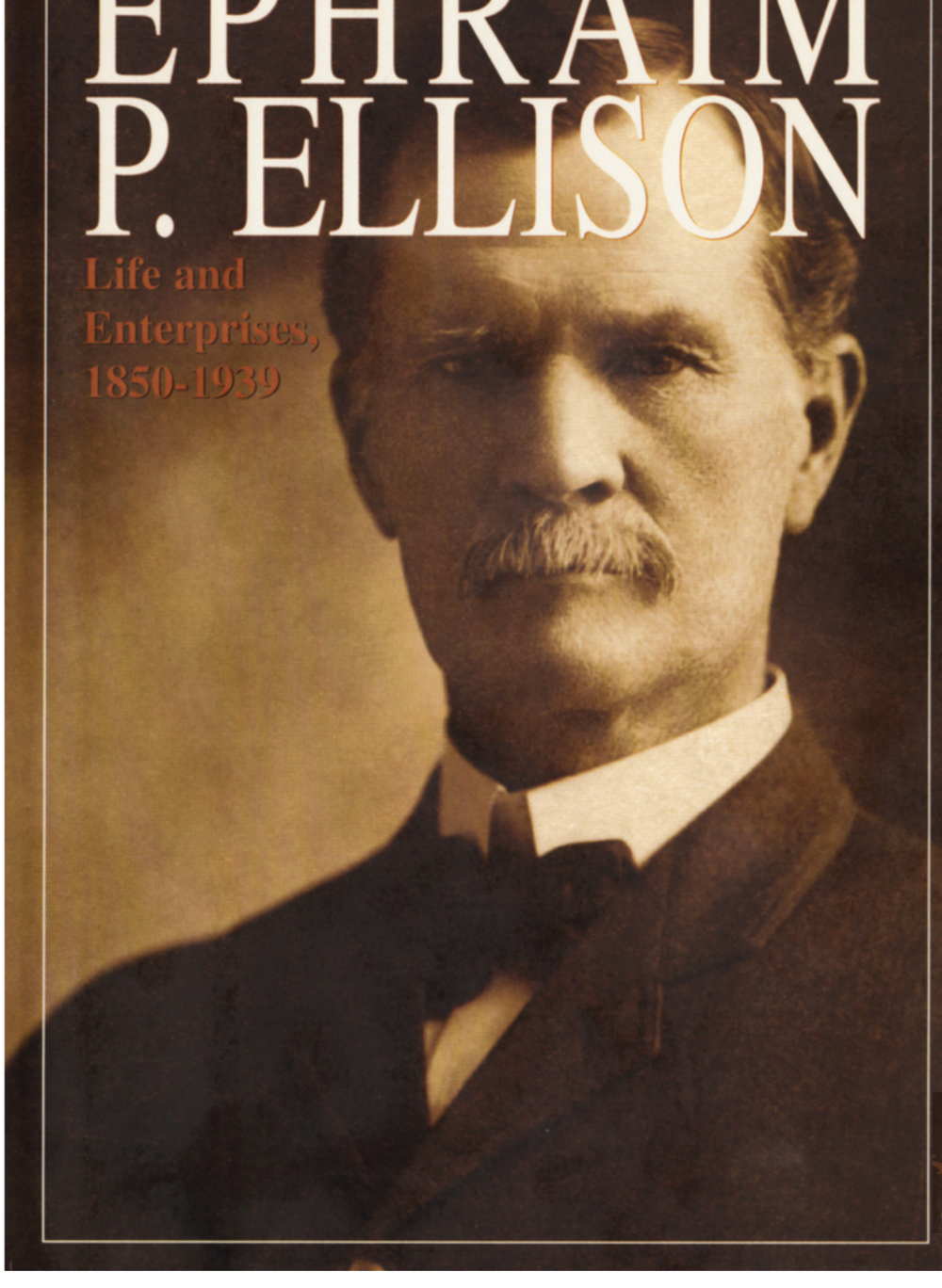
TO BUILD, TO CREATE, TO PRODUCE

EPHRAIM P. ELLISON

Life and Enterprises, 1850-1939



As a child, Ephraim Peter Ellison crossed the plains to Utah by wagon and became a resident of the area known as Layton. Following a personal ethic encouraged by his Mormon faith, he became proficient at seeing a need and filling it—creating and building businesses which produced goods and services needed by his society as it moved from the frontier to sophistication.

Banks, a general store, flour mills, sugar factories, an extensive ranching operation, and an area irrigation system became realities concurrently with

E.P.'s life as a husband and father of nine children, conducting civic and church duties in his community.

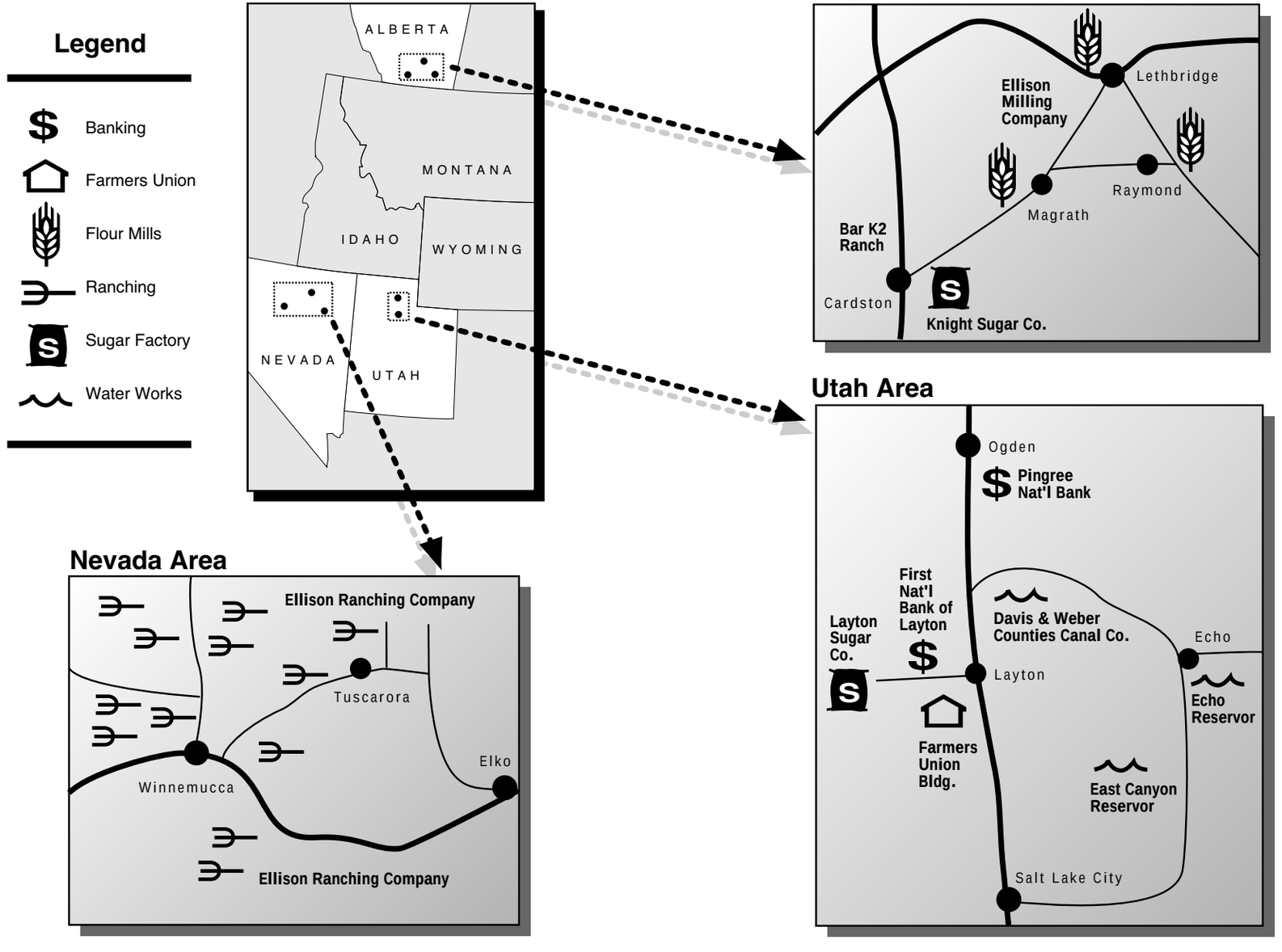
Together with his wife and companion, Elizabeth Whitesides

Ellison, he participated fully in the "action and passion" of his times, leaving a proud tradition for his community and his descendants. A *Deseret News* eulogy remarked, "He leaves a good name in the earth—something rather to be chosen than great riches."

ELLISON FAMILY ORGANIZATION

E.P. Ellison Enterprises

1882 - 1939



Ephraim Peter Ellison, 1850–1939

TO BUILD, TO CREATE, TO PRODUCE

EPHRAIM P. ELLISON'S

LIFE AND ENTERPRISES, 1850~1939

Written by

WILLIAM G. HARTLEY

for the

ELLISON FAMILY ORGANIZATION

ELLISON FAMILY ORGANIZATION

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Dedicated to
Oma Ellison Wilcox,
without whose love of family history
this book would not have been possible

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Contents

Part Four: War, Peace, and Prosperity, 1916–1929

Part Five: The Final Decade, 1929–1939

Appendices

Maps

Preface

For a half-century, from the 1880s to the 1930s, Ephraim Peter Ellison of Layton, Utah, gained prominence as a businessman in Utah, in the Western United States, and in Western Canada. He promoted and provided business leadership in banking, sugar manufacturing, merchandising, flour milling, water systems, and ranching. In the life history of E. P. Ellison which follows, the primary focus is on his business involvements.

Organizationally, the book is divided into five time periods: 1850–1880, 1880–1902, 1902–1916, 1916–1929, 1929–1939. Within each time period, E. P.'s business involvements are discussed one by one, as well as his family life, civic involvements, and church service. By the last page, although serialized in non-consecutive chapters, histories of each of E. P.'s major business involvements are complete.

Along the way, a number of useful insights are provided into local history in communities where E. P.'s businesses operated. Likewise, many chapters contain new historical information and understandings of various businesses, institutional operations, and personalities, both secular and religious. E. P.'s family network of relatives, named Ellison, Pilling, Whitesides, and Perkins, is explored. His wife Elizabeth and their nine children are woven into E. P.'s story throughout the chapters.

E. P. Ellison did not have the normal one or two careers of most men of his generation. Instead, he engaged in a multiplicity of business ventures. So to tell his life story required researching and writing original histories of various businesses he founded, directed, or promoted.

Like E. P., who was a doer rather than a talker, his children were disinclined to talk much or to record much about him or Elizabeth. As a result, grandchildren could provide only a modest array of colorful vignettes and human interest stories, which have been generously sprinkled into the narration.

This history has three evident biases. First is a partiality to traditional family values that were honored in E. P.'s era. Second is a respect

for the LDS beliefs and practices that Ephraim and Elizabeth cherished. Third, subject matter has been judged in the contexts of its time and place, on its own terms, and not by business, family, religious, or environmental standards of more recent times.

This history is based on extensive research in written and oral records. Of critical importance were E. P. Ellison's three dozen annual daybooks, even though his daily notations rarely exceed ten words. The Ellison family provided genealogical records, several published and typewritten life sketches, and file folders of clippings and notes. Official company records, minute books, annual reports, and correspondence of various enterprises E. P. engaged in proved invaluable. Blended into the mixing bowl with family and corporate information are details culled from local, state, and national histories, official records of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, government tax assessment books, county commission minutes, court records, censuses, directories, maps, newspapers, photographs, visits to sites, and numerous interviews with E. P. and Elizabeth's descendants. Quotations occasionally contain light punctuation added where necessary to make the material more understandable to the reader.

Chapter source citations frequently refer to a record collection named the Ellison Family Archives, or EFA, which are file folders, oral history tapes, genealogy charts, computer files, and boxes containing materials pulled together while researching for this book. The EFA is in possession of the Ellison family.

This book started almost a decade ago when the L. E. Ellison Family Organization invited me to author it. Without Oma Ellison Wilcox's keen interest, alert mind and perceptions, and extensive files relating to Ellison people and businesses, this history could not have been written. She and Peter Ellison, representing the L. E. Ellison family, provided information, contacts, encouragement, and reviews of research findings and chapter drafts. Family reading committees twice have reviewed versions of the manuscript, adding information and correcting errors of fact and understanding.

To provide the impetus necessary to complete this book, Peter Ellison, Catherine Smith and Greg Christofferson formed an ad hoc committee that reviewed and edited the final draft versions of the

manuscript. They gathered, organized and selected the photographs, maps and documents which illustrate the book and wrote the captions. They also selected the printer and chose the font and format styles. Sam Morgan was helpful in designing many of the maps.

Funding for extensive research, several rewritings, and publishing came from the L. E. Ellison Family Organization, Ellison Ranching Company, and Ellison Enterprises, Ltd.

As author, I was given a free hand to write the history responsibly, honestly, and without "sugar-coating" people or events. Whenever any findings or interpretations were challenged by Ellison family members, their concern ever was to insure accuracy and honesty.

Despite best efforts, this history has shortcomings. One, which Ellison relatives easily spot, is that I am a family outsider who does not and cannot fully understand what insiders know. Another uncorrectable flaw is our lean coverage of Elizabeth, E. P.'s wife: earnest searches yielded but little information about her. Incomplete or missing records caused some coverage to be thin, including E. P.'s flour milling enterprise and coal business in Layton, his California sugar involvements, and his work with banks other than the First National Bank of Layton. Also, his lengthy service in the LDS Church's North Davis Stake presidency is slighted because of access restrictions placed on certain executive records in the LDS Church Archives.

Thanks are due to a number of people and institutions for help with this project. Several Ellison relatives let me interview them or provided written materials or photographs. We were granted access to business records by officials of the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company, the Weber River Water Users Association, the First National Bank of Layton, and Ellison Ranching Company at the Spanish Ranch north of Elko, Nevada. Brigham Young University librarians allowed research in the Knight Investment Corporation's extremely rich files and in hundreds of boxes of unprocessed Utah-Idaho Sugar Company records, where the Layton Sugar Company records were found. The Glenbow Archives in Calgary, Alberta, Canada, loaned microfilm copies of Knight Sugar Company records.

Librarians and archivists were gracious and helpful at the Utah State Historical Society, Utah State Archives, Northeast Nevada Museum at

Elko, Harold B. Lee Library and Special Collections at Brigham Young University, Marriott Library at the University of Utah, LDS Church Family History Library, and LDS Church Historical Department Library-Archives. Official LDS records cited in this history are used by permission of the LDS Church Historical Department.

James L. Kimball, of the LDS Church Historical Department, served as a consultant and researcher on this project. Linda Hunter Adams of the Brigham Young University's Humanities Publication Center provided proofreading and editing assistance. BYU's Smith Institute for Church History provided computer use, reference materials, encouragement, and scholarly reactions to my findings.

William G. Hartley

Introduction

If life is a horseback ride, venturesome businessman E. P. Ellison rode tall in the saddle. His ride through America's Gilded Age, Age of Enterprise, Progressive Era, the Great War, the Business Twenties, and the Great Depression was a mix of gentle walks, brisk trots, thundering gallops, several long leaps, and some bone-shaking bucking. Through it all, E. P. learned how to stay in the saddle and on course. Often he rode in company with other talented businessmen. At the end of life's ride, E. P. judged his sojourn to be successful. In fact, when E. P.'s life is measured by business, family, social, and religious standards, the word "success" describes rather well his long, hard, diversified course.

E. P. grew up in a small town that became Layton, Utah, twenty-five miles north of Salt Lake City. There, he first stepped into America's free enterprise arena and learned how to perform in it by operating a local general store, the Farmers Union. Then he entered the sheep raising business. With capital and connections produced by those ventures, he invested in and helped direct the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company that channeled water to his neighbors' farms and businesses. By the century's turn, when he was fifty, his county and region considered him a man who made things happen, a good businessman with whom to consult or joint-venture. By then, E. P. was a civic and church leader. In fact, his business commitments were rooted in his desires to help build up Utah as a righteous and respectable place for people of his faith to live. He was a devoted Mormon—member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—but one who balanced spirituality with practicality.

Soon after the twentieth century dawned, LDS Church President Joseph F. Smith convinced Jesse Knight, a leading Mormon enterpriser, to link arms and capital with E. P., whom Jesse did not know. It was a good match. Together, Jesse and E. P. promoted sugar manufacturing and

ranching in Alberta, Canada; an expansive ranching operation in Nevada; and a sugar factory in Layton, among other ventures.

Then, to facilitate his other enterprises, E. P. helped create and operate the First National Bank of Layton. He helped establish a flour-milling business. He invested in ore refining. His reputation as businessman and banker, and his investments in other enterprises, earned him seats on several bank and corporate boards of directors.

His business careers spanned twenty years in the nineteenth century and extended almost forty years into the twentieth. For terrain, his life ride centered in Layton, although work often sent him north into Canada and west into Nevada and California, once to Europe, and once to Mexico.

At today's retirement age, sixty-five, E. P. was in his prime. His leadership roles in town, county, state, region, and church were widely recognized. He was one of the top ten tithepayers in the LDS Church. In the back of his pocket daybook for that year, 1915 (he made short pencilled notations in some thirty-seven years' worth of daybooks), he listed dividends and income from his companies, his directorships, and his investments. His notations mention:

Layton First National Bank
Pingree Bank
Ellison Milling
Layton Milling and Elevator
Beneficial Life Insurance
Eccles Ellison Company
Ellison Ranching Company
Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company
City Bank
Cement Security
Amalgamated Sugar
Farmers Union
National City Bank
Utah Ore Sampling Company

At age sixty-five, E. P. supervised the construction of a new Layton Sugar Company factory, which represented a new beginning for him. During the next quarter-century, his daybooks show he devoted most of his business time to it and to two other ventures: the Echo Canyon Dam and resultant canals that enlarged the water company's operations, and the vast Ellison ranches in Nevada. His heart, however, seemed to be with the ranch work more than anything else.

Physically, E. P. was not an imposing man, although grandchildren recall and photographs confirm that his appearance was dignified and deserving of respect. During his prime business years he typically wore a dark suit to clothe his 5' 8'' frame. He stood ramrod straight, weighed between 150 and 160 pounds, and had a light complexion, medium dark hair, and a moustache.[1]

By his sixty-fifth birthday, his nine children were raised. He lived with his wife, Elizabeth Whitesides, usually called Tibby or Tib. By then, white-haired 5' 4'' Elizabeth was disabled by arthritis. All accounts agree that she was a kindly, gracious, meticulous lady. She delighted in E. P's success and in the lives of her children and grandchildren, many of whom held positions in companies in which E. P. had solid investments. No one could have known that on E. P.'s sixty-fifth birthday, Elizabeth would live but one more year, then leave him a widower for two dozen years.

E. P. strongly disliked two things in life. He hated onions, because during a famine in his boyhood days he was forced to survive on them. And he objected to his first and middle names, Ephraim Peter, so he replaced them with their initials, E. P. Many associates never knew his first name. Elizabeth, when speaking of him to others, called him "Mister Ellison." His children referred to him formally as "Father."

By the time E. P. was in his eighties, the Great Depression had become a bucking horse that tried to throw and ruin him and his family investments. With creative tenacity he held on, and he and his family kept their businesses from bankruptcies. Finally, some twenty-two years after turning sixty-five, E. P. released the reins and dismounted. Not by choice, however. Health problems forced him to swing down from the saddle a year or two before his death in 1939.

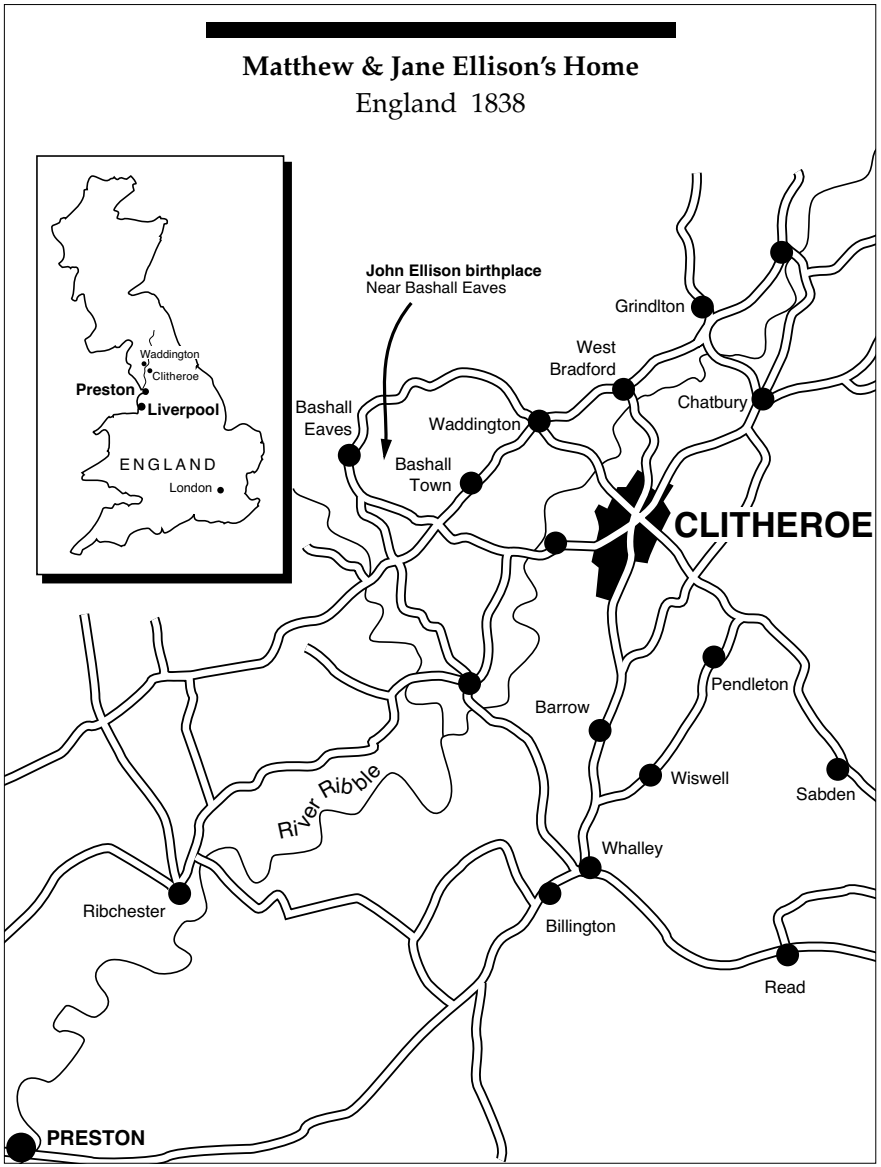
Today, it is E. P. and Elizabeth's grandchildren who have reached retirement age—the last generation who knew E. P. at all. Great-great-grandchildren, of whom there are many, are the Ellison generation now entering adulthood. Among E. P.'s living "descendants," too, can be counted businesses he helped start and promote, which still survive and thrive, including the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company, Ellison Ranching Company, Ellison Enterprises, Ltd. (successor to Ellison Milling and Elevator Company), and the First National Bank of Layton.

