strained family ties. When the first wife died, J.I. moved his second wife in with him. Inger Anne nursed the old patriarch until he died.52 It was a serious occasion caring for him but did have its lighter side. Several stories emerged from the family. One story in particular concerns money.

Inger Anne came to Brother Jensen and said, "We need more medicine," and he handed her the purse replying, "Here, go get what you need." She said, "When Pa, he handed me the purse, I knew that the end were near."53

There was also the time Dr. Lund, a son-in-law, was taking care of him. He came into the room while Brother Jensen was raving, out of his mind. The doctors says to him, "Well, now Brother Jensen,

51Herman Sylvester, interview, 6.
52Ibid, 3.
53Ibid, 4.
hold the fort, hold the fort," and Inger Anne says, "Oh, my goodness does he have to hold that now too?"\footnote{54}

Marriage in general provides some good humor. Polygamists endured some hard times but also had some good times. Monogamy added some delightful humor to that of plural marriage. Marriage was a holy institution but sometimes the stories left in doubt just how holy. There was a story that went around concerning a couple who were to be married. They traveled from Elsinore to the Manti Temple. It was considered sinful for just the couple to make the journey so the bride's sister accompanied them. The bride told her neighbor that after they were married a short honeymoon was planned. The next day the neighbor noticed that the bride had returned without her husband. The neighbor having been struck by the oddity of the situation inquired of the young bride as to what was happening. She said, "Hilda, I thought you said you were going on a honeymoon trip?" Hilda replied, "Aw, he wanted to go to Ephraim and I've been there so I let my sister, Lena, go."\footnote{55} This story depicts the possibility of some hanky-panky but it is also possible that he married both girls and the noneymoon with the sister was legitimate.

Polygamy in Elsinore took a low profile. Though several men practiced polygamy, few were ever arrested on charges of unlawful cohabitation and adultery. Thomas Broadbent was one of the few arrested and convicted for unlawful cohabitation. He spent thirty

\footnote{54}Herman Sylvester, interview, 4.

\footnote{55}Ibid, 5.
days in the Territorial Prison. Upon his territorial arrival home a large party was thrown in his honor. Pressure from the marshals, did not imperil most of the polygamists. In fact, one man from up north spent nearly a year at the Sylvester home. The man assumed the name of Peterson to avoid any legal entanglements. 56

Several prominent Elsinore men were convicted of unlawful cohabitation. In 1887, Soren C. Peterson, J.I. Jensen, and E.P. Marquardson were convicted of unlawful cohabitation (u.c.). Peterson and Jensen received prison terms of eight and six months in the Utah Territorial Prison. Marquardson, as a second offender, had to spend 120 days in prison. Apparently, by 1891, those convicted of u.c. were given lesser penalties. John L. Butler received a jail sentence of ten days for his violation of the Edmunds-Tucker Act. 57

Polygamy provided Elsinore with many an exciting day. Most of the children of these marriages are proud of their forefathers. Divorces in a polygamous situation are quietly forgotten. It would seem that some wives did not particularly like the idea of completely sharing their husbands or their husband's wealth. Two cases are found in the Sevier County Court Records where the wives filed for divorce. 58 Each time the husband was charged with neglect and failure


57 Andrew Jenson, comp., Manuscript History of Elsinore Ward, Church Historical Department.

58 Sevier County Court Records.
to provide the necessary means to exist. Some wives were happy with polygamy and some were not.

The leadership of Elsinore was divided between monogamous and polygamous men. Most of the civil and church positions during the infancy of Elsinore were filled by monogamists except in the case of the bishop. The first two bishops of Elsinore were polygamists. Occasionally, some men were deprived of serving in high leadership positions in the church because they failed to live a certain tenet. James C. Jensen was a dutiful member of the Mormon church but he did not practice polygamy. His story offers a case in point because he did not involve himself in polygamy and he was overlooked to serve as a high local church leader.