Note

1. LDS Leaders Biographical Sketch, form he filled out, June 28, 1915, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

PART ONE

HERITAGE AND BEGINNINGS



CHAPTER ONE

Mormon Converts in England

Nineteen-year-old John Ellison faced a difficult choice between love and religion. On the one hand he believed firmly he must convert to the restored gospel which Latter-day Saint missionaries were teaching him. But he was romantically linked to a young lady who had no taste for the new and unusual religion from America. Forced to choose between Mormonism and his sweetheart, John picked faith over love, which caused the young woman to drop him from her life. John's conversion created another momentous consequence not long afterwards. It caused him to leave the land of his ancestors, allowing him to become, in time, a revered immigrant ancestor for generations of Ellisons that would be born in America.

John's conversion and immigration had direct consequences later for his son, Ephraim Peter, or E. P., because those decisions determined that E. P. would be born in America, not England; reared in rural Utah; and raised to be a Latter-day Saint.[1]

Yorkshire Ellisons

John Ellison started life in Bashall Hall or Bashall Eaves near Clitheroe in Yorkshire, England, on May 23, 1818.[2] He was the firstborn of ten children of Matthew and Jane Wilson Ellison.

The name Ellison stems from Ellis, Elys, or Elyce, which seem to be derivatives of the biblical names Elias and Elijah. Other variations are Ellenson, Ellynson, and Elistone. Ellisons are found in English tax records in Yorkshire as early as the fourteenth century.[3]

John's father, Matthew, was born in Chipping, Lancashire, England, on September 15, 1793.[4] He spent his early life in Lancashire and Yorkshire. In 1817 he married Jane Wilson, a daughter of John and Ann Langton Wilson, born on June 15, 1800, at Bashall Hall. Matthew and

Bashall Hall, Bashall Eaves, England

Jane lived most of their married life in the vicinity of Bashall Eaves and Waddington in Yorkshire and Clitheroe in Lancashire. Matthew worked in factories and farmed. He and Jane became the parents of ten children. All reached adulthood and married except Ellen, who died at age seven:

Child	Birthdate	Birthplace
John	May 23, 1818	Bashall Eaves, Yorkshire
Ann	Sep 15, 1820	Bashall Eaves, Yorkshire
Jane	Feb 27, 1823	Bashall Eaves, Yorkshire
Matthew, Jr.	Apr 07, 1825	Waddington, Yorkshire
Lucy	May 23, 1828	Clitheroe, Lancashire
Thomas	Nov 18, 1830	Waddington, Yorkshire
Margaret	Apr 29, 1833	Waddington, Yorkshire
Ellen	Nov 13, 1835	Waddington, Yorkshire
Mary Hannah	Dec 29, 1837	Waddington, Yorkshire
Ralph	Dec 23, 1840	Waddington, Yorkshire

John Ellison spent his youth near Clitheroe. When old enough he became his father's main farm laborer. He learned to sow, plow, drive a team, mow, and harvest crops, and to care for horses, cows, and sheep. In between farm tasks, John obtained some schooling before age fifteen. In 1837 the family attended processions and parades held as part of the historic coronation of Queen Victoria.[5] John also worked in a factory and at about age twenty began to labor away from home.

Matthew and Jane Ellison

Latter-day Saint Converts

Led by Apostle Heber C. Kimball, a handful of determined Mormon missionaries from America arrived in England on July 20, 1837. Basing themselves in Preston, the preachers fanned out into nearby communities. They found England to be a proselyting field "white and ready for harvest." One family tradition inaccurately claims that John was the man who raced George D. Watt to see who could be the very first Mormon convert baptized in England. Watt was the first baptized, but he was not confirmed for a few days, during which time a young woman was baptized and confirmed—thereby becoming the first convert. (Later, George D. would be a neighbor of the Ellisons in Utah.) John Ellison was not baptized until January 6, 1838. Joseph Fielding, from America, a brother-in-law to the Mormon founder Joseph Smith's brother Hyrum, baptized him. John was confirmed eight days later, on January 14, by Apostle Kimball and Brother Fielding. That day John was ordained to priesthood office, apparently to the calling of teacher.[6]

John became affiliated with the Mormon congregation at Waddington, formed that March.[7] Waddington was one-and-one-half miles northwest of Clitheroe, seventeen miles northeast of Preston, and thirty miles northwest of Manchester.[8] Clitheroe, Preston, and

Standing (left to right) Mary (Whitcomb), Margaret (Stevenson), Lucy (Thornber). Seated (left to right) Ralph, Thomas, Matthew, Jr., John Ellison

Manchester were in Lancashire, but Waddington stood on the Yorkshire side of the River Ribble. At an April 8, 1838, LDS conference, the Waddington Branch was listed as one of twenty-five in the conference. That month John was given increased priesthood authority by being ordained a priest.[9] By January 1839, he was serving as a part-time local missionary.[10] In 1840 John traveled in the ministry with Francis Moon. For another two years he continued to proselyte through the neighborhoods near where he was born. One person whom records show that John baptized was Thomas Cottam, on February 2, 1841.[11]

Members of the Waddington Branch met each Sunday evening and held Monday night prayer meetings, which were testimony-sharing meetings. At a mission conference at Preston on April 15, 1840, John represented his branch. He reported it had fifty members, including two priests, two teachers, and one deacon.[12] At a July 6th conference that year, John, still a priest, again represented Waddington Branch's fifty

members.[13] By year's end, some seventy-five members belonged to the branch, for which John served as presiding officer.[14]

Other Waddington Branch members who became important in the Ellison family's history are the Pillings and Thornbers. Ann Pilling, grandmother of Alice Pilling, whom John Ellison soon married, was baptized on March 26, 1838, by Francis Moon. Brother Moon also baptized a Nancy Thornber Cook on April 29; seven years later John's sister Lucy married Henry Thornber near Nauvoo. Several Mormon Ellisons who did not leave Illinois with the westering Saints, including John's father Matthew, are buried in the Thornber cemetery south of Powellton.[15]

John Ellison and Alice Pilling

John had concerns other than church work. Alice Pilling, a young LDS woman with blue eyes and brown hair, caught his eye. The daughter of John and Ellen (Peggy) Banks Pilling, she was born in Waddington on November 25, 1820. She grew up in Waddington, which had been home for the Pillings back at least to 1774. Alice had four brothers and three sisters: John (who died as a child), Susannah, Edmund, John, Margaret, Mary Ann, and Joseph.

A visitor to Pilling family sites near Waddington in 1980 called the village "one of the beauty spots of the Ribble River valley." It is, she said, "a delightful village with a stream running down the center which is bridged in places with stepping stones." Well-kept lawns and gardens border the stream, backed by the old parish church of St. Helen's on the hill. "Should you tour this quaint village," she wrote, "you would see the ancient stocks and pinfold, or pound" located "between the Old Smithy and St. Helen's Church boundary wall." Grand Waddow Hall "occupies a picturesque position with frontage sloping down to the banks of the Ribble River and acres of beautiful woodland surrounding it." The restored Waddington Old Hall, located behind a large stone wall on the main street, is the oldest building she described. The setting was one of neat hedgerows, green pastures, thatched cottages, and picturesque churches.[16]

Alice Pilling's parents were landowners. They farmed, but they also owned and spent a good deal of money on race horses. "They were kind hearted people, good neighbors, and good citizens."[17] Alice attended

Mormon converts boarding a ship to America at the Liverpool docks. (Courtesy Utah State Historical Society)

schools considered good for that time and place, where she received a basic education. Gentle and ladylike, she had a kind disposition. Family tradition says that Alice, like John Ellison, lost a sweetheart because of her conversion to Mormonism.[18]

John Ellison and Alice Pilling were married on February 4, 1841—nine years before son Ephraim would be born. Because of reactions they feared, they kept their marriage a secret.[19] Near the time of their wedding, Apostle Heber C. Kimball promised Alice that she would be married and go with the Saints to America. During her voyage, he added, she would not experience sea sickness and would care for others who became ill. Alice asked him how he knew she would marry and that she would not be sick? He replied that the Lord had told him.[20]

Newlyweds' Voyage to America

Twelve days after their wedding, the newlyweds boarded the sailing ship *Echo* to leave England for America. John's sister Ann went with them. The sixth ship chartered by the LDS Church officials to transport English converts to America, the *Echo* was a 668-ton brig of U.S. registry. Its captain was Mr. A. Wood.[21]

On February 11, 1841, Brigham Young, Willard Richards, and John Taylor met in council near the Liverpool docks and created a presidency for the *Echo* company. They set apart Elder Daniel Browett as presiding elder and six men to act as his counselors. John Ellison was one of the six, along with John Cheese, David Wilding, James Lavender, William Jenkins, and Robert Harris.[22] The Mormon company included 109 passengers.[23]

The *Echo* cleared Liverpool on February 16, 1841. During the fifty-nine day voyage, Alice, as promised, did not become seasick, and she was able to assist those who did. No diary or summary has been found of the *Echo* passengers' experiences on the high seas. When the vessel docked at New Orleans on April 16, the *Echo* officers submitted to port authorities their list of passengers, which identifies John Ellison as a twenty-three-year-old "preacher," and Alice Ellison as nineteen.[24]

By Mississippi riverboat the Ellisons reached St. Louis two weeks later. Finally, about May 6th, they landed at the Mormons' capital city of Nauvoo, no doubt eager to set up housekeeping for the first time in their young marriage.

Parents' Immigration, 1843

John Ellison's parents emigrated from England two years later, in 1843, and brought along John's brothers and sisters.[25] The family group sailed from Liverpool on March 8, 1843, being among eighty-three Mormons of the 122 passengers aboard the bark *Yorkshire*. What an appropriate name for a ship carrying people like the Ellisons coming from Yorkshire! The *Yorkshire* was a British sailing vessel of 658 tons, commanded by Captain William Bache.[26] Also traveling with the Ellisons was daughter Jane's husband of one year, Thomas Coates.[27] Their first child arrived during the voyage. The ship's passenger list shows the following family members:[28]

Matthew Ellison	age 48	male, farmer
Jane	42	
Matthew	18	
Lucy	14	
Thomas	11	
Margaret	9	
Ellen	7	
Mary Hannah	5	
Ralph	2	
Thomas Coates	22	
Jane	21	
Alice Coates	3 weeks	

Elder Richard Rushton presided over the Mormon company, and Thomas Bullock was the company's clerk. Fortunately, Bullock's diary provides a fine account of the Ellison family's voyage. His entries show that two storms and a measles outbreak turned the sixty-three day journey to New Orleans into a harrowing experience.

Passengers boarded the *Yorkshire* on March 6 and 7. By 3:00 p.m. on March 7 it glided away from the Prince's Pier, pushed by fair winds on a cloudless day. When they left the mouth of the River Mersey and sailed into the Irish Channel, they encountered rough headwinds and choppy seas, which caused most of them severe seasickness. The *Yorkshire* skirted Ireland's south coast. Presiding Elder Rushton's father, Henry, died on the twelfth and was buried at sea. By March 17 the ship was sailing south into the broad, deep, gray-green Atlantic. On March 23, 24, and 25, the *Yorkshire* ran into a terrific storm, which caused diarist Bullock to note that "the sea ran mountains high, the most awful sight I ever saw."[29]

By this time measles had broken out among the passengers, and all the Ellison children caught the dread disease. Jane, pregnant, not only was deathly seasick, but she broke out with the measles, which caused her baby to be born prematurely, on March 28, 1843. When the baby was eight days old she was christened by Captain Bache with the name of Alice Yorkshire Coates—her middle name honoring the ship that was her birthplace. The frail baby somehow not only survived the voyage but lived to be more than ninety years old.[30]

On April 4, the *Yorkshire*'s sails caught the powerful Atlantic tradewinds, which propelled her southward. Some friction between passengers developed when non-Mormons objected to the Mormons using the decks for Church meetings.[31]

Apparently, the late March storms blew the *Yorkshire* off course, for instead of passing between Cuba and Florida, as was customary, it sailed farther south into the West Indies. On April 19, Bullock noted, the passengers rejoiced to sight land at last, after being so long on the Atlantic. They skirted the north side of the tropical island of Guadeloupe in the Lesser Antilles, half way between Puerto Rico and Barbados. When topside, the passengers beheld strange and breathtaking scenery. They viewed a "burning mountain" or volcano, sugar plantations, and flying fish. In order to sail on the western, calmer side of the line of islands, the *Yorkshire* left the Atlantic side that day and sailed past the island of Antigua.

During the next few days, the ship cruised past the west side of several islands, including St. Christopher, Montserrat and St. Croix. From April 22 through 25 the passengers were in sight of the southern coast of Santa Domingo. By the 24th they could see tropical lightning storms at night. Sometimes a fair breeze pushed them along, but at other times nary a ripple disturbed the "beautiful azure blue sea." On April 26 they sighted the north shore of Jamaica and soon sailed between it and Cuba, both of which were visible, sometimes at the same time.

During their tropical voyage, Bullock wrote, the passengers occasionally spied unusual fish and birds, including a barracuda, a spouting whale, flying fish, and tortoises.

On April 28 they skimmed past the Grand Cayman Isles at about seven knots per hour, but a day later they had "nearly a calm all day." Bullock wrote on Sunday, April 30, of "sky very red, sea like gold, lightning all night." The next two evenings brought more lightning. On May 2 Bullock told of lightning brighter than he had ever beheld before. During that night, when the *Yorkshire* was off Cape San Antonio on Cuba's southwestern tip, the tropical lightning triggered wind blasts that sheered off the *Yorkshire*'s masts and sails. A monstrous crashing noise awoke passengers at 2:15 A.M., and those who ventured on deck saw sail wreckage and lightnings "flashing in an uncommon manner." Topside they found serious damage:

> There was much vivid lightning, when a whitesquall caught the foretop royal sail, which careened the vessel, when the foremast, mainmast and mizzenmast snapped asunder with an awful crash; the whole of the masts above, with the jib and spanker, and sixteen sails and studding poles, were carried overboard with a tremendous splash and surge, when the vessel righted. At daybreak all on deck was in confusion and a complete wreck. During the day a sail was hoisted from the stump of the main mast to the bow of the vessel.[32]

Bullock's journal noted that on May 5 a vessel approached and "offered us assistance and provisions but we did not need any." A day later the *Yorkshire*'s makeshift sails served well, letting the ship reach speeds of 8.5 knots.

In 1943, at the eleventh annual Ellison Family Reunion held at a tourist park in Nauvoo, about 1700 descendants celebrated the centennial of Matthew and Jane Ellison's coming to America. Attenders received a copy of "The House of Ellison," a poem that commemorated the immigrant ancestors, part of which dealt with these storms:[33]

> We were crowded in the cabin,
> Not a soul would dare to sleep.
> It was midnight in the waters,
> And a storm was on the deep.
>
> 'Tis a fearful thing in winter
> To be shattered in the blast;
> And to hear the rattling trumpet
> Thunder, "Cut away the mast!"
>
> So we shuddered there in silence
> For the stoutest held his breath,
> While the angry sea was roaring
> And the breakers talked of death.
> As thus we sat in darkness,
> Each one busy with his prayers—

The Ellisons and others aboard the *Yorkshire* reached the mouth of the Mississippi River, called the "Balize," on May 8. There a pilot boat, as was common practice, towed the *Yorkshire* into the broad river and up to the port of New Orleans, where it docked on May 10. "Extreme heat," Bullock complained that day. There, the Ellisons and other Saints boarded the Mississippi paddleboat *Dove*, paying $3.50 per passenger. This steamer left New Orleans on May 16 for its two-week journey up one of the world's largest rivers. Somewhere between New Orleans and St. Louis, apparently, the Ellisons' seven-year-old daughter, Ellen, died of cholera.[34] The *Dove* docked at St. Louis on May 28. The next day the Mormon travelers boarded the riverboat *Amaranth*, joining another company of LDS immigrants from Europe.

Mormon prophet Joseph Smith's *History* makes special mention of the arrival of the Ellisons' company at Nauvoo near daybreak on May 31: "The steamer *Amaranth* landed at Nauvoo the Saints who had left Liverpool in the *Yorkshire* under the care of Elders Thomas Bullock and

Richard Rushton, all well."[35] Matthew and Jane Ellison and their children stepped ashore in Nauvoo to rejoin son John and wife Alice and other relatives and friends already there from England. John's parents had completed a 6,000 mile journey that lasted fifteen weeks. Their arrival meant that a sturdy branch of the Yorkshire Ellisons had now been transplanted to the New World. These courageous immigrants became the common ancestors with whom generations of American Ellisons have identified themselves.

Family Developments in England

A postscript about the Waddington Branch after the Ellisons departed deserves entry here. A month after John and Alice sailed for America, Alice's mother, Peggy Banks Pilling, was baptized a Mormon on March 20, 1841. Father John Pilling was baptized two weeks later, on April 2. Other Pilling relatives were baptized during the next few years.[36] On February 22, 1846, Edward Pilling was ordained a teacher in the branch. In 1847 he represented the branch and its twenty-six members at a district conference. Late in 1847 the shrinking branch, depleted by emigration, became absorbed into the nearby Clitheroe Branch.[37]

Alice Pilling Ellison's parents and their children Richard, Mary Ann, and Joseph sailed for America January 10, 1850, on the ship *Argo*. It reached New Orleans in March. By then, Alice and another Pilling daughter had preceded the family to America.[38] As is explained later, this 1850 group of Pillings made its way to Kanesville (present Council Bluffs), Iowa, and joined Saints who were temporarily stopped there before moving west to Utah Territory.

Notes

1. Whitman, "Ephraim Peter Ellison," 1–3. The earliest John Ellison life sketch in the Ellison Family Archives (EFA) is by his daughter Margaret J. Ellison Taylor, "John Ellison," which appears without credit as John's sketch in Siegfried's *Family History of Matthew and Jane Ellison and Descendants*, no page numbers. Susannah Ellison Robins, another daughter, wrote "John and Alice Ellison," which also is on pp. 8–13 in Jensen, *Joseph H. Ellison: Frontiersman, Pioneer, Rancher, Family Man, Devoted Churchman*. "Alice Pilling Ellison" by "a daughter of Joseph H. Ellison" seems based on it. Mattie A. Ellison Allred's "John Ellison 1818–1903," is made to read as though John wrote it and is based on a 5 pp. handwritten version she wrote earlier and is in EFA. An Unlisted Author, no doubt granddaughter

Olive Lavinia Ellison Taylor, wrote "John Ellison." Published sketches of John are in *Biographical Record of Salt Lake City and Vicinity. . .* , 406–7, and Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols., 4:398–9.