James C. Jensen came to Elsinore in 1874. He served in the first Mormon ward leadership as first counselor to J.W. Sylvester. He served for twelve years in that position. Following his release, he did not serve in any major church positions but instead served in civil capacities. He was elected as the first town president in 1892. Later, he served as a justice of the peace. For many years, he served his community as a civil servant but not in the church. Herman Sylvester, a son of the first bishop, could not

59 Susan Barney v. Walter Barney, and Anna Nielsen v. Thomas Nielsen, Sevier County Court Records.
60 History of Elsinore, 8.
61 Warnock, Thru the Years, 154.
62 Jacobson, 11-12.
remember why James C. was not involved in the upper strata of church leadership.63

The early bishops from 1875-1896 were both polygamists. J.W. Sylvester and J.I. Jensen served in that capacity after they had entered polygamy. The reason why polygamists were chosen to serve as bishops can only be speculated, but a possible reason lies in the concept of living a higher law. Polygamy supposedly was a higher law and those who were living it were on a higher plane. It is possible that those living that precept would be given added responsibility such as serving as bishop. Also, it would demonstrate obedience and loyalty to the church. It was not that the monogamists were not as good as the polygamists but that they had not reached the level of faith and spiritually needed to be a bishop.

Men called to serve missions from Elsinore during the early period were drawn from the ranks of the monogamists. The first missionary called was Jens Iver Jensen, in 1880.64 All the missionaries from Elsinore were monogamists until the policy of calling single men was introduced. Several missionaries upon their return or as they returned from the mission field took a second wife. It is rare to see a polygamist serving on a mission from Elsinore.

Most often a study of polygamy directs itself to the men but the experience of the women is also important. It is interesting to see the cultural composition of women in polygamy and the reactions of polygamous wives when they lose their husbands.

63Herman Sylvester, interview, 13.
64Andrew Jenson, History of the Scandinavian Mission (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927), 66-77.
In Elsinore, the women involved in secondary marriages were predominantly Scandinavian. Fourteen Danish and Swedish women entered polygamy as a second wife while only five of non-Norse birth were involved.\textsuperscript{65} This is logical in the endogamous society of Elsinore where the Scandinavian population is near 95 percent while the English were 2-3 percent and the Germans only 1-2 percent.\textsuperscript{66}

The marriage of these aforementioned women to a second husband is of special importance because it provides a look at the rationale for the institution of polygamy. It provided a social service more than anything else. Anna Margret Hansen is a case in point. She married Hans A. Hansen in Skaade, Denmark, in 1847. After converting to the Mormon church they migrated to Utah in 1854-55.\textsuperscript{67} They lived for years in Ephraim. The Hansens were encouraged to relocate in Elsinore because their only son, Michael, was living there. After Hans died, Anna Margret, who was nearly eighty, was left in a pitiful situation with no one to provide daily care as her age required.\textsuperscript{68} A. Chris Anderson took Anna Margret into his home, under the pretense of plural marriage, so she could be taken care of by his other wives.\textsuperscript{69} Later, A. Chris married a younger woman who bore him four children.\textsuperscript{70}

\textsuperscript{65} Jacobson, 66-77.
\textsuperscript{66} Manuscript Census for Utah, 1880.
\textsuperscript{67} Andrew Jenson, \textit{Scandinavian Mission}, 96-98.
\textsuperscript{68} Hans A. Hansen Family Genealogical Records.
\textsuperscript{69} Jacobson, 66.
\textsuperscript{70} Ibid.
In the marriage of A. Chris to Anna Margret a welfare service was given to an elderly woman under the guise of polygamy.

The marriage of Mariane Jensen provides a second insight into plural marriage. She married Niels Christian Hansen in 1869. During her marriage to him they had seven children. Several years before his death he entered polygamy by marrying Maria Olsen. She gave birth to four children. Both Mariane and Maria became widows early. Mariane, a widow with a large family to care for, needed some outside help. She was still an able woman with much to offer in marriage but what could she do? The norms of the society made it impossible for her to go out and offer herself for marriage to just anyone. After a short time she married Thomas Nielsen. For these two to legally marry in the Mormon church, Thomas had to gain official sanction from the church because of his marital status. He already was married. In obtaining the permission of the church he had to approach the bishop of Elsinore, who at that time was Jens Iver Jensen, Mariane's brother. Apparently, Bishop Jensen felt that Thomas Nielsen should take a second wife because they soon married. She was taken in marriage for the purpose of having a father for her children and to be provided with her family's necessities. She bore her new husband, Thomas, three children. This marriage provides an example of polygamy where the husband and

71Thomas Christian Jensen Family Genealogical Records.
72Jacobson, 69.
the wife receive adequate compensation in the marriage. Mariane received the necessities for her family and Thomas received an extended family line. 74