2. Colonel John Parker, "Bashall Hall," Typescript, 4 pp., EFA; Margaret J. Ellison Taylor's sketch of John says he was born at Bashall Eaves.
3. Siegfried, *Family History*.
4. Ibid.
5. Details about his growing up years are culled from the various "John Ellison" sketches by family members cited above in note #1.
6. On file in the LDS Archives is a form called "Personal Record of Patriarch," which states John's baptism date and that Joseph Fielding baptized him. "John Ellison" in Whitney's *History of Utah* 4:398–9, says John was ordained a teacher in January 1838 and a priest that April.
7. Andrew Jenson note in Waddington Branch Manuscript History, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historical Department Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah, cited hereafter as HDC.
8. Waddington Branch Manuscript History. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historical Department Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah, cited hereafter as HDC.
9. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4:399.
10. J*oseph H. Ellison*, 9.
11. Thomas Cottam was confirmed by Elders William M. Moss and James Smithies. See Joseph Fielding Diary. HDC.
12. Waddington Branch Manuscript History.
13. Ibid.
14. Andrew Jenson, who compiled the manuscript history of Waddington branch, felt John was president.
15. Ibid. James L. Kimball, consultant on this project, visited this branch of the Thornber family's cemetery in Illinois and ascertained that Matthew Ellison is buried there. The Thornber Cemetery is just south of Powellton, Ill.
16. Rodgers, *Richard Pilling: A Family Heritage*, 11–12.
17. "Alice Pilling Ellison." Alice's grandmother, Ann Campbell Pilling, is credited with being the first of the Pillings to join the LDS church—she was baptized on March 26, 1838, by Francis Moon and confirmed by Heber C. Kimball; see *Richard Pilling: A Family Heritage*, 17.
18. "Alice Pilling Ellison," 1. Alice's baptismal date is not verified. Family sources give differing dates for it. "Alice Pilling Ellison" gives January 6, 1838, which was John's baptismal date. A family group sheet for John and Alice by Alta Jane Holland gives January 30, 1838; but Maxine Pilling Rodgers' *Richard Pilling: A Family Heritage* (Red Deer, Alberta, Canada: the Author, 1980), chap. 3, and a family group sheet for John and Alice by Mrs. Zona Lillis Taylor provide no date.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Conway B. Sonne, *Ships, Saints, and Marriners*. A Maritime Encyclopedia of Mormon Migration 1830–1890 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987),

41, 148. Family accounts say the voyage was 8 weeks and 1 day, but LDS records add 2 days to that. Family records say the *Echo* was the second LDS immigrant ship to sail to New Orleans, but Church records show it to be the sixth. Prior LDS charters were the *Britannia* (Liverpool to New York), *North America* (Liverpool to New York), *Isaac Newton* (Liverpool to New Orleans), *Sheffield* (Liverpool to New Orleans) and *Caroline* (Bristol probably to Quebec).

22. Church Emigration Book I, 1841, LDS Church Historical Department Archives; British Mission, Manuscript History, February 11, 1841.
23. Taylor, "John Ellison," 1; "Alice Pilling Ellison," 1; Sonne, *Ships, Saints, and Marriners,* 62.
24. New Orleans Passenger Arrival List, Ship *Echo*, Microfilm, LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. Ann was not on the list.
25. Siegfried, *Family History*.
26. Sonne, *Saints, Ships, and Marriners*, 202–203.
27. Ibid., 148. Andrew Jenson, "Church Emigration," *The Contributor* 12 (October 1891): 448.
28. New Orleans Passenger Arrival List, Ship *Yorkshire*, Microfilm, LDS Family History Library.
29. Thomas Bullock Life Sketch, 27th Quorum of Seventies Record, HDC.
30. Siegfried, *Family History*.
31. Andrew Jenson notes in Church Emigration Book I.
32. Jenson, "Church Emigration," *The Contributor* 12 (Oct. 1891): 448.
33. Printed in *The Carthage Republican*, Aug. 18, 1943. The author apparently is J. T. Fields. Siegfried's history tells the basic storm story, a version that had passed down the generations of the family, but which in several particulars is incorrect. For example, it says the *Yorkshire* sailed into a storm that shattered the main mast and shredded the sails, and that crewmen repaired the damage and the ship resumed sailing. But, the version continues, a second storm—one after another rather than six weeks apart—so badly broke the masts that the crew had to cut them away and let waves wash the fragments from the decks. The version says the *Yorkshire* drifted helplessly near Portugal—obviously a mix-up with Puerto Rico. The version incorrectly says the *Yorkshire* drifted until a passing ship sent her timber for new masts and sailcloths.
34. Siegfried's version in *Family History* says Ellen died on May 6, which would have been 4 days before the *Yorkshire* docked. The date must be wrong—if Ellen indeed died of cholera. If that happened aboard the *Yorkshire*, Bullock would have noted it in his journal, and the passengers probably would have been quarantined at New Orleans, neither of which events happened. More likely, Ellen died of cholera during the upriver voyage sometime between May 16 and 28.
35. Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976), 5:415.
36. Rodgers, *Richard Pilling: A Family Heritage*, 17.
37. Waddington Branch Manuscript History.
38. Ibid. Also Jenson, "Church Emigration," *The Contributor* 12 (April 1892): 280.

CHAPTER TWO

NEWLYWEDS IN NAUVOO

Nauvoo influenced E. P. Ellison even though he was born after his parents left there. Their Nauvoo experiences shaped and colored them, and therefore the family life E. P. entered and inherited. He heard his parents speak about their Nauvoo years, their knowing Joseph Smith, the temple where they received their endowments, and about E. P.'s grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins who stayed back in Illinois and left the Mormon faith.

In a Mormon City

When newlyweds John and Alice Pilling Ellison disembarked at Nauvoo about May 6, 1841, they finally had a chance to try to set up housekeeping as a married couple. They were new to marriage, new to America, and newcomers in an almost new city—Nauvoo was but two years old.

During their five-year stay, John's and Alice's lives interwove with Nauvoo's history. In today's Restored Nauvoo, visitors can see five buildings or sites that, for the couple's descendants, serve as visible reminders of their activities there: the temple site, the Nauvoo House, the Seventies Hall, the Masonic Hall, and Joseph Smith's Red Brick Store.

The temple site? The couple lived about four blocks from the temple construction site, and John labored as a mason on the temple's walls. The Nauvoo House? John did masonry work there, too. The Seventies Hall? He belonged to one of the Seventies quorums that met there. The Masonic Hall? John joined Nauvoo's lodge of Freemasons, which held meetings there. The Red Brick Store? Alice joined the Female Relief Society, which gathered in the store's upstairs hall for most of its meetings.[1]

Into Nauvoo's Mainstream

As soon as they stepped from the Mississippi riverboat, John and Alice had to figure out where to live and how to earn a living.[2] They

John and Alice Ellison

settled in the city itself, rather than in any of the outlying LDS settlements, which choice provided them prime opportunities to have first-hand familiarity with LDS teachings, practices, and leaders. As convert immigrants from England, the couple were certainly not alone. Some 240 of their countrymen had arrived the year before, being the first LDS British converts to immigrate to America as an LDS group. Then, during 1841, 1,135 English Saints, including John and Alice, reached Nauvoo. By 1846, estimates say that as many as 4,000 Saints had arrived from the British Isles, making Nauvoo and its surrounding towns one-third to one-fourth English.[3] John and Alice spoke British English, their accents always identifying them as foreigners.

Most converts, whether from England or not, no doubt shared the feelings expressed by English immigrant James Palmer, who reached Nauvoo in 1842 and rejoiced: "I am in a location where I can be instructed more fully in the principles of eternal life by the Prophet Joseph Smith and the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Christ."[4]

When John and Alice arrived, Nauvoo was a fledgling river town, booming with growth. The south-flowing Mississippi River curved around the settlement on three sides—north, west, and south. Bordering this crescent, this nub of a peninsula, were bottomlands where most of Nauvoo's log and frame houses were being built. Dirt streets that became

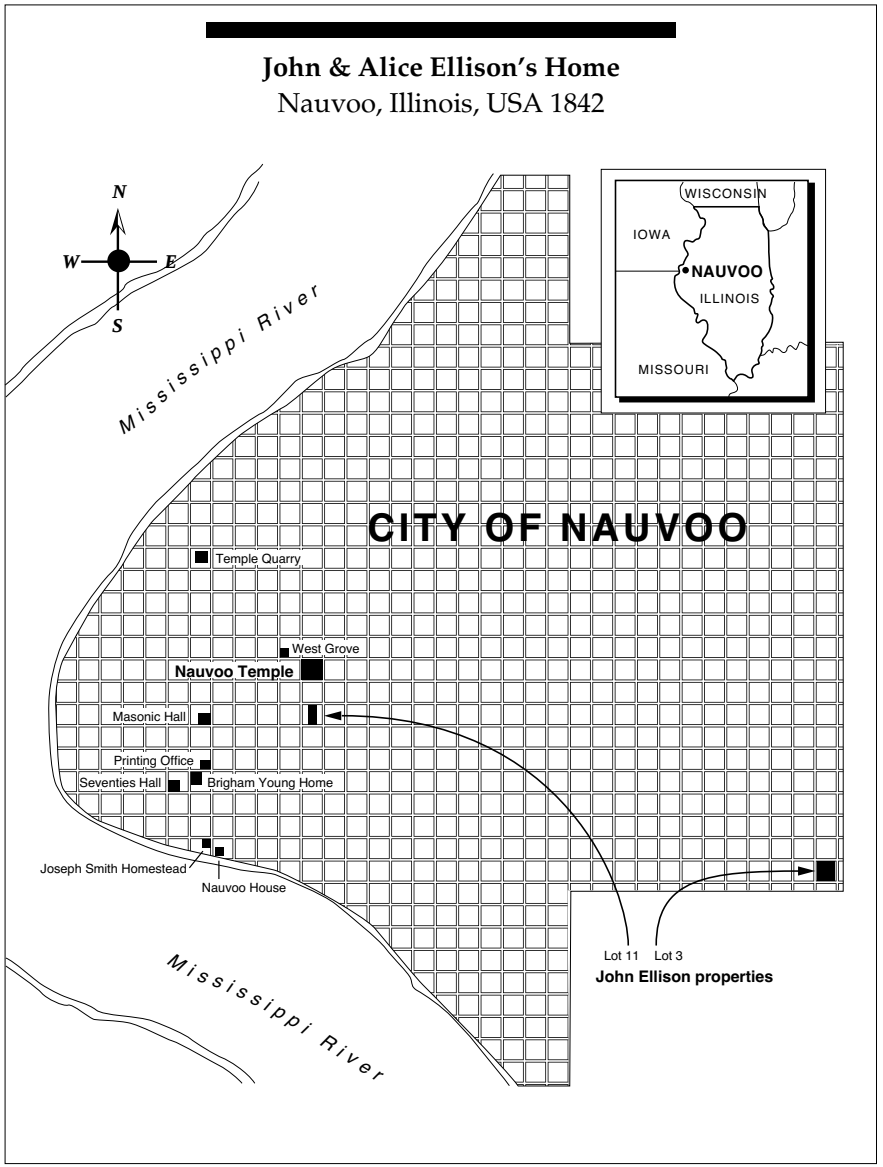
muddy during rain, dusty in summer heat, intersected at right angles and bore the names of Church stalwarts, such as Kimball, Sidney, Partridge, Hyde, and Granger. Parleys Street was the primary east-west street, and Main Street the key north-south artery.

A rising bluff overlooked Nauvoo's lowland neighborhoods. Atop the bluff, Saints had scratched out another grid of streets and house lots. Near the bluff's crown stood foundation stones for what would become, with John's help, a towering temple. From the bluffs "the majestic Mississippi showed its broad waters and numerous islands for miles," and across the river to the west "Iowa presented itself beyond, in view like a beautiful landscape." Stretching eastward from upper Nauvoo was an extensive flat prairie being carved into farms by LDS settlers.

Most of Nauvoo's more stately buildings, including some restored ones that greet today's visitors, were not yet standing when the Ellisons arrived. Almost every building they saw was constructed of wood; brick structures came later. John and Alice found that Joseph Smith lived in a two-story log and frame house by the river, Apostle Brigham Young in a damp log cabin, and their friend, Apostle Heber C. Kimball, in a log house on the flats.[5]

For a residence, John and Alice chose a home site on the bluffs, near the rising temple walls and therefore close to the work John engaged in at the temple site. In 1841, the Ellisons located on Kimball Block 11, Lot 3, which in today's Nauvoo is roughly the block bounded by Ripley Street (north), White Street (south), Woodruff Street (east), and Wells Street (west), just east of the present Christ Lutheran Church. Apparently they were tenants or renters on the one-fourth acre lot, which measured twenty-eight by 208 feet. John built a cabin there that served as his family's home during their stay in Nauvoo. They shared Lot 3 with a fellow Englishman, Thomas Clayton. On June 20, 1843, John arranged to purchase his rented lot from Samuel and Prudence Miles for $100. In 1842 John Ellison rented or was buying lot 2 in Block 3 in the Warrington Survey on Nauvoo's extreme southeastern edge (and still was connected with that property as late as 1845).[6]

On their house lots, most Nauvoo families cultivated "a neat garden and raised an abundance of corn and vegetables" for their own use, "and



with the aid of a cow and a pig and a few chickens" produced food to eat and trade.[7] Residents owned cows, dogs, pigs, chickens, and horses.

Although Nauvoo was principally a walking city, some horses and horse-drawn wagons and carriages knocked up dust or splashed mud where the Ellisons walked. Summer seasons brought heat, humidity, and thunderstorms with vivid and sometimes fatal lightnings. Ellisons and the rest suffered from mosquitoes, gnats, and a variety of bothersome river-bred bugs. Summer river fevers, especially the dreaded malaria, caused sickness and some deaths among the Saints.

Within a month after the Ellisons stepped ashore, Joseph Smith organized the First Regiment of the Nauvoo Legion. These units of "minutemen" received military instruction, drill, and discipline in order to be ready "to execute the laws," to act as escorts, and to enhance public parades and ceremonies.[8] Every able-bodied male resident between the ages of eighteen and forty-five—including John—was required to belong to the Legion.[9] No doubt the Ellison family's tradition that claims John was a bodyguard for Joseph Smith stemmed from John's membership in the Nauvoo Legion.

Soon after settling in, the Ellisons must have seen in person some of the Church's First Presidency—Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and William Law—as well as mayor John C. Bennett. No doubt the return of the Twelve Apostles from England in July 1841 caught the Ellisons' interest, particularly because one was Elder Heber C. Kimball, who had confirmed John a member of the Church in England, and because of news the Twelve could share about the Ellisons' motherland.

For three years John and Alice had opportunities to hear their young prophet, Joseph Smith, preach. Strikingly strange for a religious center, Nauvoo lacked church meetinghouses. Public meetings, including worship services, most often took place outdoors in one of the groves of trees near or sometimes at the temple site.[10] On Sundays, according to James Palmer,

> the Saints assembled in a grove near the sight of the Temple where was erected a Stand or platform for the speakers and it was nearly always filled by our leading officers. . . . The prophet did not always address the meetings but when he did all ears ware opened and the most profound silence was observed, and those that spoke in his presents [sic] no matter what subject allowed themselves to be corrected if needed, which was done by him in a kind and christianlike manner.[11]

Among doctrines the Ellisons heard explained at Nauvoo was a unique teaching that living proxies could perform gospel ordinances for and in behalf of deceased people. John and Alice knew about and perhaps attended the historic dedication of the wooden baptismal font in the temple's basement on November 8, 1841, to be used for proxy baptisms for the dead.[12] After that, Saints performed hundreds of baptisms for the dead in the temple font and in the Mississippi River.

Mason Tender on Temple Walls

John's employment, coupled with his and Alice's home labors and bartering skills, put food on the family's table. John, like scores of other men, had trouble finding work other than at the public works projects. Nauvoo's economy, seemingly unable to move beyond a "pre-industrial" stage, was limited to simple industries, mainly small craft and home enterprises. Nauvoo lacked capital, large-scale sources of power, and factory machinery.[13] Bishop George Miller, bearing responsibility for Nauvoo's needy, explained the unemployment problem the Ellisons faced as soon as they arrived: "Early this spring the English emigrants . . . began to come in, in apparent poverty," he said. "The poor had to be cared for, and labor created, . . . there not being one in ten persons who could set themselves to work." Bishop Miller, the Committee of the Nauvoo House Association, and the Committee of the Temple "all bore a part in the employment of labourers," and providing food for them.[14]

John's first job was working for a non-Mormon landowner in the area, Squire Daniel H. Wells. At some point John found employment at the printing office, where a newspaper, probably the *Nauvoo Neighbor,* was published.[15] But his main employment was doing masonry work at the temple site and on the Nauvoo House. John helped the masons from 1841 until the temple neared completion in 1846. Nauvoo's 1843 tax rolls term John a "mason tender." Incomplete temple carpentry shop records say John was employed there during at least two months in 1845 and two in 1846.[16]

Church leaders gave high priority to constructing the temple. A month before the Ellisons arrived, officials had laid the temple cornerstone. On that occasion, Joseph Smith stated that "labor on the temple would be as acceptable to the Lord, as preaching in the world."

A committee then began collecting funds for building the temple.[17] Five months after the Ellisons came, Joseph Smith told the Saints that "there shall be no more baptisms for the dead, until the ordinance can be attended to in the Lord's House." He also announced that "the Church shall not hold another General Conference, until they can meet in said house. For thus saith the Lord!" Hence, Saints knew how urgent it was for the temple to be built quickly.[18]

John's hands helped raise the temple walls during a five-year construction period. When 1841 ended, workmen had laid the foundation stones, and the basement walls were almost complete. An April 1842 report said that "a large number of workmen are engaged in raising the walls of the temple." That June, a master stone setter from England, William Player, became the masonry supervisor. By October 30th, temple walls stood between four and twelve feet high. John's main work as a mason tender was to mortar together the stones of the temple wall. Stonecutters at nearby quarries cut and shaped huge limestone blocks four to six feet thick, which ox teams hauled to the temple site. There, stone setters and masons, John included, carefully placed them on the walls. Temple stones were dressed so that joint gaps did not exceed half an inch.[19]

Lime mortar set slowly, so John and other masons spread it "a considerable time before its use." They worked spring, summer, and fall but halted when freezing weather came. The masons' tools were picks, spades, shovels, wheelbarrows, hoes, plumb bobs, spirit levels, mortar trowels, and hammers. Some masons worked atop the walls, receiving blocks lifted to them by hoists and cranes. A typical stone-setting crew consisted of eight or ten men, and crane crews had four to six men.[20]

During 1843 John and other workmen added "tier upon tier" of stones to the walls. By then, three cranes were operating. During mid–1844, Joseph Smith's tragic murder halted work on the temple for two weeks. By September the walls had reached the top of the second-story windows and workmen began placing two-ton capital stones daily. During the next year, 1845, the masonry teams finished the sixty-foot-high walls. Three cranes lifted stones to three different stone-setting groups. Meanwhile, in the basement, masons and setters assembled the stone baptismal font, stone oxen supporting it, and the floor. Sections of the temple became usable during 1845 for meetings and for ordinances,

even though carpenters and finishers worked on interior woodwork, painting, and furnishings until May of 1846.[21]

During 1845 and 1846, in addition to mason tending, John worked in the temple's carpentry shop. By the time he turned in the loaned tools to his supervisors for the last time, the imposing white temple measured 128 feet long and 88 feet wide. It was the largest and most widely known structure north of St. Louis and west of Cincinnati. Its architectural style was unique, containing elements from classical, medieval, Renaissance, and nineteenth-century architecture. Curious-looking sun, moon, and star stones decorated pilasters and friezes.

The temple's first floor contained a foyer and large assembly room with pulpits at east and west ends. The second floor was similar, with a large hall and offices. On the third floor was a section of dressing and ordinance rooms, a rectangular room beneath the gable where marriages and other ordinances were performed, and offices for temple recorders and other Church officials. A wooden tower topped the temple, containing the temple bell, cupola, and a spire rising nearly 160 feet above ground level.[22]

The temple was dedicated in May of 1846, after the Saints' exodus from Nauvoo had started. John and Alice were still living in Nauvoo at the time, and it seems likely that John felt pride in the finished ediface.

John also labored at the Nauvoo House construction site, a building designed to serve as an inn for visitors to the city.[23] Nauvoo House ledger books note that John labored during July 1841 on the project for four days—two months after reaching Nauvoo. Plans called for the building to be L-shaped, to have three brick stories sitting on a stone basement story, and to contain about seventy-five rooms. However, work stopped in 1843, when walls reached the second floor level. The structure was roofed and used, but never completed. In 1965 historian Robert Flanders noted that "a portion of the original structure is still standing," its bricks and joints barely weathered or worn.[24]

Alice and Relief Society

Joseph Smith organized the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo on March 17, 1842, in the "lodge room" above his Red Brick Store.[25] The

society, with Joseph's wife Emma as president, was created to encourage women "to provoke the brethren to good works in looking to the wants of the poor" and to correct the morals and strengthen the virtues of the community. At subsequent meetings, the small membership expanded. To join, women had to be recommended by a formal petition by two or three of the members and then approved by vote of the membership. Members must be sisters who "intend to pursue the ways of purity and righteousness."[26] Alice Ellison, along with some 200 other women, was accepted as a Relief Society member at a June 9, 1842, meeting in one of the meeting groves. At that time Alice was pregnant, expecting her first child, Margaret Jane, who was born two months later.[27] At its membership peak, the Nauvoo Female Relief Society enrolled more than 1,300 LDS sisters.[28]

Arrival of John's Parents

John and Alice had some contact in Nauvoo with people they once knew in England. For example, an acquaintance of the Ellisons named Ellen Wadsworth Parker wrote to her parents in England in early 1843, reporting that people from Waddington—Thornbers, Shaws, Smithes, Mosses, Cottams and "John Ellison and wife"—were well.[29] In 1843, John welcomed to Nauvoo his parents, Matthew and Jane Ellison, and his brothers and sisters. John had written them not to come until later, because housing and work were scarce, but his letter reached England after they had sailed.

Temporarily, Mother and Father Ellison moved in with John and Alice near the temple or on the Ellison lot in the Warrington Survey.[30] At that time, "all seemed bustle, life and business" in the city.[31] Levi Richards, newly returned from England, noted in June that "there are many engaged in building, and houses seem to spring up almost like mushrooms in the night; every week makes a manifest change in the city." He added that "elegant steamers are passing on the river daily, from one to half-a-dozen."[32]

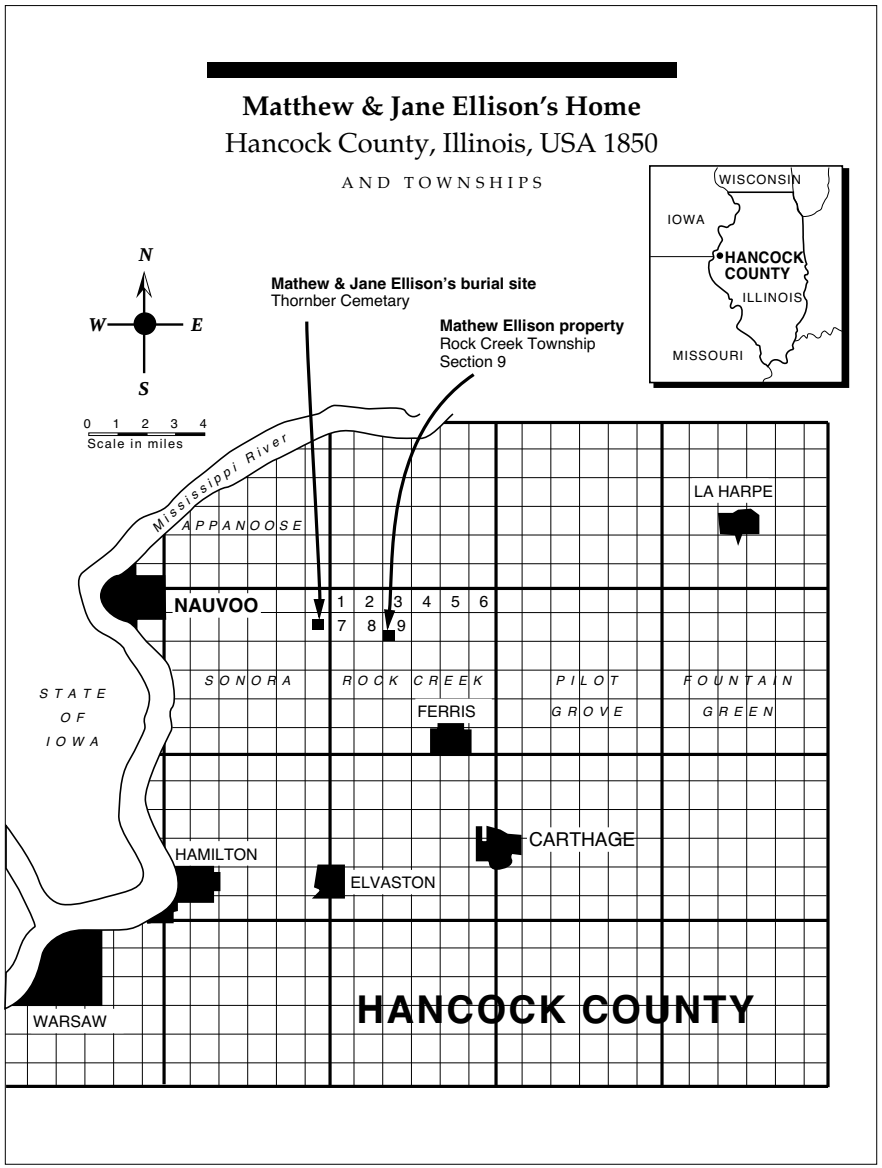
Two months after John's parents came, Englishman John Needham penned for *Millennial Star* readers in England a detailed description of the city.[33] "The extent of the city is four miles," he noted, "laid out in lots and streets in nice order." Each house "has a piece of land attached

to it, either a quarter, half, or a whole acre of land, and some more, which makes the houses appear scattered." For two square miles the city was "covered in that way," but in the center near the temple, which was the area where John and Alice lived, the houses "are quite close like other towns." Streets, Needham said, "are not yet paved, but are in the rough, in dry weather pleasant, except a little dust, but in wet weather unpleasant." Two or three places in Nauvoo "have a very business-like appearance with having different kinds of shops." Regarding homes, he noted,

> We have a many good brick houses, and others are frame-wood and log houses. Some of the houses appear strange to a person who has been accustomed to live in a fine-built place, but a great many are quite smart large brick houses, which would look well in any city.

Of the residents, Needham said, "we have both good and bad as in all places," including some dishonest men. Wheat and tares grow together, he reminded, which surprises those "who have expected to find people perfect here." Of course, Needham reacted, as all newcomers did, to the Mormon prophet. "Joseph Smith is a great man," Needham wrote, "a man of principle, a straight forward man; no saintish long-faced fellow, but quite the reverse. Indeed some stumble because he is such a straight forward, plain spoken, cheerful man, but that makes me love him the more." Needham had "seen and been in the company of Joseph, and heard him speak several times. I love him, and believe him to be a Prophet of God."

Under the headline "To the English Brethren in Nauvoo," the *Nauvoo Neighbor* in mid–1843 carried John Greenhow's advice to recent immigrants, such as the Ellison cluster of families. Greenhow observed that a few newcomers manifested a feeling of disaffection, of being subjected to tyranny. "We were told before we started from our houses that we must expect difficulties and privations," he reminded. He then stated that the leading men in Nauvoo had right motives. He acknowledged that English workmen sometimes were taken advantage of. "No man ought to require more than a moderate time for labor," he admonished, "say ten hours a day, except in cases of emergency." To be in Nauvoo is a move from tyranny, he said; "Here we have a prospect of independence through our industry and frugality, while in England the prospect was wretchedness and woe."[34]



Of prime concern to John's parents during late 1843 was finding a place to live and a way to earn a living. On October 9, 1843, Matthew Ellison paid $200 to Solomon K. Laurence of Adams County, Illinois, for eighty acres of land nine miles east of Nauvoo. The parcel was in Rock Creek Township in Hancock County.[35] When spring came in 1844, Matthew and his family moved out to this potential farm. He and his wife lived the remainder of their lives there. When they arrived, only four other families lived in the township.[36] Subsequent histories of Rock Creek and Hancock County praise pioneers like the Matthew Ellison family, whose muscle and determination turned the virgin prairie, with its tall grasses, weeds, and swamps, into productive farms. The prairie had to be broken with plows specially designed to slice through the dense sod. Sod-busting farmers also struggled against swamp-related malaria, mosquitoes, and swarming green horseflies.[37]

John Ellison's parents and siblings settled beyond Nauvoo, which was good for their livelihoods but kept them removed from the richer spiritual diet provided in Nauvoo's quorum, Relief Society, and public preaching and worship meetings.

Martyrdom and After

By mid–1844, anti-Mormon resentments flared up around Nauvoo. In response, John and other Nauvoo Legion men prepared to defend the city. While most Saints expected an outbreak of trouble, none anticipated the double murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith that occurred on June 27, 1844. News of the murders reached most Nauvoo residents the next morning, and about 2 P.M. wagons brought the corpses of the Smith brothers from Carthage into Nauvoo. A large procession of mourners collected on the hill and followed the bodies to Joseph Smith's home, the Mansion House.

A mood of mourning and waiting, not retaliation, prevailed, although William Clayton noted that "some few can scarce refrain from expressing aloud their indignation at the Governor and a few words would raise the City in arms & massacre the Cities of Carthage and Warsaw and lay them in ashes but it is wisdom to be quiet." Mother Lucy Mack Smith was "distracted with grief." Like most people in Nauvoo, the Ellisons must have reacted to news of the murders with some mixture of shock, disbelief, fear, anger, sorrow, worry, and confusion.

John, a militiaman, had a duty to help defend Nauvoo from attacks that some expected would come. James Palmer recalled the tense mood in Nauvoo at that time:

> Our people determined to protect themselves against mob violence and armed themselves as best they could. And the Nauvoo Legion was ordered out on muster and put in readiness for protection and to allways act on the defencive. We were told to place our guns and amonition where we could put our hand upon it the darkest night that ever was, and be ready to run at the tap of the drum.[38]

William Clayton noted that "the Legion was out all night expecting a mob to come." The next day, June 29, Joseph and Hyrum's bodies were exhibited for public viewing from 10:30 A.M. to 3:30 P.M., and "many thousands" came to see them. One resident recalled that "during those days our people were unsettled and could not engage in any kind of labour no matter how much needed and there ware many that did not have six days provisions in their house for their familys."[39]

With Joseph Smith suddenly gone, Saints felt great loss. Gradually, several of the Twelve returned from labors in the eastern states and provided leadership in place of the prophet. John and Alice attended the now-legendary August 1844 meeting at which Brigham Young spoke and suddenly seemed transformed in feature and voice to resemble Joseph Smith. A grandchild of John and Alice, citing what the couple later said, reported that "Grandfather and Grandmother were there at the meeting. They bore their testimony to the wonderful spirit that was there, and to the truthfulness of the gospel."[40]

A Seventy and Freemason

John Ellison was ordained a Seventy on May 23, 1844, a month before the martyrdom. Seventies, an office in the higher or Melchizedek Priesthood in the Church, had special assignment to perform missionary work away from the gathered Church. When a new Fourteenth Quorum of Seventies was organized later that year, on December 22, he was a charter member. One of John's quorum brothers was Daniel Browett, who had presided over the *Echo* Saints and for whom John was an assistant during the voyage from England. John's quorum met every Sunday at one of the groves or in private homes. The meetings usually included singing and prayer and the men "testified of their faith."[41]

During late 1844, workmen—John might have helped—finished constructing a two-story Seventies Hall on Parley Street. Very likely John and Alice attended his quorum's session of dedicatory services held at year's end. Possibly the couple went to some of the lectures, lyceum presentations, or traveling displays in the Seventies Hall or used the second-floor library, which housed more than 600 books.

John joined Nauvoo's lodge of the Masonic fraternity. Because many early converts to Mormonism were Freemasons, including such prominent men as Hyrum Smith, Heber C. Kimball, and W. W. Phelps, Church leaders arranged for Nauvoo to have a lodge. John signed up for membership on June 6, 1844, and became a Mason on July 4. Enrollment records list him as being age twenty-six and a "self laborer."[42] Lodge brothers taught tolerance and charity, and shared a genuine religious brotherhood and concern for one another. Members could advance through various degrees of Masonry, which required rituals involving secret signs and routines.[43] Unlike other Masonic lodges, Nauvoo's lodge refused to be exclusive; it allowed practically anyone to join. Its membership exceeded 1,500. John attended lodge meetings in the Masonic Lodge on Main Street.[44]

Final Days in Nauvoo

During the year following the martyrdom, Nauvoo was a calm city where the residents' main concerns were to earn a living and rear their families. John and Alice's second child, John Ammon, was born in Nauvoo on April 22, 1845.

Late in 1845, John or his father became involved in a dispute between Thomas Bullock and Wellington Wilson about a cow Wilson bought but which Bullock claimed was his. How the dispute was resolved is not recorded. Bullock's diary entry for November 25 mentions the episode:

> On my return home saw Wellington Wilson, who has my cow, asked him when Ellison was coming as it was two weeks and three days since he was to come to give testimony—he said he had promised to come 'some time'—this proceeding is very unsatisfactory to me.[45]

During the fall of 1845, LDS settlements near Nauvoo came under attack from anti-Mormon nightriders. To avoid a possible bloodbath involving Nauvoo, the Twelve ordered that the Latter-day Saints vacate

Illinois by the next spring. So during fall and winter days, the Mormon capital became a beehive of wagon-building and preparing for a long journey. Townspeople tried to pay and collect debts and to stockpile supplies for a mass-movement to the West.

To capitalize on the nearly completed temple, the Twelve directed that all worthy adults should receive temple rites and endowments before they left Nauvoo—which by then had been renamed "The City of Joseph."[46] In December 1845 and January 1846 several thousand Saints reverently passed through the stately temple that John had helped construct. He and Alice received their temple endowments on January 30, 1846. But John's parents and his sister Ann chose to forego the temple experience.

Religious Refugees

A first wave of Illinois Latter-day Saints crossed the Mississippi River and headed west in February and March, 1846. The main migration from Nauvoo occupied the spring months of April and May.[47] Best estimates are that about 15,000 to 20,000 Latter-day Saints poured west from Nauvoo into Iowa during 1846. Nauvoo, seven years old, became mostly deserted.

Wagon trains bearing the first wave of Nauvoo emigres moved like a long snake across the breadth of Iowa, establishing temporary way-station settlements at Garden Grove and Mt. Pisgah. By June the main Camp of Israel reached bluffs overlooking the swift Missouri River. By fall they were across the river creating Winter Quarters at present Florence, Nebraska. Church leaders intended to move the Saints on to the Rocky Mountains region the next year.[48]

Meanwhile, several hundred Saints, including John and Alice and their children, stayed at Nauvoo through the spring and summer. Then in September, anti-Mormon vigilantes, impatient for all Saints to be out, attacked the city. After a brief skirmish, the outnumbered Mormon defenders surrendered. Vigilantes swarmed into the city. They pillaged, bullied, and finally forced the last Mormon residents out, including John and Alice.[49]

A family story tells about Alice Ellison during those dangerous days. When mobbers tried to take Alice's cow, the story says, she armed herself with a long, hard hickory stick. "If you take my cow, I'll use this on

View of Nauvoo, 1841. (Courtesy Utah State Historical Society)

you," she warned. She knew how much her family needed that cow. The mob leader backed off, supposedly saying: "Stand aside, men. A woman who has that much courage, let her take her cow."[50]

At this time of crisis, John was too ill to help move his wife and two small children across the river. He "was so sick he could only sit up a few minutes at a time" and regretted that he "couldn't help defend the Saints."[51] His father, Matthew, came during the night with a wagon and took the family back to his home in Rock Creek Township. Matthew insisted that John stay there until he recovered. John became delirious from the bilious fever, which racked his body for about thirteen weeks. Finally, in November, John sold his Nauvoo house and lot, but only for half the amount he had invested in it.

While Illinois' last fading yellow autumn leaves were falling, the couple bid farewell to the City of Joseph. They must have felt sad when they looked a final time at Nauvoo's deserted streets, the vacant Seventies and Masonic halls, the unfinished Nauvoo House, and especially the grand Nauvoo Temple which John's hands had helped erect.[52]

Winter approached, and John still was not physically well. So with wind, rain, and snow coming, it seemed foolish for him to try to cross

the width of present Iowa, especially with small children. Rather, their easiest and wisest course was southward, to St. Louis, where they could quickly find housing, work, and friends. Father Matthew probably drove them to the Keokuk ferry, to Warsaw, or to Quincy to put them on a riverboat bound for St. Louis.[53]

John and Alice's departure physically split apart the newly planted American trunk of the Ellison family tree. To John's disappointment, all of his Ellison kin in Illinois did not join the western exodus of the Latter-day Saints. Father Matthew then was fifty-three years old, Mother Jane was forty-six, and their children at home were ages thirteen, ten, eight, and five. (Life sketches of the relatives are provided in Appendix 3.) However, in the years that followed, both sides kept in limited contact by mail. Much later, after the transcontinental railroad linked Utah with the mid-West in 1869, Utah Ellisons visited their Illinois relatives. To this day, there is continuing kinship and contact between both branches of Matthew and Jane Ellison's family, including occasional family reunions.[54]

Notes

1. A fine linking of historic events to specific sites in Nauvoo is Richard N. Holzapfel and T. Jeffery Cottle, *Old Mormon Nauvoo, 1839–1846: Historic Photographs and Guide* (Provo, Utah: Grandin Book Company, 1990). A concise survey of Nauvoo's history is Janath R. Cannon's little book, *Nauvoo Panorama.* (Nauvoo Ill: Nauvoo Restoration, Inc. 1991).
2. For good social history about Nauvoo see George W. Givens, *In Old Nauvoo: Everyday Life in the City of Joseph* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1990).
3. Robert B. Flanders, *Nauvoo, Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1965), 58; Richard L. Jensen, "Transplanted to Zion: The Impact of British Latter-day Saint Immigration upon Nauvoo," *BYU Studies* 31 (Winter 1991): 77–87.
4. James Palmer Reminiscences, Microfilm of Holograph, LDS Church Historical Department Archives, 68.
5. Flanders, *Nauvoo*, 156; Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball, Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 78–81.
6. Ellisons' property was the east part of Block 11 Part 3 in Kimball's addition to Nauvoo. It was one-fourth of an acre in the north part. In 1843 Thomas Clayton owned 2/3 of the south part. According to the 1842 Tax Assessors Record, Personal Property, Hancock County, p. 209, John owned land in Kimball Block 11, lot 3. Nauvoo records refer to a John *Ammon* Ellison owning this property, but it is our John Ellison—whose son John Ammon Ellison was born in Nauvoo in 1845. For tax purposes John Ellison's cattle were assessed at $10, personal property at $40, and other property at $30. He was not assessed for a wagon, or any horses. Tax values indicate the dwelling was a cabin rather than a frame home. See "1842 Tax Assessors Record, personal Property, Hancock County, Illinois"; Nauvoo Restoration Inc. card file on John Ellison; and Siegfried, *Family History*.
7. James Palmer Reminiscences, 72.
8. *History of The Church*, 4:356.
9. Ibid., 4:300, 601.
10. Ibid., 4:448.
11. James Palmer Reminiscences, 69.
12. Ibid., 4:446.
13. Flanders, *Nauvoo*, 153–4.
14. Cited in Ibid., 145.
15. Family tradition says *Nauvoo Advocate* but no such paper was published.
16. Tax lists and shop records are in files of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.
17. *History of the Church*, 4:342.
18. Ibid., 4:426.
19. Joseph Earl Arrington, "Construction of the Nauvoo Temple," Typescript, Microfilm, no date, LDS Historical Department, 343–51.
20. Ibid., 350–51.
21. Ibid., 353–78.
22. "The Nauvoo Temple, 1841–1865," brochure circulated in LDS Church Visitors Center at Nauvoo, 1989, 2.
23. Holzapfel and Cottle, *Old Mormon Nauvoo*, 150–153.
24. Flanders, *Nauvoo* 182.
25. Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of Covenant: The Story of the Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1992), 23–58; Richard N. and Jeni Broberg Holzapfel, *Women of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1992), 104–126.
26. *History of the Relief Society, 1842–1966* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Relief Society, 1966), 18.
27. Nauvoo Female Relief Society Minutes, Typescript.
28. Nauvoo Relief Society Minutes.
29. Ellen Douglas to her parents, Feb. 1, 1843, Ellen Wadsworth Parker Letters, 1842–1851, Typescripts, HDC.
30. Siegfried, *Family History*.
31. *Millennial Star* 4 (Dec. 1843): 122.
32. Ibid., 4 (Sept. 1843): 72.
33. Ibid., 4 (Oct. 1843): 87–90.
34. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, June 28, 1843.
35. Matthew Ellison's property was in the south half of the southwest quarter of section 9 of Rock Creek Township, Hancock County; see Siegfried.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.; Mary H. Siegfried, et al., *History of Hancock County, Illinois: Illinois*

Sesquicentennial Edition (Hancock County, Ill.: Hancock County Board of Supervisors, 1968), 486. According to that history, the first settlers of Rock Creek township were "the Ellisons, Lamberts, Salisburys, Yaples, McCalls, Baileys, Abbotts, Alstons, Terrys, Thornbers, Isaac Roseberry, George Singleton and the Billews." (486)

38. James Palmer Reminiscences, 69.
39. Ibid., 78.
40. Olive Taylor, "John Ellison," 4.
41. Seventies Record Book B, LDS Historical Department Archives, 47. The seven presidents of John's Fourteenth Quorum were Jonathan Dunham, Arza Adams, Jeremiah Willey, Charles Hubbard, Truman O. Angel, Jesse Haven, and Charles Wesley Wandell.
42. Mervin Hogan, Record of Nauvoo Lodge Petitions, Nov. 2, 1843 to April 8, 1846, copy at LDS Historical Department Library.
43. Ibid.
44. Flanders, *Nauvoo*, 158; Holzapfel and Cottle, *Old Mormon Nauvoo* 108–9. The Masonic temple was dedicated in April 1844; *History of the Church*, 6:287. In restored Nauvoo today the building is designated the Cultural Hall.
45. Thomas Bullock Memorandum Book, Dec. 23, 1844, Nov. 25, 1845.
46. Nauvoo's name was changed to City of Joseph on April 7, 1845; see *History of the Church*, 7:394.
47. Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri, 1846–1852, "And Should We Die . . ."* Chapters 1 and 2.
48. Christian, "Mormon Foreknowledge of the West," *BYU Studies* 21 (Fall 1981): 403–15, and Esplin, "`A Place Prepared': Joseph, Brigham, and the Quest for Promised Refuge in the West," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982): 34–58.
49. Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri*, 82–83.
50. "Alice Pilling Ellison," 2–3.
51. Olive Taylor, "John Ellison," 4.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. According to Siegfried, *Family History*, both branches of the family attend Matthew and Jane Ellison family reunions. The Ellison Family Association hosted the first such reunion in 1933. The eleventh annual reunion was held in Nauvoo in August, 1943; see "Ellison Family Celebrates 100 Years in County," *The Carthage Republican*, August 18, 1943.