The second marriage of Petrine Jensen is similar to Mariane's with the exception that she was the second wife in both situations. Her first marriage was to E.P. Marquardsen. She gave birth to three children. 75 For a time following his death, she worked on her own to supply the necessities for her small family. Her endeavors to fulfill their needs fell short. During this period of struggle she became acquainted with Paul Svedin. Paul was already married but upon receiving official clearance, from the proper authorities, he took Petrine as his second wife. 76 She gave birth to one child while married to him. Petrine outlived Paul by nineteen years. He died in a car accident while on his way to a baseball game in Salina. When Petrine died her remains were laid to rest by her first husband in the Marquardson plot. But on her headstone, her relationship to Paul Svedin is kept intact. She is referred to as Petrine M. Svedin. 77

The reactions of women to the deaths of their husbands varied. Some remarried and some did not. The three women, mentioned previously, plus others who married a second time, were in need of being cared for because of their inability to cope with the situation.

74 Jacobson, 69.
75 Ibid, 73.
76 Ibid, 76.
77 Elsinore, Cemetery Records.
Two women gave birth to additional children during their second marriages. Others were beyond their physical capacity to bear children when they remarried. In these instances, the women consented to a second marriage because they were needing someone to care for them. Two separate cases appear where the woman refused to remarry. The possibility that the circumstances could not be improved is also something that must be taken into consideration as to why they did not remarry. William Mulder in his book, Homeward to Zion, tells of a case where a woman preferred to raise her children by herself, forgetting about marriage. She served out her days as a midwife in Sanpete. Some women were more independent while others needed someone to rely upon.

The two Elsinore women who did not accept a second marriage were Maria Olsen, the wife of Niels C. Hansen, and Karen Hansen, the wife of Hans A. Hansen. They preferred to remain aloof from marriage devoting themselves to their children by living out their lives in service to them. In Karen's case, she raised sheep, sheared them, carded the wool, spun it, and made clothing to support her family. Maria remains an enigma because very little is known of her after the death of her husband.

The nature of the people of Elsinore, in relationship to their community, was to develop a strong family tenor among them. This was accomplished by the practice of endogamy. The Smiths and Jensens

78 Mulder, Homeward of Zion, 244.
79 Jacobson, 69.
80 Ibid.
appeared to initiate the movement to be later supplemented by the
Sylvesters, Bells, and Nielsens. Whether the direction indicated
started intentionally or by accident is not understood but the
people did in fact become finely entwined as a homogeneous family
in Elsinore.

A secondary phase of endogamy occurred in the second generation
of Elsinore. The first generation witnessed the combining of the
Jensen and Smith families with the marriages of Vigo Smith and Anna
Matilda Jensen, as well as Christian Julius Jensen and Zionlena
Smith. As the second generation grew, intermarriage continued.
James W. Sylvester, the son J.W. Sylvester and Christina, married
Mahala C. Bell, the daughter of Thomas and Henrietta. 81 William
Smith, brother of Vigo, took Christine Peterson, daughter of Soren C.
Peterson, as his wife. 82 Three of these four families were polygamous.
The third generation continued to reinforce the relationships of the
families to each other as they chose husbands and wives from within
the community. Leonard Sylvester, the son of James W. and Mahala C.,
made Zion Smith, the youngest daughter of William Smith, one of the
early bachelors in 1874. 83

The institutions of marriage and leadership provide an insight
that a certain state of marriage may relegate one to a particular
place in society, while on the other hand, a different state of
marriage might mean a new realm of responsibility. The experiences

81 Elsinore, Cemetery Records.
82 Jacobson, 75.
83 Elsinore, Cemetery Records
of James C. Jensen, J.I. Jensen, and Joshua W. Sylvester provide some evidence of those situations concerning leadership positions in relation to their marital status. Marriage interlinked many of the Elsinore families together to form an integrated homogeneous society.

Elsinore on the surface seems to have established its own integrated homogeneous society. Other towns smaller may have been more integrated but large towns or cities could in no way reach a level of society such as Elsinore's. The intrusions of other religious sects failed to hurt the integrated society found in Elsinore.

Many churches believed that the Mormons were not Christians and that they needed to be saved from their evil ways. To bring these poor misguided souls back to Christ, several churches initiated missionary programs. One of these programs was back by the Methodist Church. The Methodists used schools as a means of attracting children and adults to their schools for an education in addition to Christianizing. The advent of the Methodist schools boosted the caliber of education in the Sevier Valley area. The women of the Methodist church started a school in Elsinore in 1886. The women of Columbus, Ohio, built and dedicated their school in December of that year, known as Columbus House.

The first building was a one-room structure with a lean-to on the back. The building was school, church, and recreation

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85 Merkel, 200.
86 DUP, Camp Belknap, Records.
center, all in one. The school remained in Elsinore for thirty-one years.

During those years, from 1886 to 1917, the eighteen teachers who served in Elsinore, conducted school and participated in other community services. During the diptheria epidemic, the teachers acted as midwives and nurses bringing help to the sick.

Mrs. Mary Passmore, a teacher, stands out in the minds of the Elsinore residents as one of the better Methodists. She came to Elsinore as a widow with one son. Her stay was the longest of the teachers. She acted as the town postal clerk for several years.

Mrs. Passmore, even though well liked by the townspeople, caused a problem of great proportions which nearly doomed the Methodist school in Elsinore. At a Methodist conference held in Salt Lake, August, 1900, she apparently took part in denouncing the Mormons and endorsing falsehoods about the same. At the conference Mrs. Passmore received the reference as the only "Christian" in Elsinore. Upon her return to Elsinore, she found, to her dismay, that only six children enrolled in school. All six were non-Mormon. The people of Elsinore responded by boycotting the school. The Mormons of Elsinore decided that they would rather keep on in their "heathenism" rather than partake of her "Christianity."

87 DUP, Camp Belknap, Records.
88 Ibid.
89 Deseret Evening News, September 26, 1900.
90 Ibid.
Many of the older residents remember the Methodist school and church. Herman Sylvester states that many of the children were told by their parents to frequent the Methodist church after they had attended the Mormon Sunday School. He said that after they were finished at church they would go down to the Methodists to get little pictures and paper articles. 91

The Methodists placed more emphasis on their school than upon missionary work in the town because it was a very close Mormon community. The majority of the Elsinore populace rejected the overtures of the Methodists. The nearest Methodist church was located in Marysvale. 92 It failed to do well because of the closeness of the Mormons. S.L. Gillespie, a Presbyterian, in 1876 recalled, "Work in an exclusive Mormon town is necessarily very slow." He continued by saying, "Apostates from the Mormons are cutoff from their church, and so have to seek homes elsewhere: and the few Gentiles attempting to live among the Mormons rarely stay more than one year: so that all our mission work among the Mormons is 'sowing seed upon water,' requiring great patience and perseverance." 93 The things Gillespie stated proved very true for Elsinore. The apostates could not stay very long in the community because they had severed their ties with the people by either corruption or blatant offense.

The Methodists succeeded in educating many of the Elsinore children while the preaching of their religion was secondary and

91 Interview, Herman Sylvester, Richfield, Utah, February 19, 1977, 7.
92 Merkel, 167-77.
93 Mulder, Homeward to Zion, 277.
received little attention. Many of the old-timers of Elsinore started their education at the Methodist school. At the culmination of a school term in 1888, the Methodists had enrolled 26 students. This was quite an accomplishment for the Methodists as there was another primary school and secondary school located in Elsinore.

The Methodists left little to be remembered with the exception of the school. A church was never built but even today the Methodists still own a segment of land in Elsinore.

One other religion came to Elsinore to try to recapture the souls of the Mormons. This was during the mid-1880s and they were the Josephites (Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints). They came in hopes of reclaiming some of the borderline Mormons to their side. Several families did unite themselves with the Josephites. One family that joined the new church was Soren J. Kelson's family. He had been one of the apostates in 1880. Kelson and his family had gone to Oregon with Raphaelsen but they became discouraged over the situation and returned to Elsinore. They rejoined the Mormon church in 1883, but with the intrusion of the Josephites, the Kelson family did another about face and joined, leaving the Mormon church a second time. Kelson remained in Elsinore the rest of his life. After his first wife died he married Michaellina

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94 Jacobson, 44.
95 Deseret Evening News, February 18, 1888.
97 History of Elsinore, 12.
98 History of Elsinore, 11-12.
Jensen Hansen, the sister of Bishop J.I. Jensen. One Josephite family that came to Elsinore was the Hermansen family. Eventually, most of the family joined the Mormon church.