CHAPTER THREE

SIX YEARS TO UTAH

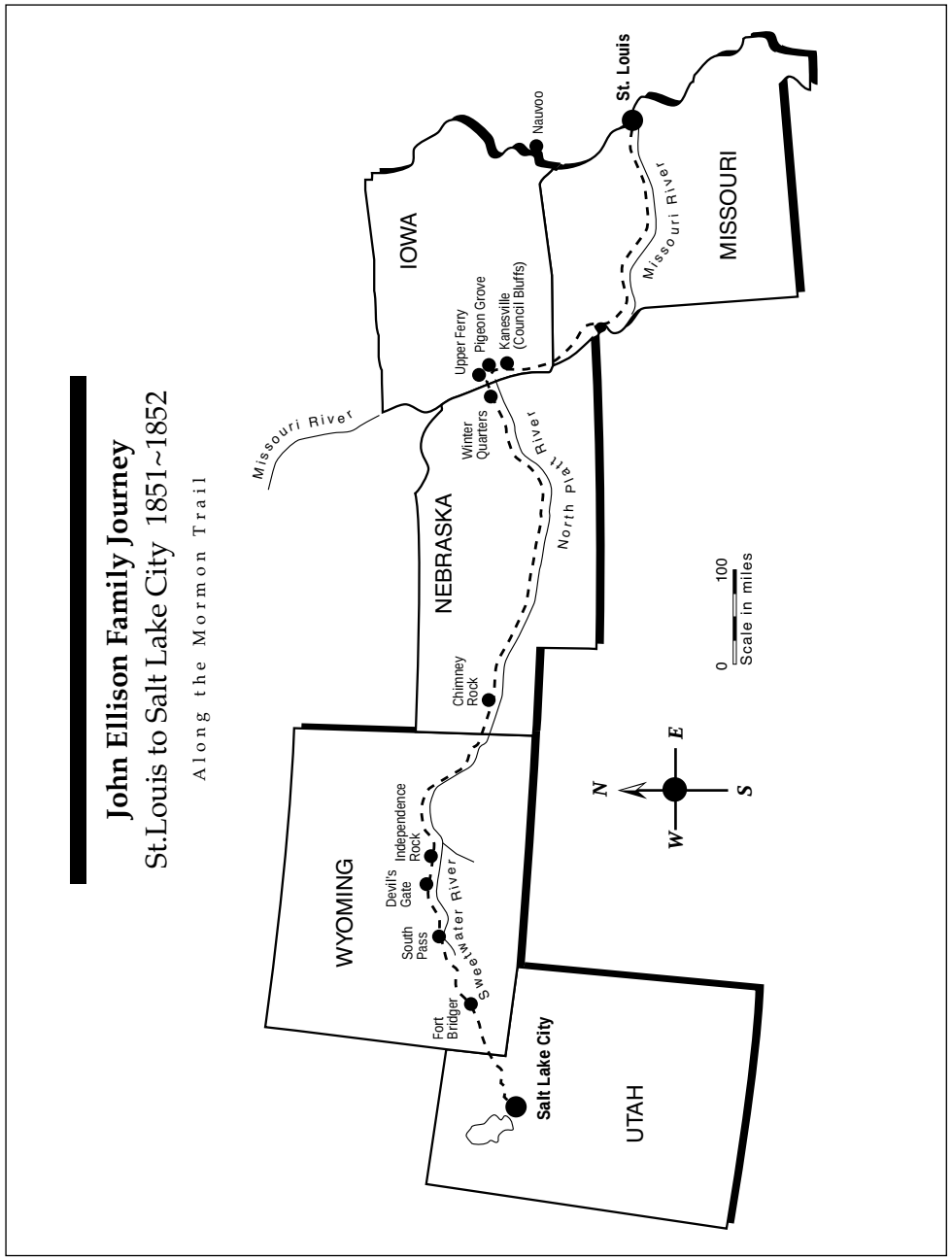
When John and Alice Ellison and their two small children left Nauvoo, they detoured south to St. Louis. At the time, John was twenty-eight, Alice twenty-six, Margaret four, and John Ammon one. Two new children would join the family and two would be buried there:[1]

Aug. 18, 1847	Death of John Ammon,	age 2
Mar. 04, 1848	Birth of David Samuel	
July 26, 1849	Death of David Samuel,	age 1
June 10, 1850	Birth of Ephraim Peter	

St. Louis, 1846–1851

When the Ellisons entered the St. Louis population pool, only seven short years had passed since Latter-day Saints had been forcibly expelled from Missouri. However, despite the Missouri state government's "extermination order" against Latter-day Saints, St. Louis served as "an oasis of tolerance and security" for them. Each year hundreds of LDS immigrants from Europe poured upriver from New Orleans and stopped for a year or more in St. Louis to work to earn enough to head for Utah. John found regular work as a pressman for the Union Printing Company, a job he held until 1851.[2]

St. Louis, a busy trade depot and river port, supported some 60,000 people, including a fluid Mormon population of hundreds. At a January 31, 1847, LDS conference, the first held after the Ellisons arrived, clerks calculated that 1,478 Saints lived in the St. Louis area. Two months later the sole branch in the city was divided into six branches within a St. Louis District. Three more were added that year. Elder Nathaniel H. Felt was district president.[3] By September 1849 the district had mushroomed to include 3,000 to 4,000 members, giving the Ellisons a good number of



Saints with whom to associate. For Sunday meetings the city's Mormons gathered in the St. Louis Concert Hall on Market Street.[4]

For many Saints, including the Ellisons, St. Louis was one of the wickedest places they had ever seen. "If we had wished to live after the manners and customs of the gentiles," ex-Nauvooer James Palmer observed,

> . . . we had now the opportunity of doing so. We lived among a moneyed people. There were liquor shops at nearly every corner of the streets and houses of prostitution in abundance, for all the people wished to patronize them. And gambling houses a plenty. There was no lack what ever in this respect, every person was looking for his gain from his quarter—money first, religion last.[5]

Several historic events occurred during the Ellisons' stay in St. Louis. Throughout 1847 the Mexican War excited St. Louis's populace, and news announcements of American victories triggered celebrations. Boats paraded, boys built bonfires at intersections and street corners, and candles on boards were lit and displayed "in nearly every window of the city."[6] During that newsworthy year, John and Alice's two-year-old son John Ammon died, on August 18, 1847.

In 1849, St. Louis's businesses boomed because fortune seekers flooded into the city, bound for the newly discovered California gold fields.

With or without the Mexican War shipping and the gold rush traffic, St. Louis was a vital center for Mississippi River commerce. From St. Louis, 58 "fine steamers" plied the Missouri River, 75 the upper Mississippi, 150 the Ohio River, 28 the Illinois River, 28 the Tennessee River, and 100 the lower Mississippi. "Boats could not be built fast enough" to handle the flow of passengers and freight into and out of St. Louis.[7]

In the midst of the gold rush boom, and because of it, a health disaster struck the city. Boat travelers brought a cholera epidemic to the citizenry and eventually to the Ellison household. Immigrants from Germany and Holland, where cholera was raging, carried the dread disease to New Orleans and then upriver. Early in 1849, St. Louis reported the beginnings of the plague:

> The disease idled along until May, when it began to strike with triphammer blows reaching a peak in July, when 145 persons died in one grisly day and 722 in one week. By July 30th 4547 cholera victims had been buried in the city since the first of the year.

A city tradition of tolling church bells for funerals had to be dropped to ease the grief for thousands of families suffering through the epidemic. Fast-spreading cholera caused business to halt from May to August, except at groceries and grog shops.[8]

Cholera hit St. Louis harder than any city in the United States. Most of the victims were recent immigrants. One-third were children under age five. David Samuel Ellison, John and Alice's one-year-old, became one of the child victims. He died on July 26, 1849, and was buried in the "strangers" section, or public section, of the Christ Church Episcopal cemetery. Because epidemic victims "nearly filled the existing city graveyards," that church cemetery was crammed with cholera victims that fateful summer.[9]

To die of cholera, as David did, was to suffer a terrible death. Asiatic cholera, or *cholera morbus,* was a highly contagious bacterial disease spread by food, water, and flies. It was a dreaded plague because it struck large numbers, attacked its victims quickly, caused many deaths, and the doctors could do little for it. Cholera bacteria take twelve to twenty-four hours to incubate, then inflame the intestinal tract and poison the body. Excessive diarrhea and vomiting dehydrate the victim. Skin becomes cold and withered, blood pressure fails, muscles cramp, thirst becomes intense. The disease runs its course within two to seven days. Some survive, some die.[10]

It required courage and faith for Latter-day Saints to administer priesthood blessings to fellow Saints who had cholera. Many who tried to alleviate the suffering of the ill were rewarded by becoming victims themselves.[11] "Nurses could not be hired to work where cholera set in," Brother James Palmer recalled, adding that no one would drive the bodies to the cemeteries. Palmer, holding his breath, helped move the corpse of one victim. But then his aged mother began feeling ill and "in a few hours she was a dead corpse." He returned from burying her and another victim in time to see his brother-in-law, his sister, and her youngest child die. St. Louis, Palmer lamented, seemed like a "doomed city."[12] Another

cholera victim known by the Ellisons was Thomas Clayton, who had shared the Ellisons' property lot in Nauvoo.

If cholera wasn't enough horror that year, St. Louis suffered a second major disaster, "the Great Fire of 1849." Flames erupted first by the river, where fires soon destroyed twenty-three steamboats and then spread to engulf fifteen blocks of the business district.[13] Once again, Brother Palmer's recollection is used here because it probably was similar to how the Ellisons viewed the spreading tragedy:

> To add to the dismay of the people [after the cholera outbreak] a terrible fire broke out on the levee among the steam boats which soon struck the city when in a short time front street appeared to be all on fire and the heat so terrible that the engines could not be effectively brought to bear upon it, and were used only to check its progress with but little effect, the fire fiend was doing his work bravely when I visited the spot in the dead hour of the night the wind, driving the flames fearfully towards the heart of the city.[14]

After the ashes cooled, hundreds of St. Louis businesses suffered until they could be rebuilt. "Thousands were thrown out of work," but apparently John Ellison was not one of them.[15]

Ephraim Peter Ellison was born in St. Louis on June 10, 1850. After suffering the loss of both of their little boys in St. Louis, John and Alice had reason to rejoice and cause to wonder if this son at least could live to adulthood and carry on the Ellison name.

Baby Ephraim entered life at a time when LDS immigrants from England were pouring through St. Louis. One week after his birth, the LDS newspaper at Kanesville, Iowa, the *Frontier Guardian*, reported that more than 1,000 emigrants had passed through St. Louis during one recent four-day period. Among the arrivals from England were Alice's parents, John and Peggy Pilling, and children Richard, Mary Ann, and Joseph. Alice's parents reunited briefly with her and also with her sister Susannah Laycock. The Pilling parents did not meet Susannah's husband, however, because he had disappeared a year before, during a trip downriver to New Orleans. (A century later, relatives learned that he had died of cholera and was buried at a place called Iowa Point on May 30, 1849.) Alice's Pilling relatives continued on to Kanesville, taking with them

Susannah's youngest child, Elijah Laycock. The 1850 St. Louis census lists John, Alice, Margaret, and Ephraim Ellison but not the Pillings.[16]

Near Kanesville, Iowa, 1851–52

After more than four years in St. Louis, the Ellisons made plans early in 1851 to head west to Utah Territory. John bought two cows and two yoke of oxen and shipped these, along with a wagon, plow, and other tools, upriver to the Saints' outfitting camps at Kanesville in care of Alice's uncle, Michael Pilling.[17] Before leaving the city, the family obtained church membership certificates from St. Louis District President Thomas Wrigley. Alice's, dated May 31, 1851, verifies that she was a member in good standing.[18]

In June the Ellisons boarded the *Isabell* riverboat to head upriver for Kanesville, hoping to arrive in time to join LDS wagon trains outfitting there. Unfortunately, high water and driftwood detained them for three weeks at St. Joseph, Missouri. They saw logs and whole trees continually floating by, making the Missouri River unsafe for boats. Finally, carrying the bundled baby, John and Alice boarded an open ferry boat. No roof protected them from torrential rains that plagued their upriver trip.[19]

They disembarked at Council Point, the LDS settlement that served as the riverboat landing depot for the Kanesville area. Family sources say the Ellisons arrived too late to join the last wagon train that season. LDS records say that the last three trains left between June 21 and July 7.[20] However, historian Orson F. Whitney said the Ellisons did not go west that year because they were "detained by sickness."[21] The Kanesville area became their temporary home that summer, fall, winter and the next spring.

Kanesville came into being as a Mormon stopover settlement replacing Winter Quarters, which was twelve miles north and across the river. From 1848 to 1852 Kanesville thrived as a way station and outfitting point for Mormons bound for Utah. Apostle Orson Hyde presided over Kanesville and some seventy small LDS satellite settlements. By 1850, a year before the Ellisons came, Kanesville had 350 houses, "principally of logs," a log tabernacle, and a two-story schoolhouse. By 1852, when the Ellisons left the Kanesville area, the city's population numbered about 5000.[22]

John rented farmland about eight miles north and east of Kanesville at a temporary LDS settlement called Pigeon Grove. There the St. Louis printer turned to farming. He plowed, planted corn and potatoes, built a log cabin, and prepared for winter. Fortunately he obtained the stock and tools he had sent upriver the previous year. The Ellisons' diet included a lot of cornbread. Their two cows provided milk and butter. John bought two pigs to provide bacon and pork in the future.

Alice found her Pilling family at Kanesville. Her brother Richard helped Apostle Orson Hyde build a printing office, a project that a printer like John would have some interest in. Richard Pilling and some other men went up the Boyer River (into present Harrison County) to build sixty houses for poor Saints coming from the east and from Europe.[23]

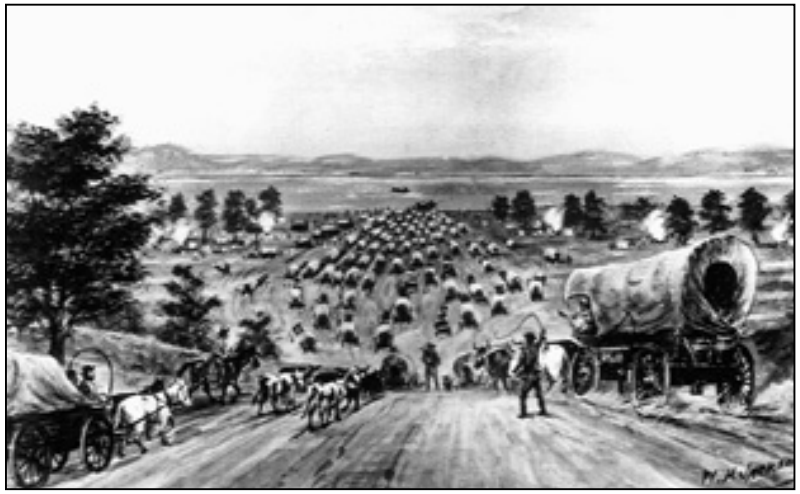
Howell Wagon Train, 1852

Late in 1851 the First Presidency ordered Saints in Iowa to vacate their temporary homes, farms and settlements and to move immediately to Utah Territory. In response, twenty-three Mormon wagon trains headed west during the 1852 immigration season, and the Ellisons joined the migration.[24] They, like thousands of Saints in western Iowa, spent April and May obtaining food, clothing, and equipment, and preparing wagons and ox-teams for the thousand-mile trek.

During May, Mary Ann Frost Sterns Pratt paid a fortunate visit to the Ellisons. According to Mary Ann's daughter:

> We had been buying our butter of Sister Ellison and as we were needing some, mother proposed that we take our sewing and visit Mrs. Ellison for an hour or two and bring some butter home with us. After the greetings were over Sister Ellison began to inquire about our prospects for the journey and mother told her we had the promise of a wagon and thought we would have plenty of provisions to last us, but she did not know where a team and driver were coming from.

Alice offered her friend a solution. "There is a brother boarding with me," she said, "who has been working all winter to get his team, and he wants to go in some one's wagon and drive his team." The man, Jimmie



Kanesville Crossing near Council Bluffs, by W. H. Jackson. (Courtesy Utah State Historical Society)

Murie, had been yoking up his team and training them for a week or two and the team seemed ready. "He will be up to supper at six o'clock and you must stay and see him," she insisted, "for I believe it is just the right chance for both of you." During supper Mrs. Pratt made partial arrangements for Jimmie to be their driver.[25]

To reach the Upper Ferry, twelve miles north of Kanesville, and cross the Missouri River there, the Ellisons drove their wagon through Pigeon Hollow. Their first campground was five miles above Kanesville.[26] The next day they paid to have a ferry boat take their unhitched wagon across the Missouri. On June 11, 1852, the Ellisons joined Captain Thomas C. D. Howell's wagon train on the west side of the Missouri, and the train soon commenced its thirteen-week journey west.

Captain Howell, not quite forty, was from South or North Carolina. He had been over the trail once, eastbound, when returning from his Mormon Battalion duties in California.[27] His caravan contained fifty-four wagons and nearly 300 travelers, an average of six people per wagon. The company had but eight horses, so herdsmen managed some 430 cattle and 122 sheep mostly on foot.[28]

Captain Howell's company was the third LDS train of the season.

Preceding it were the James W. Bay company and James J. Jeppson train, both of which departed from Kanesville about May 30.[29]

Large LDS wagon trains were subdivided into units of fifty wagons and ten wagons, each with a captain in charge of it. The Ellisons travelled in the Howell train's first ten, which actually numbered twelve wagons, seventy-seven cattle, and no horses or sheep. Families or single adults in the Ellisons' ten were:[30]

Name	*Last Residence*
Captain Howell and Family	
John Ellison and Family	Pigeon Springs, Iowa
Elijah Wilson	Little Pigeon, Iowa
Thomas Lee and Family	Little Pigeon
Henry Eglestone and Family	Little Pigeon
Stephen Wight and Family	Little Pigeon
Mary Smith and Family	Little Pigeon
John Toone and Family	Little Pigeon
Polly Pulsipher and Family	Little Pigeon
Jane McKeshney and Family	Little Pigeon
John Goodman and wife	Little Pigeon
Joseph McKinley and Family	Little Pigeon
Theodosia Hubbard and Family	North Pigeon, Iowa
Josiah Nichols	Alton, Illinois
Edward Smith	Alton, Illinois
Mary Folker	St. Louis, Missouri
Frederick Weight and Family	St. Louis
Edward Brain and Family	St. Louis
George Shell	St. Louis
Thomas Hollis and Wife	St. Louis
Henry McCarthy	Ireland

When the trek began, John Ellison was thirty-four, Alice thirty-one, and Margaret Jane, nine; little Ephraim turned two years old the day before they joined the train. Two captains of fifty were picked: Captain Albert Merrill and a Captain Whitehead. Within Captain Merrill's fifty, John Ellison was selected to be a captain of ten, along with Captains McCullough, Wilson, White, and Devonish.[31]

By the time the transcontinental railroad replaced wagon train travel and ended the era of the Oregon, California, and Mormon trails, no year before or after 1852 had as much traffic as in that year. Trail historians estimate that 60,000 people traveled to Oregon or California that year while another 10,000 went to Utah. LDS emigration was four to six times larger than during each of the prior three years.[32]

Family tradition says the Ellisons owned a good team and wagon and that they took along bedding, clothing, implements, furniture, and two cows that supplied them milk.[33] John kept a diary during his family's trail journey, many excerpts of which survive.[34] His first diary entries deal with life on the trail after the train's twelfth day on the move. Their route was along the south side of the broad, shallow, and sluggish Platte River, following an alternate Oregon Trail route, not the Mormon Trail along the north side. Few trees bordered the Platte, so while water was obtainable, fuel was not. Mrs. Pratt's daughter, Mary Ann, also on the trail that year, recalled that she "could not find even a twig or a straw or a dry blade of grass" to burn.[35] According to John's diary,

> On June 22nd which was the 12th day of the Journey we traveled sixteen miles and most of the road was heavy sand. That night six brethern came in camp after dark. They were going to Great Britain on missions. Their names were Thomas Armstrong, Thomas Crodrick, John Callar, George Feron, John Barker and Thomas Margrets. The rain was coming down in torrents when they came into camp and as we camped without wood or water it was not very pleasant. By subscription our camp raised ten dollars to assist the missionarys on their way.

Nearing a two-day stretch of sand hills beside the broad Platte, the company noticed household goods "strewn along the roadside." People ahead of them, their teams having to pull hard up the sand hills, lightened their wagons by tossing out pots, pans, tubs, heavy articles of clothing, and feather beds.[36] One family tradition says that Alice gave her place in the wagon to a sick person and then walked all the way to Utah, "pushing a cart with household goods" and with young Ephraim.[37] John's diary continues:

> June 27th . . . being Sunday we layed over all day, had two meetings, baptized three people and re-baptized six people. Brother Goodman did the baptizing and they were confirmed the same day by the following elders: Howell, Ellison, White, Hollis, Toon, Berriel, McKinley, and Stanley.
>
> July 1st . . . a lady by the name of Osborn died. She had been sick all through the Journey. She came from Allred Branch, Pottawattamie County and was forty-five years old. Two companies of ten each stayed to bury her while the other three companies traveled about twelve miles and camped all night.
>
> July 4, Sunday, we camped all day and held meeting at eleven o'clock. After opening exercises Brother [Thomas] Hollis and John Ellison addressed the Saints and a good feeling prevailed. About noon the two companies came in camp that stoped to bury Sister Osborn. The express from Fort Larimie going to Kanesville with mail came in camp and stoped with us until next morning.
>
> July 5th . . . We travled eight miles through heavy sand. James Clinger's daughter, a child eleven months old, of Pottawattamie County, died and was buried between the road and river on a mound.

On July 6 the Ellisons saw troubling evidence that cholera was stalking their trail: "We travled fourteen miles to a cold spring. All well, roads were heavy. As we travled along we saw many new graves close by the road caused by the ravages of cholera." John, in a comment added later to his diary, said, "If I remember correctly we had but one case of cholera and this was not serious." But William L. Watkins, also in the Howell train, recalled that "we had a few cases of cholera in the company" and two deaths.[38]

That same day, July 6, the Ellisons encountered a buffalo herd near a stream. John noted: "Some of our young men went out and got a fine buffalo and trout which they divided among the company and it was a very fine feast." John's diary apparently skipped the six-week stretch from early July to middle August. During that period one and perhaps two of the companies of ten separated from the rest. The Ellisons plodded along at a pace of ten to twenty-five miles per day. Gradually the landscape changed from prairie near the lower Platte to the higher, drier, grassless lands of the Great Plains in present western Nebraska.

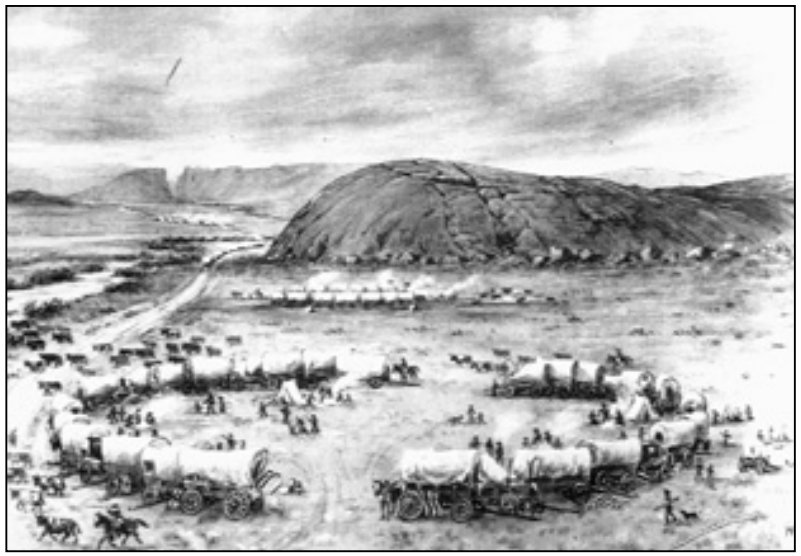
Passenger William Watkins said that trying to move the company's large number of cattle, particularly Alex Stanley's large herd, "caused some dissatisfaction because of the burden imposed on the rest of the

company." When the party crossed the South Fork of the Platte, quicksand frightened some cattle, and others became caught in a strong eddy and taken down stream. "The men forced most of the cattle across with long poles," Watkins recalled; "It was a miracle we saved as many as we did." A few days later he reported that "we had a serious stampede" after dark near some perpendicular banks of the Platte. "Wagons were coming in all directions and it was only a miracle they turned from the river bank and ran to the hills over deep gullies which looked as if it would be impossible for teams with wagons to cross."[39]

After crossing the South Platte, the Howell train moved northward and also crossed the North Platte in order to join the Mormon Trail. In the high plains country, where air was so clear the Ellisons could see long distances and so dry the heat was not oppressive, they passed several landmarks, including Chimney Rock and Scotts Bluff. Then they slowly ascended into the rolling, mountainous stretches of present eastern Wyoming, where firewood was more plentiful and feed for the animals better. Here they saw prickly pear, antelope herds, distant mountain ranges, and seas of sagebrush. They passed by the southern edges of the Fort Laramie complex, where the Mormon Trail merged and blended in with the Oregon and California trails across most of present Wyoming. During the previous two years, thousands of forty-niners had turned the trail into a well worn road, much easier to travel on than what the first Mormon pioneers experienced.

On August 4, when the train was "about 20 miles from the upper ferry of the Platte" at present Casper, Wyoming, Captain Howell sent a report west to Great Salt Lake City, announcing their progress. "We hope to have breadstuff enough to carry us thro, but should it be otherwise we will let you know."[40] When the company left the Platte River west of the ferry, they headed overland past the Avenue of Rocks and alkali ponds that poisoned some of their cattle.

When they reached the welcome Sweetwater River, the Ellisons' company camped within sight of Independence Rock, one of the best known landmarks along the trail. Perhaps, like thousands who passed there, John climbed to the top of the turtle-shell shaped rock. Possibly some in their company added their names to the dozens already chiseled or painted on the south face of the rock.



Independence Rock, 50 miles west of Casper, Wyoming, was a landmark on the trail. (Painting by W. H Jackson, courtesy Utah State Historical Society)

Their route for the next several days took them past a strange chasm called Devil's Gate and Split Rock to the north. At the ice spring, John's surviving diary entries resume his account of the trip:[41]

> [August 19] Dividing a portion to almost every one in the 3 tens. Started to travel to Ice Spring but being considered unsafe for to camp proceeded to the Sweetwater about in all 16 1/2 miles this Day arrived in camp late in the evening all well, that Capt. Wilson ten Capt. Devenish's Capt. Whitehead's stoped behind about 3 miles.

Beyond the beautiful Three Crossings of the Sweetwater they gradually moved upwards toward South Pass, leaving the nurturing Sweetwater behind them. From then on they would follow no river or stream for more than a day or two and sometimes suffered for lack of water or livestock feed. At South Pass, a gentle saddle hardly noticeable, the wagons crossed the Continental Divide. Somewhere between the Sweetwater crossings and South Pass, John wrote:

> [Aug. 20] Bro Hollys [Thomas Hollis'] cow Died Bro Nicklos [Josiah Nichols'] cow and ox sick this made us so that we could not travel till our loads whear made lighter, counsel was held every one had as much load as

they could get a long with, Decided for to buire such things as we could get along with out every one that was to heavy loaded, the brethern went to work and overloaded their waggons and buried such things as they could get along without such as tools and other things, traveled 4 1/2 miles went into camp where there was good feed and there was a Tremendious cold wind and the snow caped mountains.

Waters west of this pass flowed toward the Pacific instead of eastward. A first campside beyond South Pass was appropriately named Pacific Springs. John indicates on a now-torn diary page that near to Pacific Springs they "found a hollow with some grass and some small springs but not nigh enough to supply our cattle." They could have "had good grass and water at the Pacific Springs and had a better road and not have gone any out of the way," he complained.

From Pacific Springs the wagon trains moved southwesterly, the trail intersecting a series of small rivers that they must cross, and which provided water and livestock feed for camping. Again quoting from Captain Ellison's diary:

[Aug 25] Traveled to Dry Sandy found some water but no grass, met with some of the brethern from Salt Lake coming to meet their friends, one of the Boys met his mother & Father, Brother & sister Yeates, they had a letter from the First President requesting or counseling a settlement to be made on green river and the Boys brought good tidings of the crops and of the brethern and their situations in the valleys of the mountains.

At the crossings of the Little Sandy and Big Sandy rivers the Ellisons' company found water and swarms of mosquitoes but not much feed for the animals:

[Aug 26] Traveled to Little sandy without any feed all well found a little feed and plenty of good water here.

[Aug. 27] Travel went 15 miles good roads but no grass camped about 1/2 mile from the road on the Big Sandy plenty of water but no feed except wild sage.

[Aug. 28] Traveled 12 miles to Big Sandy encamped all well.

John's diary skips two weeks during which the Howell Wagon Train moved into rugged mountainous country in present southwestern Wyoming, ascending to nearly 7,000 feet. They crossed several mountain

Pioneers descending Little Mountain into Salt Lake Valley.
(Painting by W. H. Jackson, courtesy Utah State Historical Society)

streams, camped a night or two near Fort Bridger, and then entered present Utah by way of the Needles and Cache Cave. They moved down narrow Echo Canyon and swung south and then west to Big Mountain. At its summit they caught their first glimpses of the Great Salt Lake Valley. After a steep descent and then a struggle up and over Little Mountain, the company rolled down into Great Salt Lake Valley.

John said that he arrived on September 13, 1852, which means that he was part of an advanced division of the Howell Train—the main part arrived on September 27.[42] John's entry about their arrival, after a ninety-five day journey,[43] simply says: "Arrived in Salt Lake Valley. Tired but happy. We endured many hardships incident to such a long journey." Later he added a retrospective evaluation of the trip in his diary book: "Some of our Company lost their stock as was common. We had many hardships incident to a long journey while the company generally had good health."

Halting their trail-worn wagons in Great Salt Lake City, John and Alice looked for acquaintances, for housing, and for work so they could obtain food. Because of religion, they now found themselves in the arid Great Basin in the mountainous western United States, eleven years after leaving the lush green hills and vales near Clitheroe in England. It had

been six years since they had said goodbye to John's parents and his brothers and sisters at Nauvoo, also because of religion. Since converting to Mormonism and because of it, the Ellisons had lived for short periods in Nauvoo, St. Louis, and near Kanesville, Utah was their fourth stop in eleven years, and it would become their permanent home.

Notes

1. Information about what caused John Ammon's death and where he was buried is lacking, as are details about David Samuel's birth.
2. Kimball, "The Saints and St. Louis, 1831–1857: An Oasis of Tolerance and Security," *BYU Studies* 13 (Summer 1973): 489–519; Mattie A. Ellison Allred, "John Ellison," 1; J. H. Sloss, *The St. Louis Directory for 1848. . . .* Reference to Union Printing is in "John Ellison" sketch in Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4:399, and "John Ellison" in *Biographical Record of Salt Lake City and Vicinity* (Chicago: National Historical Record Company, 1902), 406.
3. Kimball, "The Saints and St. Louis," 507.
4. Ibid., 508. Kimball says that the Concert Hall was on the west side of Market Street between Second and Third streets.
5. James Palmer Reminiscences, Microfilm of Holograph, LDS Church Historical Department.
6. Walter B. Stevens, *St. Louis, The Fourth City, 1764–1909* (St. Louis: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1909), 566.
7. Ibid., 857.
8. Primm, *Lion in the Valley, St. Louis, Missouri,* 162–63.
9. *Old Cemeteries, St. Louis County, Missouri*, II. This book indicates that the Christ Church Episcopal Church was located east of California Street and south of Chouteau and that it and the graveyard are gone. In 1879 all graveyards closed. Most had already moved or been abandoned. Unless relatives arranged for reburials, the remains were reinterred in common graves and no records kept. Most existing St. Louis cemeteries have few records dating before 1870. The book lists David as being buried in Christ Church Episcopal cemetery.
10. "Disease," in Howard R. Lamar, ed., *The Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1977), 306. Standard encyclopedias detail cholera's causes and consequences.
11. Kimball, "The Saints and St. Louis," 508.
12. James Palmer Reminiscences, 96–98.
13. Stevens, *St. Louis, The Fourth City, 1764–1909*, 770.
14. James Palmer Reminiscences, 92.
15. Primm, *Lion in the Valley, St. Louis, Missouri*, 174. An interesting Ellison footnote to this St. Louis fire is that John and Alice's grandson, James Ellison, experienced an even worse city conflagration a half century later while serving an LDS mission in San Francisco during the famous earthquake and fires of 1906 (see Chapter Sixteen).
16. Maxine Pilling Rodgers, Richard Pilling: *A Family Heritage* (Red Deer, Alberta: the author, 1980), p. 23; *Index of 1850 U.S. Census St. Louis and St. Louis County, Mo.* (St. Louis Genealogical Society, 1969).
17. Margaret Jane Ellison Taylor, "John Ellison," handwritten, 5 pp. in John Ellison File, EFA, 2; see another version of same, filed as Mattie A. Ellison Allred, "John Ellison," Typescript, 1–2, EFA.
18. Evan M. Green Family Papers, folder 2, LDS Historical Department Archives.
19. Susannah Ellison Robins, "Sketch of Life of John and Alice Ellison," 3; Margaret Jane Ellison Taylor, "John Ellison," 2.
20. John Ellison sketch in Siegfried, *Family History*.
21. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4:399.
22. Richard E. Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri,* 1846–1852, (Norman. University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 220–28.
23. Allred, "John Ellison," 2; Rodgers, *Richard Pilling, A Family Heritage*, 24; Margaret Jane Ellison Taylor, "John Ellison."
24. A valuable resource book about the Mormon Trail route, sites, and present condition, with an excellent list of books and articles about the trail, is Stanley B. Kimball, *Historic Resource Study: Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail* (U. S. Department of Interior/National Parks Service, 1991). Trail sites, landmarks, and mileages are listed in William Clayton, *The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide* [1848], ed. by Stanley B. Kimball (St. Louis, Mo. Patrice Press, 1983). A fine trail history is Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964). A travel account penned in 1853, a year after the Ellisons came west, and published in 1855 is Frederick H. Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, reprint by Harvard University Press (Cambridge, MA), 1962.
25. Mary Ann Stearns Winter, Reminiscences, Microfilm of Typescript, LDS Church Historical Department Archives, 22–23.
26. "Mary Ann Stearns Winters," *Treasures of Pioneer History*, 1 (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1952), 469–75.
27. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1966 [reprint]), 945.
28. LDS Church, Journal History, 1852, Supplement, page 18, the Howell Company's roster is found on pages 12–18 and was taken from the *Deseret News*, Sept. 18, 1852.
29. See year-by-year list of "Pioneer Companies Which Crossed the Plains 1847–1868," prepared by the LDS Historical Department and published in the *Deseret News 1977 Church Almanac*, 280.
30. Journal History, Dec. 31, 1852, Supplement, 12–18. This passenger list states that the Howell Company left Pottawattamie, meaning the Council Bluffs area, on June 7, 1852.
31. Allred, "John Ellison," 2.
32. John D. Unruh, Jr., *The Plains Across*, 85.
33. Olive Taylor, "John Ellison," 5.

34. Parts of John Ellison's diary are in plastic protector sheets in the "John Ellison Diary" file, EFA. Most entries are copies, handwritten by someone on loose pages torn from a notebook. The pages measure 8.25 by 6.5 inches. With these pages is what appears to be two connected sheets from John's original journal, with writing on both sides, or four pages total. The old ink writing is on top of very light pencil writing. Apparently someone did the ink writing after the diary entries were first made, in order to trace or at least make the faint pencil writing legible.
35. "Mary Ann Stearns Winter Reminiscence," 26.
36. "Ann Jane Willden Johnson, 1852," in *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1970), 13:232.
37. "Alice Pilling Ellison," 4. That the Ellisons pushed or pulled carts is highly unlikely. Also, readers need to know that most people who crossed the plains walked rather than ride in the slow, uncomfortable wagons in order to lighten the wagon load and to ease the burden on their oxen.
38. "A True Shepherd," Account by William Lampard Watkins, in *Our Pioneer Heritage* (1976), 19:394.
39. Ibid., 394.
40. Journal History, Dec. 31, 1852, Supplement, page 18.
41. In the four surviving pages of John Ellison's original diary, he tried to list the number of the day of the trip as well as an occasional date, but his tally got behind. For example, John wrote that August 29 was the 68th day, but in fact it was the 80th day.
42. Journal History, Dec. 31, 1852, Supplement, page 12, and *Deseret News 1977 Church Almanac*, 281.
43. Family sketches of John circulate the statement that the trek took 99 days. From the June 11 departure day to the September 13 arrival day is 95 days. The Howell train traveled 99 days from its beginning on June 7 near Council Bluffs—but the Ellisons did not join the train until four days later across the Missouri.

CHAPTER FOUR
PIONEER BOYHOOD

Ephraim P. Ellison's youth years spanned almost the entire pioneer period of Utah's history.[1] Only five years after the original Mormon Pioneers claimed Great Salt Lake Valley, his parents joined the pioneer population, laboring to create homes and farms from the natural, wild environment surrounding the inland salt lake. Ephraim as eldest son grew up learning how to work hard to care for crops and stock. By the time the transcontinental railroad tracks, which he helped lay, ended the pioneer era in 1869, he was nineteen and starting his adult life. Utah Territory's rawness offered opportunities for enterprise, and Ephraim learned in his youth how to develop and profit from resources at hand.

Brief Stop in Salt Lake Valley

Upon reaching Utah Territory late in 1852, the Ellisons lived for a year near Great Salt Lake City. They rented a small farm on the west bank of the Jordan River from Heber C. Kimball, Brigham Young's first counselor in the First Presidency, whom they had known since their convert days in England. They moved onto a Kimball farm on September 15, 1852. "We did not have a house to live in until after Christmas," oldest child Margaret recalled, "and it was quite cold to live in a wagon and tent so long, and it was nice to get in a house." That first winter, she said, "was long and hard," especially for Alice, who was pregnant.[2]

Early in 1853, John planted thirty-five acres of wheat. On March 25, Alice gave birth to their fifth child. In May, when John's wheat was six inches high, leaders called for teams to go south to Sanpete County to bring back wheat for bread. John volunteered. Before he returned, the Jordan River flooded its banks and washed over almost all of the Ellisons' wheat. John returned in time to work an entire night building an

embankment that saved five acres of the wheat. When the water receded, grass grew well, so John was able to "put up a nice lot of hay."[3]

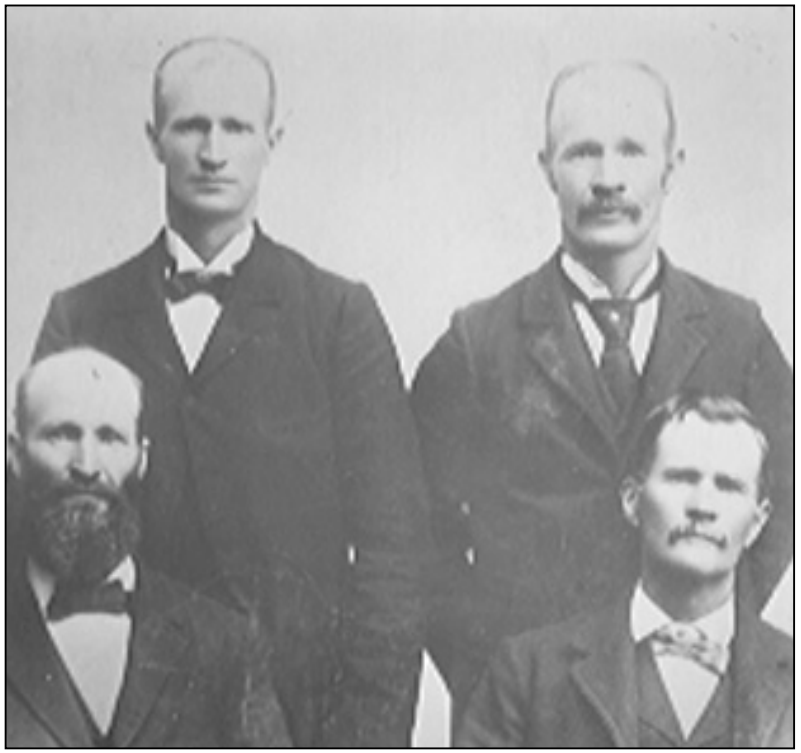
Pioneers in Kays Ward

In September John went on a trip to find a place to settle. Twenty-five miles north, at Kaysville, then called Taylor's Settlement, he bought a farm from Samuel Driggs and built a log cabin while there. He returned, sold his hay, and in October or November moved the family to the cabin. A sparsely settled area, Kays Creek was in the northern part of Davis County, about fifteen miles south of Ogden. This move was John and Alice's last. Kays Creek, later called Kays Ward and then Kaysville, remained their home settlement for the rest of their lives.[4]

Possibly the couple moved north to be close to Pilling relatives. Utah's 1850 census shows a Michael Pilling living at Kays Creek, possibly Alice's uncle.[5] To Alice's great joy, her parents, John and Peggy Pilling, and others in the family reached Salt Lake City on September 13, 1853. They soon moved to Kays Creek, about the same time that John and Alice did.[6] Important to Ephraim Ellison's future, in a wagon train that arrived three weeks after the Ellisons did, the John B. Walker Company, was one-year-old Elizabeth Whitesides, whom Ephraim would meet in Kays Ward and one day marry.

John and Alice's farm was located along the mountain road east of the small settlement, south of the present intersection of Second North and Highway 89 in Kaysville.[7] Alice's parents settled in a miniature hollow at the base of the mountains and immediately built a house of adobe.[8] Others who settled near the mountain road in those days were Amasa Driggs, John Criddle, Sam Ward, William Young, Sam Ashton, Elias Adams, and G. Raymond.[9] When the Ellisons and Pillings arrived, 417 people lived in Kays Creek, including 139 children under the age of eight, and 92 priesthood officers: 7 high priests, 11 elders, 47 seventies, 8 priests, 8 teachers, 11 deacons.[10] John was a seventy.[11]

At about 4,200 feet above sea level, the Kays Creek settlement fanned out between mountains on the east and the Great Salt Lake on the west. Ellisons and Pillings and the other early settlers "found the land near the mountains dry, covered with heavy sagebrush and oak and



John Ellison's sons, (standing) Joseph, Elijah, (seated) Matthew, Ephraim Peter

cut by deep irregular streams and gulleys." Close to the lake shore they "found good pasture land with an abundance of grass, fertile soil, and many fresh water springs."[12] Part of Kays Creek was laid out in typical Mormon village fashion, but its outlying parts, including what later became Layton, "remained rural, unorganized and unplanned."[13] In the area that would become Layton, both Kays Creek and Holmes Creek supplied irrigation water. Roads ran east and west along the sides of these creeks. Holmes Creek was called Fiddlers' Creek because Tom Bennett, Jerry Wiggill, and Lewis Whitesides, who lived along the stream, played fiddles.[14]

John farmed. He also taught school in 1853 and 1854 near his home.[15] As fast as they could, the Ellisons improved their log home and erected shelters for their animals. Territorial land policy let householders obtain deeds to property by applying to the county recorder. A person

John Ellison and his daughters: Susannah (Robins), Margaret (Taylor), Mary (Wallace)

could enclose unclaimed land, after which he could obtain title to it. Not until 1869 was a federal land office established in Salt Lake City so that proper titles could be filed.[16] When the Ellisons settled at Kays Creek, they initially took a step backward in terms of the level of civilization they had known in England. Sagebrush acres stood in place of the green fields of Clitheroe and Waddington. A log cabin replaced their Nauvoo house. Wagon ruts contrasted with the maintained streets of St. Louis. Alice had enjoyed her family's race horses in England; now she cared for simple farm stock.