The Methodists and Josephites were the only two "outside" churches to make any headway in Elsinore. Presently, a new religious sect held its meetings in one of the old buildings. They don't proselyte but simply worship as they please. It seems to be a church which has liberal feelings on Christian doctrines. Even with the religious penetrations over the years, Elsinore still remains a typical Mormon village in design and population.

The people of Elsinore attempted to construct an integrated society based around the Mormon religion and Scandinavian culture. This small Mormon colony in south central Utah attracted other Mormons of Nordic birth and some Danish who were not Mormons. The Danish and Swedish desired to be in their own culturally controlled community. The integration of the society took upon itself a stronger impetus with the introduction of the Mormon institution of polygamy. Marriage was the vehicle to bring about a higher level of interrelationships among the families.

The unique society of Elsinore lasted until the Twentieth Century when it fell prey to economic problems and attrition. Depressions and death took away the distinctive Scandinavian character of the town. The language and cultural symbols of these people were lost to change and assimilation. Their religion said

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100 Mona C. Woods, interview.
it was better to be assimilated into the society and be an American than to retain one's foreign cultural identity. They fought the process but eventually these Scandinavians were overcome.
Elonore's economy and role in the Sevier Valley had its peak period during the first three decades of the Twentieth Century but it fell prey to disasters and problems which brought about its downfall. Elonore had been an important town during the period 1890 to 1925 but by 1970 it looked like a shadow of its former self. A pattern of move-out was draining the town of its youth and the move-in pattern brought only the retired and no young children. There was no youth and vigor left in the town. A few small surges gave hope to the town but it has always turned out the same way--bad. The future held little good for the once prosperous Elonore prior to 1977.

Recently, there seems to be a resurgence in Elonore. It has taken upon itself a new role which holds promise for the future. The events leading up to this new life depicts the struggle with which Elonore has been involved. Since the beginning of the depression in 1929, Elonore has been buffeted by every negative event.

Elonore's growth of the first third of the Twentieth Century came to an abrupt halt in October, 1929. The stock market crash on Wall Street affected the little town extensively. Farm and dairy production continued but there was no money to buy. Without money circulating the people of Elonore could not buy products, but worse for them was that there was no one to buy their products.
The depression became a time when financial burdens and worries clouded everyone's life. Many of the men had to go out "jobbing around" (finding odd jobs) to earn money but the jobbing around market soon reached a saturation point and then there was nothing. The farmers soon found out that they could not sell their products and in one case a farmer gave away all of his potato crop so that at least people could eat.\(^1\) The people of Elsinore tried to help one another as they were able.

Many of the townspeople extended themselves to help others in this time of no money and no credit. One man in Elsinore ran a mercantile store where he extended credit, which led to the failing of his business.\(^2\) Most of the people that he gave credit to could not pay their bills and his creditors hounded him until he had to close his doors. Many of the older children joined the job market. In the case of the merchant, his eldest daughter went to Salt Lake and obtained a job. She sent her father money to pay his bills but her salary could not support both her father's bills and herself.\(^3\)

Education apparently did not suffer a great deal in Elsinore. The children were taught frugality in class each day. The limited amount of supplies the school could have were distributed sparingly. One woman remembers that every little item had to be used until it could not be used anymore. It amazes her today to see the waste

\(^{1}\) Jacobson, 25.

\(^{2}\) Interview, Elizabeth Staples, Elsinore, Utah, February 20, 1977, 22.

\(^{3}\) Staples, interview, 23.
in a schoolroom when it comes to paper and other articles.\footnote{Staples, interview, 24.}
The school teachers could not be paid their full wages due to the lack of cash in the school district.

During the depression the school teachers in Elsinore were paid in script. Part of their salaries was paid in cash but the larger amount was paid in script.\footnote{Ibid, 23.} The script could be used to pay taxes or could be held until one wanted to redeem it for money when there was money available.

During the depression the federal government aided the people of Elsinore by supplying jobs for the unemployed. Many of the farmers were not making any money to pay their bills because there was no market for their crops and by taking a government job they would have money. The Works Progress Administration authorized work to be done in Elsinore in 1934. The majority of the work centered around grading roads, building flumes and fences. These jobs pumped badly needed cash into the failing Elsinore economy. In 1939, the Work Projects Administration approved the construction of a stone recreation center adjacent to the L.D.S. meeting house in the middle of town.\footnote{Jacobson, 25.} Construction started in 1939 and culminated late the next year. The government aided Elsinore in several ways. It provided work for the unemployed, put cash into the economy and provided civil improvements. Those who worked on the projects were able to retain their pride because they were not on welfare but earning

\begin{itemize}
\item[4] Staples, interview, 24.
\item[5] Ibid, 23.
\end{itemize}
their way. The aid received was brief but it helped the failing economy.