During an eleven-year span, the last five of John and Alice's ten children were born:

Child	*Birthdate*	*Birthplace*
Margaret Jane	Aug. 11, 1842	Nauvoo
John Ammon	Apr. 22, 1845	Nauvoo
David Samuel	Mar. 04, 1848	St. Louis
Ephraim Peter	June 10, 1850	St. Louis
Matthew Thomas	Mar. 25, 1853	Salt Lake City

Susannah Ellen	Mar. 28, 1855	Kaysville
Elijah Edward	Aug. 01, 1857	Kaysville
Mary Alice	Oct. 29, 1859	Kaysville
Sarah Ann Dinah	Jan. 23, 1862	Kaysville
Joseph Heber	May 12, 1864	Kaysville

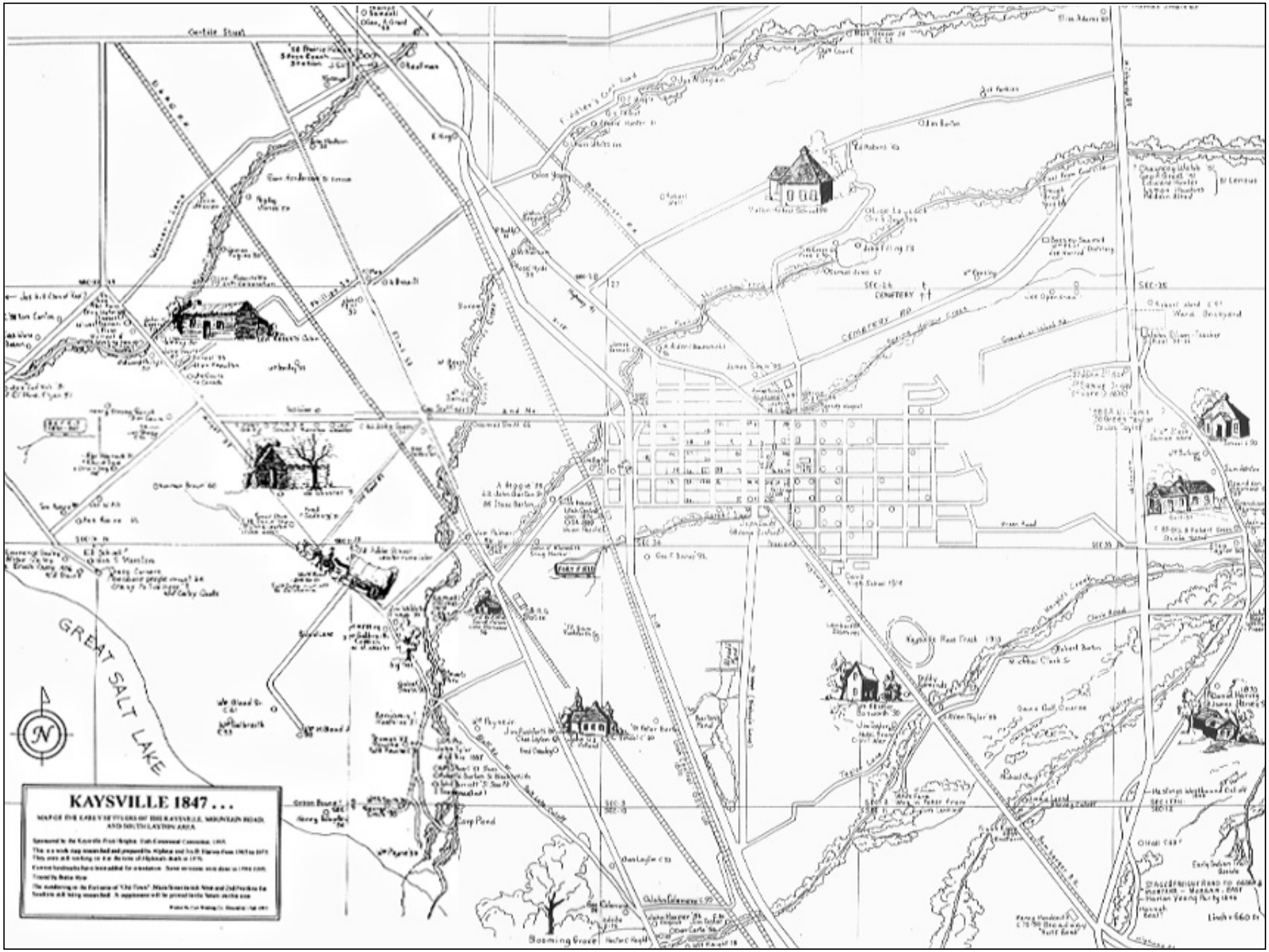
Indians occasionally visited the settlers. Two family stories survive whose purpose seems to be to show that Alice was not afraid of the local Indians. Once, she gave some Indians biscuits. They threw them down, saying they were not good. She picked them up and drove the Indians away. In the second story, Alice gave melons to some Indians. But when they helped themselves to more melons, she drove them off by beating their legs with sagebrush. Other Indians then made fun of the melon thieves for being beaten by a "squaw."[17]

Early Days at Kays Creek

The Ellisons were touched by several historic events that punctuated the 1850s in pioneer Utah. John, for example, attended the sacred ceremonies connected with the laying of the cornerstones for the Salt Lake Temple in April 1853.[18] Then, at the April 1854 Church general conference, President Brigham Young, wanting to instill greater unity and sharing among Utah pioneers, reintroduced the Law of Consecration, which Saints had tried to practice in the 1830s in Missouri. In Davis County hundreds voluntarily deeded property and belongings to the Church, receiving back stewardships to manage those same properties. Possibly the Ellisons did, too. Campaigns to consecrate ceased after 1855.[19]

Visitors to Kays Creek in 1854 observed that its homes were not in a village arrangement, typical of many Mormon settlements, but were scattered "in Gentile fashion."[20] That year, because of Indian skirmishes, Church leaders ordered settlers to "fort up," so the Kays Creek bishopric supervised the building of the Big Fort. A smaller fort was erected on the east side of Kays Creek in present Layton—today's Fort Lane is named for it.[21]

While Ephraim was a boy, north Kays Creek had no sawmills. Elias Adams brought logs from Adams Canyon and owned a whipsaw. John Bair operated a sawmill near Bair's Canyon east of Kaysville in 1855.



Map courtesy Steven Harvey. Used by permission.

"During these early years the people went to the mouth of Weber Canyon and to Birch Creek sawmills to get lumber and slabs to build with." Many early homes, such as the Pilling's, were built of adobe.[22]

Nature dealt the Ellisons and their neighbors a triple dose of trouble during 1855 and early 1856—a drought, a grasshopper plague, and a killing winter. Rains failed to come in the spring and summer of 1855. Plants withered. The wheat crop "suffered tremendously." One farmer reaped but 300 bushels instead of the thousands he expected.[23] Facing disaster, farmers debated how to bring Weber River water to their farms. To help raise a $200 subscription for a canal project, the community held a Nauvoo Brass Band concert and ball in late August. Local folks made a holiday of the affair, "bringing out their wagon sheets and enclosing the bowery on all sides, it being large enough to admit of twelve cotillions dancing at the same time."[24] By that fall the ward numbered 580 people.[25]

During the drought, grasshoppers swarmed by the millions into the wilted fields. A life sketch of John Ellison says that "he once saved the only crop of oats in the community by building bonfires of sage brush around three sides of the field and hiring men, women, and children to beat the grasshoppers and drive them into the fire."[26]

When winter came in 1855–56 it ended the drought by bringing deep snows and bitter cold, killing a high percentage of Utah cattle. Summer crop failures and winter stock losses produced serious famine conditions by early 1856. Families facing bare food cupboards dug for roots, hunted animals in the mountains, and fished in lakes and streams. A sketch of Ephraim's life says that in his youth "he experienced hunger; for months in the winter he lived virtually on sego lily roots, parsnips and onions." This gave him a lifelong distaste for onions and parsnips. Very likely this experience happened early in 1856 when so many Utahns lacked food.[27]

During planting season in 1856, two family romances blossomed. Alice's brother, Richard Pilling, courted Catherine Adams; and her sister, Mary Ann Pilling, was courted by Catherine's brother, George Washington Adams. These romances culminated in the Pilling brother and sister marrying the Adams sister and brother: Richard and Catherine on March 10, 1856 and Mary Ann and George three weeks later, on April 1. Family tradition says that Richard, due to the famine and hardships,

Restored log cabin where Richard and Catherine Pilling and George and Mary Ann Adams lived for several years

walked to Salt Lake City, carrying enough eggs to exchange for materials for Catherine's wedding gown. Both couples lived together in a small log house the two husbands built. It lacked a foundation, a wooden roof, wooden floors, and window glass—a piece of greased factory cloth served that purpose.[28] (Many years later when the log house was about to be destroyed, Oma Wilcox arranged to have it moved to her property, where it still stands, after considerable repair work.)

Kays Creek pioneers constructed a simple meetinghouse that served as a school, church, and social hall. John and Alice attended religious services there during cold seasons and in an outdoor bowery in warm weather. Early in 1856, east winds roaring from the canyons, characteristic of that area, blew down the meetinghouse. Winds did more damage the next day, February 22:

> All of a sudden the wind commenced blowing a perfect hurricane at Kaysville, causing people to fear that their homes would fall or be carried off. Some left their houses to take shelter in those near the fort wall. The wind was from the east, and at times drifted the snow so that it was impossible to see or travel. The gale lasted 12 hours.[29]

Kays Creek, through which Utah Territory's main north-south road passed, received visits from high-ranking Church officials heading north

or returning from there. Locals often greeted such guests with a procession, then gathered to hear a sermon, and afterwards provided meals and lodging when wanted. President Brigham Young's visits became celebrated town occasions. Late in 1855, Apostles Orson and Parley Pratt and Wilford Woodruff helped leaders at Farmington plan conferences in the settlements to spark up religious worship.[30] At Kays Creek's "quarterly conference" on December 15, speakers addressed several concerns of the day—the Law of Consecration, building the Salt Lake Temple, and the plurality of wives. "All the meetings were characterized by a rich outpouring of the Holy Spirit," a reporter noted.[31]

John became a minor official in the settlement. By church call or election he served as a watermaster for two creeks and as a road supervisor.[32] When Kays Creek celebrated Independence Day in 1856, John Ellison served on the committee of arrangements. People gathered in the afternoon to hear readings, songs, and toasts, and enjoyed refreshments and dancing that night.[33] In August 1856, the school threw a party for the community. Schoolmaster Charles D. Evans and militia officer Captain Harris led a procession from the schoolhouse to a spacious bowery. The parade included banner bearers, musicians, and dignitaries. A "Sister Ellison"—probably Alice—and others gave a dialogue on "nature." Then followed recitations, a dialogue, toasts, and dancing until midnight. Participants called this social "the best ever" party held in Kays Creek.[34]

The "Mormon Reformation"

Thousands had gathered to "Zion," but the influx was so great that people's priorities focused on food and shelter above improving in righteousness. To correct what the First Presidency termed "cracks and blemishes in Zion," they launched a "reformation" late in 1856, and it began in the Ellisons' Kays Creek settlement.[35] Presidency counselor Jedediah M. Grant delivered a "soul stirring" address there on September 14, calling on Saints to "live your religion."[36] Keep covenants, observe cleanliness of body and dwellings, and set families in order, he urged. He encouraged those not willing to abide by Church teachings to "leave this people and Territory."[37]

On a second day of preaching, President Grant discerned a "dull spirit" in Kays Creek. His companion, Elder Joseph Young, suggested they seek a more receptive people in neighboring Farmington, but Elder Grant vowed not to leave town "until this people surrender." In his preachings that day he demanded improvement by the Saints. "Shall the wicked and ungodly overcome us? No, in the name and by the power of God, we will overcome them."[38] Repent, he commanded, and be rebaptized for remission of their sins. (On special occasions, LDS leaders since the Nauvoo days had used rebaptisms as a way to recommit the Saints or initiate them into a new community venture.[39]) He "spoke at length upon the necessity there was on the part of the Saints to purify and sanctify themselves" and "dedicate themselves and their substance to the Lord."[40] Members voted unanimously to renew their covenants.[41]

On rebaptism day, September 15, a crowd gathered at the edge of Weinel's mill pond at ten A.M. President Grant first baptized Bishop Allen Taylor and counselors Reddick N. Allred and Dorr P. Curtis. Then the bishopric and others immersed nearly 500 Saints. Afterwards, the Saints moved to the shade of the bowery for confirming. John Ellison helped with the confirmations—evidence that he had been rebaptized. Then, at an evening meeting the congregation sustained the bishopric, including John Ellison as ward secretary. People agreed to fast and to meet again the next day.[42] When the people reassembled on September 16, the block teachers and bishopric spoke, priesthood men administered to the sick, and in a school room adjacent to the bowery, blessed many of the children. President Grant "delivered a powerful address." During the reformation meetings, people "were deeply affected by the power of God."[43] One can only wonder what impact the reformation's excitement, and his parents' involvement in it, had on six-year-old Ephraim Ellison.

From Kays Creek, the reformation crusade spread throughout Utah and even to the mission areas overseas.[44] Even President Brigham Young and church General Authorities were rebaptized. The Reformation's initial "revivalistic spirit" was followed by more measured, directed reform requirements. By early November, bishops and ward teachers—John Ellison was one of Kays Creek's teachers—visited members in their homes to review a Church-produced catechism of nearly thirty questions relating to conduct and to personal cleanliness. It covered acts of wrong-

doing and acts of omission. These questions reminded even the best Saint that "his life was in need of reforming."[45] Despite some excesses of zeal, the reformation produced a noticeable spiritual renewal. Church attendance, donations, and community morale improved, and some apostates and gentiles left Utah the next spring.[46]

John Ellison, by then twenty years a Mormon, still believed devoutly in his faith. Early in 1857 he apologized publicly to the Fourteenth Quorum of Seventies to which he belonged, for failing to attend their meetings in Salt Lake City, and his explanation shows his busy involvement in community and church at that time:

> Brother Ellison from Kays Ward arose and made an acceptable apology for not attending quorum meetings oftener. On account of business he had to transact for his bishop that kept him away, he was clerk for the ward, he was watermaster for two creeks, and road commissioner, and a teacher in the ward. But he felt to bless the presidents of the quorum and he often felt to pray for the quorum, and he was much rejoiced to see some of the old members of the quorum and he felt to be one with us.[47]

During reformation preachings, Church leaders strongly admonished Mormons to get serious about entering into plural marriages. John and Alice heard assertions that a monogamist, though worthy, would not inherit the highest chambers of heaven, but only those plurally married would. They accepted the principle.[48] After sixteen years of marriage, they were sealed together for eternity in Salt Lake City on April 19, 1857.[49] Daniel H. Wells performed the ceremony in the Church President's office. LDS sealing records indicate that at the same gathering John was sealed to a second wife, Catherine McNair—although some Ellison descendants don't accept the information. Catherine was born on September 12, 1806, in Paisley, Scotland. Catherine and John soon separated, however, and in 1860 she was sealed to another man. John again took a plural wife in 1869 (see chapter five).[50]

During 1857 young Ephraim gained both a brother and a brother-in-law. Baby brother Elijah Edward Ellison was born on August 1. Then, a few weeks later, older sister Margaret Jane, age fifteen, married eighteen-year-old William Riley Taylor on September 27, 1857. William was the son of the ward's bishop, Allen Taylor, and years later he, too, would be in the ward bishopric.

The Utah War and "Move South"

In 1857, when stagecoaches linked Salt Lake City with Montana Territory, Kays Creek became a stage stop. Coach connections gave the Ellisons better mail service and faster transportation south to "the city." Kaysville's progress, however, was interrupted in 1857–1858 by the Utah War. Governor Brigham Young, faced with a planned invasion of the territory by a federal army, called for militia units and defensive preparations, which disrupted Kays Creek's normal farm village routines.[51]

When the army marched into Utah Territory early in 1858, President Young ordered the evacuation of Salt Lake Valley and all settlements northward. Vacated buildings should be stuffed with straw, he instructed, so they could be torched rather than fall into "enemy" hands. In response, the Ellisons loaded their wagon, closed down their cabin and farmlands, and drove themselves and their animals south into Utah County. William Booth, William Blood, and William W. Galbraith stayed behind to torch the homes if necessary.[52]

A *New York Tribune* article on May 8, 1858, listed the line of Mormon settlements abandoned during this dramatic "Move South": Cache and Malad valleys, two settlements at Bear River, Brigham City, Willow Creek, Bingham's Fort, Ogden City, East and West Weber Forts, Kays Creek, Farmington, Sessions, and Salt Lake City. Kays Creek, the *Tribune* said, then contained about a thousand inhabitants and "has some good arable land and fine stock range."[53] The reporter added: "Where these unhappy people are to go, or what is to become of them, does not appear. They are moving south."

Kays Creek wagons, carts, and buggies joined a giant parade of evacuees. Some Kays Creek residents took along flocks of sheep, herds of cattle, and chickens, geese, and turkeys. Caroline Adams, age thirteen, walked and drove eleven turkeys. Emily Stewart, a year younger, with her sister Susannah took care of cows and pigs, walking all the way. Ephraim Ellison, almost eight, no doubt helped his family in small ways during the trek. Campsites were found in Utah County, often in pasture lands

bordering Utah Lake. Some Kays Creek people liked Utah County and did not return with the other ward members. Probably John and Alice Ellison felt some mixture of worry and resentment during this disruption of their lives. No doubt the "Move South" revived in them unhappy memories of their being forced to leave Nauvoo twelve years before.[54]

When negotiators averted war, the Ellisons returned home to Kays Creek. According to fellow villager Christopher Layton, "we had left the chickens and domestic animals on the place, and now we found them all right, only a little wild. It seems as if our heavenly Father had taken care of everything for us that we might have our own on our return." During the "Move South," he noted, "men had been sent back twice to irrigate the grain, and we found it and our potatoes and corn looking fine, most of it ready to harvest."[55] However, Emily Stewart recalled that "everything at home looked forsaken. Grass had grown over the pathway, and the door to the little log hut stood open."[56] The Robert W. Burton family found that Indians had lived in their home, used the wooden floor for firewood, and grazed horses in their wheat field.[57]

Family and Community Matters

Between the ages of four and twelve, Ephraim received less than a year of formal schooling. As a "small boy" he attended a school that John R. Barnes taught "up on the mountain road."[58] Because John Ellison taught school for two years, Ephraim undoubtedly received some schooling at home. In 1860, when he was ten, the first public building in what is now Layton, a small log schoolhouse, opened.[59]

Ephraim spent much of his boyhood working with and for his family. Younger farm children then fed cows, chickens, sheep, horses, pigs, and turkeys, hoed weeds in the potato, corn, and sugarcane fields, shucked corn, helped with irrigation turns, and did trading errands with neighbors.[60] While Ephraim was small, many local farmers, including his father, practiced primitive farm methods:

> They cut grass and willows with a sickle, for their hay. They cut grain with cradles, and they put it in a wagon box and tramped it out. They used the winds to separate the wheat from the chaff and used a coffee mill to grind the wheat for flour.[61]

Other boys went barefoot then, so Ephraim probably did, too.[62] Typically, the village's boys wore straw hats, which they sometimes colored gray by dipping them in juice boiled from sagebrush, larkspur, and other weeds.[63]

Ephraim's little sister, Sarah Ann Dinah, born in January 1862, lived only a year before a tragedy took her life. Mother Alice boiled milk one day on an old cookstove, one corner of which was propped up by a chunk of wood. This prop slipped out, tipping the stove, and the boiling milk fatally scalded the little girl. Sarah died on January 29, 1863.[64]

In pioneer Utah, a boy or girl when big enough helped the adults with the heavier farm and housework. Life sketches say that Ephraim as an older boy worked on the farm and in the mountains, became an expert with the axe, and learned about livestock and how to feed, herd, hitch, and drive.

When the Ellisons attended church, after winds blew down the first simple meetinghouse, the services were held outdoors or in one of the settlement's larger homes. Need for a new meetinghouse was great, and workmen started constructing one in 1855. At an April 1862 ward conference, Christopher Layton became the settlement's new bishop. A resident since 1857, he promoted Kaysville's development during the next two decades. He and the Ellisons became friends and business associates.[65]

Finally, on September 27, 1863, when Ephraim was thirteen, Kaysville's new adobe meetinghouse was dedicated and became the community's multipurpose building for church and community functions. Measuring ninety by forty feet, the building seated 900. It cost $20,000 to complete.[66] Its basement hall could be divided into four rooms and was used for school and as a theater. The school section had two stoves, but often had fuel for only one, so the unheated end was cold enough to be called "Siberia." When children misbehaved they were "sent to Siberia" as a punishment. Two rooms in the new building served as tithing storerooms.[67] To attend church meetings there the Ellisons traveled by wagon.

Dedication of the new meetinghouse marked ten years since the Ellisons had arrived in the Kays Creek area. The building seemed to offer solid visible proof to all that the difficult days of pioneering were waning. So did the larger adobe home John Ellison built for his family in 1864

to replace their small log house. By then, the community's religious, civic, social, and economic foundations had been laid. Upon these, the youths in Ephraim's generation would build creatively when they reached adulthood.