Even with aid from the government the people struggled to keep their land and pay their bills. The booster shot from the government lasted only a short time. Several mercantile businesses and creameries failed because there was not an adequate cash flow. With the loss of these businesses people began moving to areas of larger population concentrations to find jobs. The people moving from Elsinore, in search of better conditions, hurt the already weakened community. The population prior to the depression was around 750 but by 1930 it had dropped to 654. By 1940, the population had increased to 674.7

About the time conditions of the depression improved the second World War began. Once again the town population plummeted. The population fell to 580.8 This time the young man left to serve their country. Even with the loss in the labor supply the farmers fared well. Their crops were in demand to supply the armed forces overseas. Production increased to handle the demand for food, wool, and meat for the war effort. Many of the local farmers were overlooked by the draft because of the necessity to produce food.9

While the labor supply was picked apart by the draft and farming, another demand placed its call on the Elsinore labor supply. Men


9Jacobson, 26.
and women moved to areas where defense industries were located.\textsuperscript{10} The people in the Sevier Valley hoped that a major part of the defense industry would be located in their proximity but it did not happen. They were just too far away from the stream of things.

One secondary defense industry located near Elsinore. Earlier, in the Sevier Valley, potatoes had become an important crop. In 1943, the American Foods Company entered the potato business and located a processing plant in the old sugar factory.\textsuperscript{11} This business added a few jobs in the Elsinore area. The American Foods Company operated the business until 1952, when it sold out to Beehive Feed. Beehive Feed operated the business until 1955 when the plant closed.\textsuperscript{12} The business operated only three to four months each year. It was a seasonal business at best which did not provide much income to the area.

The potatoes were sorted and distributed for processing at the plant. Uses were found for all the potatoes. Grade A were sold fresh and the lower grades dehydrated.\textsuperscript{13} The spud farmers did reap one advantage from raising potatoes. Those potatoes which could not be used for other purposes were used to feed livestock.\textsuperscript{14}

The potato factory manager added poultry processing to the expanded operations in the facility to keep the factory working

\textsuperscript{10}Staples, interview, 27.
\textsuperscript{11}Jacobson, 26.
\textsuperscript{12}Ibid, 27.
\textsuperscript{13}Ibid, 26.
\textsuperscript{14}Ibid, 27.
longer. Before when potatoes were out of season the factory closed for nearly eight months. To utilize the facilities of the plant the manager brought in nearly 30,000 turkeys to be processed in the off months. This added more income to the area and provided a steadier employment.

At the present, the major crops are wheat, corn and alfalfa. Farming in Elsinore has become a part-time vocation in the last twenty years (Figure 10). Most of the farmers have a full-time job elsewhere and farm part-time. The dollar amount is derived from the livestock industry than agriculture, but the profits are getting smaller each year (Figure 11). The agriculture life is fading away. Most of the residents work in areas other than agriculture and live in Elsinore because it is a nice, rural community. Farming continues to be phased out as the town takes upon itself a new role.

The advent of the railroad to Elsinore in 1896 bolstered the economy and with its loss in the mid-Twentieth Century it affected the economy in a small degree. The beginning of the end for the railroad in Elsinore was in 1949 when the Denver & Rio Grande cancelled passenger service to the area. The final cancellation of the railroad came during the 1960s which carried little impact as the economy had already been damaged by other factors. There was not enough freighting business in the Elsinore-Marysvale area to warrant service by the railroad. The mines had given out fifty

15 Jacobson, 27.

16 Ibid.
Figure 10. Shaded areas show land in the town of Elsinore used for agriculture in 1977.
Figure 11. Elsinore livestock areas in town in 1977.
years earlier. The population of the valley did not require transportation by train as it was easier by automobile.

The decades of the 1950s and 1960s showed no improvement in Elsinore's condition. The town settled into a slow, hum-drum life with a little farming and ranching. New industries did not come to Elsinore. The towns of Richfield, Salina, and Monroe were becoming the centers of activity in the valley.

Elsinore's early role as a center had come to an end. Disasters dealt another death blow to the sagging economy in the late 1950s. Fires in 1955 and 1957 took away the livelihood of several families forcing them to move elsewhere. The fire in 1955 destroyed the drugstore and two other minor businesses. The loss of the Elsinore Roller Mills in 1957 cost the people dearly. Economically, the town lost money, stored grain, and a successful business. The absence of the roller mill forced some to find new jobs outside of Elsinore. One man stated that he lost six to seven tons of grain. Following the fire he had to earn his living by working as a contract carpenter in the Salt Lake area. Some families were forced to move. Some continued to hold on.

During the 1960s even with the non-existence of major businesses, the people still remained attached to their community. Even though the town was basically on a poverty level the pride of the people would not let their community fall completely into disrepair. The


18 Interview, Stiner Busk, Elsinore, Utah, September 13, 1977, 5.

19 Ibid, 8.
people worked together to keep intact the image of their town, as an oasis in an arid region. Flowers and trees were planted in large numbers to give youth and beauty. Elsinore received from the State of Utah Civic Beautification Awards in 1961 and 1962.  

The growth of Richfield, Salina and Monroe has relegated Elsinore to a relative small place in the Sevier Valley. A new surge of business is establishing itself in Richfield and Salina and they are becoming important stops along Highway 89. Because of the growth of these other communities Elsinore has received the benefit of an increased population. The summer of 1977 one old-timer commented that all Elsinore was good for was an old folks home. Possibly, his outlook will change with the influx of new residents. The growth of Richfield is turning Elsinore into a bedroom town. The prices of land and building in Richfield have forced people to look elsewhere. Fortunately, for the town of Elsinore, many new residents are moving their way. In the last year at least eight new homes have been built and at the present time (1978) another six are under construction. According to one respondent there have been fifty new applications for building lots in town and a man outside of Elsinore wants to have his land incorporated into Elsinore proper so he can sell his land for building lots. In the past few months the town has seen thirty new families move in. The role of Elsinore in the Sevier Valley is changing with the times.

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20 Jacobson, 28.

21 Interview, Alvin Johnson, Elsinore, Utah, July 12, 1977 (untranscribed).

22 Interview, Laverne Johnson, Elsinore, Utah, February 20, 1977.
Interestingly enough, the town of Elsinore has always been striving to be of importance in the valley, but the role was unclear. It seems now that the future of Elsinore is to catch the overflow from the Richfield prosperity and be a bedroom community. Elsinore is becoming a part of urbanization. First, the new people and homes are appearing and secondly, the services to handle this influx will follow. The proximity of Richfield and Monroe to Elsinore provides a great opportunity for expanded growth. Richfield is becoming a business center for the valley while Monroe has geothermal energy potential with the existence of the hot springs.

The town of Elsinore has run the gauntlet of a small Mormon village. It struggled to find a role of importance for itself in the mainstream of the Sevier Valley but failed. Economically, it has known success and failure. Recently, a resurgence has found Elsinore and there is promise for the future.

As Richfield and the surrounding area continue to grow Elsinore will be affected in a positive manner. This growth will give Elsinore a new role of importance as a bedroom community. Elsinore's geographic location make it ideal for commuters to travel to Richfield. Untold benefits and growing pains will accompany the growth. It appears that Elsinore is on its way up again. For how long time will only tell. Elsinore has been fighting an uphill economic war since its founding. Many of the battles have been lost but the war is not over. New growth should build Elsinore back up but in the new role as a bedroom community.
CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSION

Elsinore fits into the mainstream settlement pattern of Utah. The town was established by Mormon pioneers under the auspices of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in an arid region of Utah. The settlers would have gone on without church sanction but they applied for that permission so they could receive help from the main body of the church. The style of the town follows a form of the City of Zion. The people lived in the town on a lot large enough for a house, a garden and a milk cow. Most of the men farmed. They traveled daily to their fields which surrounded the town on the east, north and south.

With the settlement of Elsinore various institutions were incorporated to provide help and guidance to the people. There are two divisions of these institutions. The first is classified in the arid region of the Great Basin.

The church provided institutions to unite the community and to gain economic independence. The first major church institution was the United Order. Like its counterparts around the territory it had a short life. Initially, it seemed like a good idea to make the best use of the land, natural resources and unite the people. Unfortunately, it was found that the organization lacked enough guidelines to make it work satisfactorily. The X factor, man, had not been taken into consideration enough to realize that some men
cannot live in a completely united and ordered life. Dissidents appeared and tore down the institution before a year had elapsed.

The Cooperative Store was another venture that really did not make the impact that church leaders had hoped for. Distrust and operational procedures between the general Z.C.M.I. and the local branches made for a poor relationship. Profits that were spoken of just never materialized in the case of Elsinore's store. It was a marginal business at best. Many people became discouraged with it and frequented other stores where a good buy could be made.

Living in this arid region spawned institutions for survival. The most important was irrigation. Without irrigation, agriculture in Elsinore would have been nil. Men struggled to have water in town by construction canals. Claims on the water had to be set and made fast or one would lose his hold on the water.

Canal companies have fought one another for additional rights to the water for as long as they have existed. Even now water companies farther north of Elsinore on the Sevier River are filing on allegedly unused water. In years of high precipitation someone is always filing on the water in excess of existing rights. This has been a point of conflict for years.

Claims to the water were fought over for sixty years before a set guideline was established. Even with the Cox degree, water has been continually battled over for the last forty years. Newer water companies still make claims on supposedly unused water every year along the Sevier River. The people have been fighting an up-hill battle to keep what water they have. The problems of water will continue because of the aridity of the region.
The integrated homogeneous society that grew out of the Elsinore experience is quite unique in the Sevier Valley. Endogamy was practiced during the first three generations to the point that nearly everyone in town became related. This relationship united the community. The practice of endogamy established a society and culture that could not have been found anywhere else in the county.

The majority of the people in Elsinore are of Scandinavian origin. Each year these people celebrate the fact that the town was settled by Scandinavians. The celebration is called "Danish Days." It has become such a large affair that descendants of the early residents that are scattered across the West attend each year. The residents of Elsinore are so proud of their heritage that they have tried to preserve the evidence of its existence by restoring pioneer buildings. The latest building to receive recognition is the Elsinore White Rock School House. In March, 1978, the building was placed on the National Register of Historic Sites. This has brought a feeling of satisfaction to the community to have one of their native buildings recognized.

Elsinore, from its earliest beginnings, has struggled to make a place for itself in the Sevier Valley. It has tried to be a center of business and agriculture. Livestock expanded the economics of the town. But due to the location of Elsinore, its desired role of being a major center was never fully realized. Richfield, Salina and Monroe have taken charge as the centers in the Sevier Valley. As they have grown Elsinore has declined. All the businesses that used to be in Elsinore no longer exist. Recently, a new role has developed for Elsinore.
Elsinore has become the site of a building boom. New families have been locating in the town over the past couple of years at an increasing rate. With the growth of Richfield as an economic center, Elsinore has been feeling growth pains. Elsinore is becoming a bedroom town for fast-growing Richfield. More people are drawn to the town because of its proximity to Richfield. Land is not as expensive as in Richfield and people are finding that Elsinore is close enough to Richfield to commute. This new role for Elsinore holds promise for the town. Continued growth will make Elsinore a little suburbia. Elsinore has a bright future in store and time will only tell what the outcome will be.

It is important to realize that Elsinore was founded by Scandinavians unfamiliar to the arid environment of southcentral Utah. These people learned how to adapt to this arid land by utilizing irrigation and new farming techniques.

These settlers were Mormon converts and they had to rely upon their new found religion to show them how to exist in Utah. The Scandinavians used the institutions given them by the church and they proved which ones would work in their experience. The acceptance of certain economic and spiritual institutions provided both challenges and frustrations. Economically, the co-op and the United Order frustrated the basic economy of Elsinore for a time. Polygamy provided challenges. The men were chased by the law and forced to leave their families to fend for themselves. The Elsinore Scandinavians had to undergo a trial by fire during their pioneer period.

The institutions they were involved with were typical of Utah and the Mormon church. The manner in which the people of Elsinore
handled the institutions is an example of one way of adapting to a new life in an arid region. They accepted some church guidance and rejected other. These people made their community what it was in the way they desired. They adapted to a life alien to their background. The final result of adaptation was the elimination of their culture and their Scandinavian identity. They became Americanized.
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Table 2. How Elsinore fits into the population of Sevier County.

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