Notes

1. Two excellent histories that focus on Utah's pioneer period are Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), and Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847–1869*.
2. Whitman, "Life of Ephraim P. Ellison."
3. Olive Taylor, "John Ellison," 6; Margaret Jane Ellison Taylor, "John Ellison," handwritten, 5 pp., in John Ellison File, EFA, 5.
4. For good historical treatments of Kaysville see Carol Ivins Collett's *Kaysville—Our Town, A History* (Kaysville: Kaysville City, 1976), and essays by various historians in Dan and Eve Carlsruh, eds., *Layton, Utah Historic Viewpoints;* Margaret Taylor, "John Ellison," 5.
5. Maxine Pilling Rodgers, *Richard Pilling, A Family Heritage* (Red Deer, Alberta: Jiffy Printers, 1980), 28–29.
6. Ibid., 28.
7. Sketch, John Ellison, author unknown. Also, "Alice Pilling Ellison"; Cleone A. Whitman, "Life of Ephraim P. Ellison," Typescript.
8. Rodgers, *Richard Pilling: A Family Heritage*, 28–29.
9. Melba Thornley, "History of Kaysville," Typescript, Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.
10. Journal History of the LDS Church, LDS Historical Department Archives, Oct. 8, 1853.
11. On May 25, 1854, the *Deseret News* carried a notice concerning the 14th Quorum of Seventy in which it listed John as a quorum member, but said he lived in Salt Lake City.
12. Larry Wilson, *Folk Housing and Architecture in Layton, Utah, 1850–1915* (Layton: Layton City Corp: 1983).
13. Carlsruh, eds., *Layton, Utah Historic Viewpoints*, 43.
14. Ibid., 48.
15. Ibid., 29, and Whitman, "Life of Ephraim P. Ellison," 3. Kenneth Sheffield, in Collett, *Kaysville—Our Town*, 59, says John taught in a log schoolhouse in 1853–54, and that the schoolhouse was moved into the fort and then back out.
16. Leonard, *A History of Farmington, Utah,* to 1890, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Utah, 1966, 98.; Lawrence B. Lee, "Homesteading in Zion," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 28 (1960), 29–38.
17. Stories told to Oma Ellison Wilcox by her great-uncle Joseph Ellison—her handwritten versions are in the John Ellison File, EFA.

18. Margaret Jane Ellison Taylor, "John Ellison," 5.
19. Paul H. Peterson, "The Mormon Reformation of 1856–1857: The Rhetoric and the Reality," *Journal of Mormon History* 15 (1989): 62. Two hundred consecration deeds for Davis County survive but only for people with surnames beginning with the letter B. These indicate that county residents participated well in the movement. See Arrington, *Building the City of God,* 66.
20. Journal History, Nov. 22 and Dec. 9, 1854.
21. Collett, *Kaysville—Our Town*, 47–48.
22. Wilson, *Folk Housing;* Rodgers, *Richard Pilling: A Family Heritage*, 29.
23. Journal History, Aug. 23, 1855.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., Oct. 6, 1855.
26. Siegfried, *Family History*.
27. "E. P. Ellison," Davis County *Weekly Reflex* (Dec. 20, 1923).
28. Rodgers, *Richard Pilling: A Family Heritage*, 30–31.
29. Journal History, Feb. 23, 1856.
30. Ibid., Oct. 21, 1855.
31. Ibid., Dec. 16, 1855.
32. Fourteenth Quorum of Seventies, Minutes, May 8, 1857, LDS Archives, CR 499, vol. 1, reel 40.
33. Journal History, July 4, 1856, 4.
34. Ibid., Oct. 2, 1856.
35. Peterson, "The Mormon Reformation," 62, 63, 65.
36. Ibid., 66, and Journal History, Sept. 13, 1856.
37. Journal History, Sept. 14, 1856, 1.
38. Ibid., Nov. 2, 1856, 2.
39. Peterson, "The Mormon Reformation," 68; also see D. Michael Quinn, "The Practice of Rebaptism at Nauvoo," *BYU Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 226–28.
40. Journal History, Sept. 14, 1856, 1.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid., and Sept. 15, 1856, 4.
43. Journal History, Sept. 16. 1856, 1.
44. Peterson, "The Mormon Reformation," 66.
45. Ibid., 70.
46. Ibid., 77.
47. Fourteenth Quorum of Seventies, Minutes, May 8, 1857.
48. Peterson, "The Mormon Reformation," 71.
49. Family Group Sheet.
50. Endowment House Record, LDS Family History Library Film 183395, p. 176. An index to the same record shows that Catherine McNair married Joseph Shut there on July 12, 1860, and therefore must have divorced John Ellison by then. Some family group sheets on John Ellison incorrectly list this second wife as Catherine

McLaine and give an incorrect marriage date of 1856. Some descendants doubt John married Catherine McNair because she was twelve years older than John.

51. The standard history of the Utah War is Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850–1859*.
52. Blood, "Early Settlement of Kaysville, Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (Jan. 1929): 17.
53. Journal History, May 8, 1858.
54. Collett, *Kaysville—Our Town*, 71–72.
55. McIntire and Noel R. Barton, eds, *Christopher Layton,* 101.
56. Collett, *Kaysville—Our Town*, 72.
57. Ibid., 74.
58. E. P. Ellison Talk at Funeral of John G. M. Barnes, Typescript, copy in EFA.
59. Collett, *Kaysville—Our Town*, 60. Although 1860 was a census year, the federal census missed the Ellisons. The census taker should have listed John 42, Alice 39, Ephraim 10, Elijah 8, Matthew 7, Susannah 5, and Mary Alice, infant.
60. Barnes, *The Grim Years*, 54.
61. "Memoirs of William A. Dawson," 5.
62. Barnes, *The Grim Years*, 56.
63. John J. Stocking told this to Claude T. Barnes; see Barnes, *The Grim Years*, 48.
64. Siegfried, *Family History.*
65. McIntyre and Barton, *Christopher Layton*, 104. When the building was dedicated, Bishop Layton's counselors then were Rosel Hyde and John S. Smith.
66. *Deseret News*, Sept. 30, 1863; William Blood Diary, Sept. 27, 1863.
67. Collett, *Kaysville—Our Town*, 75.

CHAPTER FIVE

WORK ENOUGH TO DO

Utah farmers like the Ellisons performed a routine cycle of work shaped by the region's four distinct seasons of the year.[1] Farmers, from January until spring, repaired stockyard fences, donated labor for the town road, butchered beef or hogs, did house repairs, and hauled manure from cow barns.

During spring they plowed and sowed in seasonal order oats, peas, barley, wheat, rhubarb, sugarcane, and potatoes, and finally in May, squash, melons, cucumbers, and corn. They repaired and reopened canals and water ditches. Herders marked sheep and branded cattle and moved them to open ranges.

In summer months, when rains rarely fell, farmers took water turns to irrigate their fields. They harvested barley, hay, and oats. August meant corn cutting, hay stacking, threshing peas, and digging carrots. Farmers often helped one another with harvesting and threshing.

Fall and early winter were a season when Kaysville residents dug up potatoes, worked on roads, cut and stored firewood, repaired sheds and animal pens, and paid their first grain tithes. By December herders brought the cattle and sheep home from the ranges.

John, Alice, and their children participated fully in the seasonal farm labors. Everybody who was able, worked. Young Ephraim's involvement with crops, stock, and adult farmers formulated in him opinions about free enterprise and community cooperatives, and about balancing personal profits with the good of society.[2]

Call for Enterprises

In 1864 President Brigham Young issued a stirring challenge to Kaysville people, one which Ephraim would help fulfill during his life-

time. On June 10, the leader urged Kaysville farmers to try to bring Weber River water to their lands:

> In behalf of the people that live here, and of more that would like to come here, had you more water, I will state that I am fully satisfied that a portion of the Weber river can be brought above this place, and thousands of acres of good land rendered susceptible of cultivation.

Much labor and but little money, he said, would bring water around the sand ridge. This was, he assessed, the "best county I know of for fruits and grains." Bishop Layton then was planning an irrigation company to bring water around the sand hill, so President Young probably was rallying support for the effort.[3] In fact, the Utah Territorial legislature in 1856 approved the incorporation of a Davis Canal Company, and prominent county residents had met in Farmington that year to plan a canal; however, the sand ridge at the mouth of Weber Canyon blocked their efforts.[4]

Five months later President Young and his entourage again visited Kaysville.[5] They called for public improvements and projects to benefit the community as a whole. Brigham Young counselled young men like Ephraim to learn quickly to provide for themselves, to earn the respect of good adults, not to drink, and to control their tongues. He asked men and boys to apply faith, means, and labor to bring Weber River waters to the land. Public benefit, not costs, should motivate the project:

> The increase of wealth to this ward will be immense. You can open a ditch large enough to supply your present wants, and afterwards you can enlarge it to carry sufficient water to give water privileges to new land on the route of the canal that will more than pay for it three times over.

President Young discussed cattle and the need for good pasture—concerns that John and Ephraim shared. Pastures needed water brought to them to grow nutritious grasses, and meadows and ranges needed fencing. The prophet called for developing horses and cattle, something not then happening. "We are continually losing animals," he lamented. "The Lord puts wealth into our hands, and we suffer it to waste." He asked for unity regarding temporal affairs. "Temporal and spiritual things are inseparably connected, and ever will be," he reminded. He warned that "men are successful when the Lord blesses them, and strews their path with success to make them wealthy, this cometh to pass not by the wisdom of men but through the providences of the Almighty."

Brigham Young's 1864 "enterprise instructions" at Kaysville, when Ephraim was fourteen, sound like the blueprint for a business philosophy that Ephraim followed during the rest of his life.

Kaysville Developments

The Ellisons participated in many of their community's noteworthy events. They felt, for example, some of the strong winds of another "hurricane" that struck the settlement on November 16, 1864. Gales blew the chimneys off the new Kaysville meetinghouse and scattered stacks of hay.[6] Whenever Kaysville received calls for assistance during the 1860s, people usually responded liberally. In May of 1865, for example, southern Utah settlements needed breadstuffs, so Kaysville donated 7,684 pounds of flour.[7] Documents show that during Kaysville's Fourth of July celebrations in 1865, John was a member of the committee in charge. "They had a good time," a report said; their activities included artillery firing; flag flying; a procession with music, military officials, trades and professions; a meeting with an oration, a speech, the reading of the Declaration of Independence, songs, toasts and sentiments; a public dinner; an afternoon dance for the juveniles, and an evening ball for adults.[8]

During the mid–1860s the Ellisons saw several substantial improvements come to Kaysville. More and more, cabins and adobe houses gave way to stone, frame, and even brick homes.[9] In 1866, construction crews brought the Deseret Telegraph lines to town, which soon linked Kaysville to Cache Valley on the north and St. George to the south.[10] By legislative order, work began on "a good road of not less than twenty feet wide," a toll road, to improve north-south travel.[11]

When Brigham Young and his party visited Kaysville on September 2, 1867, they made young men like seventeen-year-old Ephraim a bit uncomfortable. Apostle Wilford Woodruff called on "the young men and maidens in Zion to go forth in holy marriage and be prompt in performing this important duty." Elders George Albert Smith and George Q. Cannon likewise urged the young men to get married. Perhaps their

preaching is why Ephraim received his temple endowments two months later, on December 27, 1867.[12] However, he was still six years away from marriage.

"Down and Back" Mission

Ephraim spent at least one long summer on a wagon train venture to pick up LDS immigrants back in Nebraska and bring them to Utah. Between 1861 and 1868, Utah wards sent wagons, teams, and teamsters east to pick up poorer Mormons and bring them to Utah. These Utah wagon teams left in April and returned in September or October. But year by year the transcontinental railroad tracks moved farther west from Omaha, so the "down and back" trips became shorter. Older boys who could drive teams and handle cattle volunteered for these trips. Ephraim was one of them. When his father was asked to furnish a team to go east for immigrants, he sent young Ephraim on the mission.[13]

Before 1865 Ephraim would have been too young to go. But no teams went "down and back" in 1865 or 1867, so Ephraim apparently went in 1866 or 1868. His name is absent from Kaysville teamster lists for those years, so he must have been an assistant driver, a herder, or a guard. To show the size of this effort, Kaysville's 1868 quota for the Church's 500 teams was nine teams, one guard, 4,000 pounds of flour, and 4,000 pounds of meat. Ephraim's wagon left Kaysville loaded with nonperishable food for teamsters and immigrants: flour, dried beef, dried fruit, bacon, cheese, vinegar, beans, pickles, peas, and dried corn. Coming home, the wagon provided for between six and twelve immigrants.[14]

John's Community Work

In 1868, Kaysville became Davis County's first incorporated city, the sixth in the state. By then John Ellison was a fairly prominent citizen. At one point he served as a justice of the peace.[15] On May 11, 1868, he was part of a group of about thirty "leading men" of Davis County who discussed types of grain seed to plant and the cattle ranges used by both Davis and Weber counties. The committee appointed John and two others to raise pure sugar cane seed.[16] The group discussed how to eradicate such noxious weeds as mustard, sourdock, sunflower, parsnip, and cockle burr.

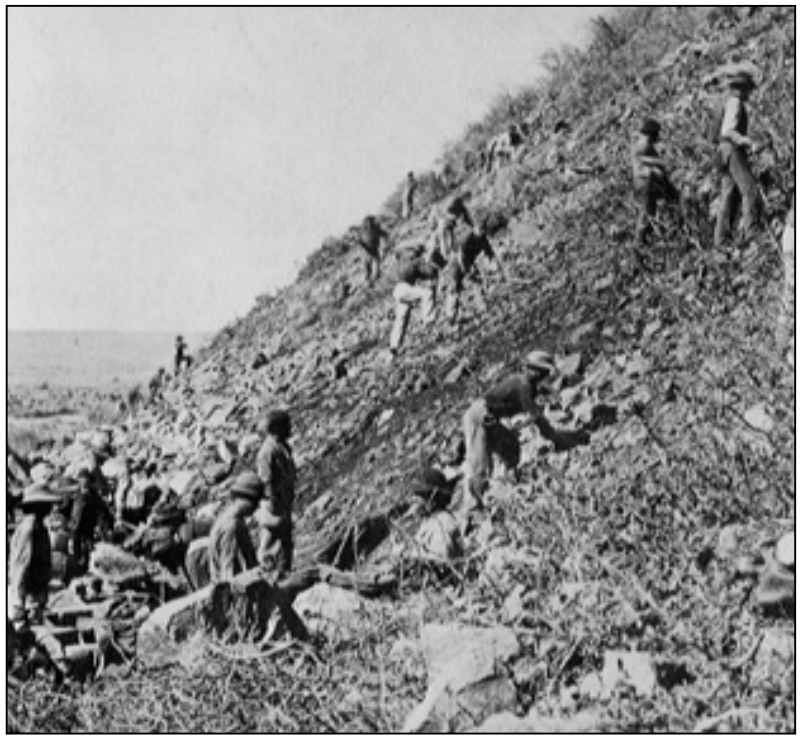
Grasshoppers often plagued the local fields. Farmers turned out en masse to pound and smash the hoppers, which sometimes swarmed in piles from one to four inches deep under some weeds. Locals tried burning straw on top of hoppers benumbed by cold night air. On May 19, 1868, the *Deseret News* published John Ellison's report about Kaysville's infestation:

> The destruction of the grasshoppers is progressing with unabated energy. Our Bishop visited the various districts through the Ward yesterday, and found the people busy destroying them in various ways, and planting their chickens so as to play upon them and endeavoring to banish them from the land. The crops are looking well and the season is greatly in favor of an abundant harvest.

In that same report, John told about the beginnings of Kaysville's first Relief Society. On May 4, he explained, the bishopric and leading elders met with "a large majority of the female members of the Ward, for the purpose of organizing a Female Relief Society." Among those addressing the audience were Bishop Layton, counselor Rosel Hyde, Ed Philips, and John himself. "Each speaker manifesting a great desire for the successful operation of said society," John said, and "welcomed this program to relieve the poor and help train the rising generation."[17] That Alice Ellison affiliated with the new organization seems certain.

Transcontinental Railroad

When Ephraim was eighteen, large construction crews were building transcontinental railroad roadbeds and tracks towards Ogden from the east and from the west. Brigham Young arranged for Mormon crews to grade the roadbeds in Echo and Weber canyons. According to family tradition, Ephraim helped provide railroad ties for the Weber Canyon segment. One railroad tie crew was headed by Bishop Charles W. Richins of Morgan, who hired available teams, wagons, chains, axes, and saws, and put the men to work chopping, bark-stripping, and hauling hundreds of logs to the saws to be turned into railroad ties.[18] Possibly Ephraim worked for the Richins' crew. By December 1868, men from Kaysville were among construction workers employed near the mouth of Echo Canyon.[19] A December 15 report said that "the road up Weber canon is



Mormon laborers grading the Union Pacific Railroad roadbed in Weber Canyon

crowded with teams hauling ties" for the Echo Canyon roadbed. However, following a few days of "splendid weather," a snowstorm hit the canyons on December 19. Cold winds rushed down Echo Canyon, the thermometer hit zero, and blinding storms thwarted the work. This probably was the time when, according to life sketches of Ephraim, he was working with a construction crew and had to pile snow on his bed at night to keep from freezing.[20]

While Ephraim handled railroad ties, his townspeople benefited from the vast construction project by selling farm products to railroad commissaries. "Farmington and Kaysville are alive, the railroad making business brisk," visitor Edward Stevenson noted on January 10, 1869; "It is not uncommon to see ten and fifteen loads of hay off for the railroad at one time. Hay fetches $50 per ton with $10 per day for hauling. Greenbacks pass freely."[21]

By mid-January of 1869, workers were placing ties in Weber Canyon.

On March 8th, three Union Pacific locomotives steamed into Ogden, marking the opening of the shiny new tracks. Thousands of northern Utahns crowded into Ogden to celebrate with a parade, cannon fire, a brass band, speeches by dignitaries, waving hats and handkerchiefs, blasts of locomotive whistles, and banners proclaiming "Hail to the Highway of the Nations!" and "Utah Bids You Welcome!"[22]

Track laying continued north from Ogden to Brigham City and then west toward Promontory Pass. There, on May 10, 1869, the historic golden spike was driven, completing the transcontinental railroad line from Omaha to Sacramento. With Utah linked to the nation by steel rails, wagon trains from the plains became obsolete. Ephraim, who had come to Utah Territory by wagon train as a lad of two, at age eighteen helped build the very tracks that ended the pioneer era. These shiny rails, by connecting Utah with the national economy, would prove to be a catalyst for dramatic economic developments all around Ephraim.

Utah Central Railroad

That summer, 1869, LDS and Utah leaders started constructing the Utah Central Railroad, a north-south feeder to the transcontinental line.[23] Ward workmen along the Utah Central route, including Kaysville, graded roadbed and built depots.[24] By August 11, grading from Ogden to Kaysville was finished.[25] In mid-November, steel tracks connected Ogden to Kaysville. "Riders say the line is excellently laid," a reporter said. Plans for Kaysville to build and stock bins with coal from Weber Canyon began the shift by residents to using coal for home heating instead of wood.[26] On January 10, 1870, the Mormon version of the golden spike was driven in Salt Lake City, which meant that the Ellisons and other Kaysville residents now could ship goods and could travel much more easily to "the city." Freight cars and passenger coaches seemed like a luxury to people who had lived through the pioneer era.[27]

Blocks for the Salt Lake Temple

Life sketches of Ephraim say that "with an ox-team he hauled granite for the Salt Lake Temple."[28] LDS records show that his ward had to supply laborers, and he became one of them:

Hauling granite stones for the construction of the Salt Lake Temple

> Priesthood groups as far south as Millard County (130 miles south of Salt Lake City), and as far north as the Bear Lake Region (130 miles north of Salt Lake City) hired some of their members to go to Salt Lake to work for six months or a year at a time on the temple.[29]

In 1867, Kaysville's quota was thirteen teams to haul thirty-nine loads of cut rock to the temple.[30] Between the temple site and Little Cottonwood Canyon fifteen miles to the southeast, some fifty teams worked almost continually to haul the quarried stones. Bigger blocks weighed about five tons. Three-ton blocks were common. Near the quarry the Church's corral held up to 300 oxen, and wards provided grain for the animals they sent. Drivers, possibly Ephraim too, lived in tents near the corral. At the quarry the wagons entered a trench deep enough for the wagon bed to be level with the ground, where workmen slid cut stones aboard. Men centered and secured the stone, and then drivers headed for Temple Square. "The course of the road crossed hills and gulleys, streams and sandpits." The heavy loads required three or four days to make a trip from quarry to temple and back.[31] Six or eight toiling oxen pulled each cart, "underneath which was suspended by chains a monster

rock from the mountains." Wrecked wagons and carts, broken by the strain, cluttered the route.[32]

Utah Central railroad construction slowed the quarry work in 1869 and 1870. Late in 1870 the granite quarry reopened and ward teams resumed work until 1873 when trains replaced them.[33]

Entering Manhood

Ephraim's errands to pick up emigrants, provide railroad ties, and haul temple stones were but temporary. Ephraim's main work was farming and herding. He used the scythe and cradle when harvesting, but was receptive to better ways of doing things. He and his brother Elijah bought what family tradition claims was the first reaper in Davis County, and "for years he and his brother operated a threshing machine, doing custom work for the community." The young man's world was not always work, however, for occasionally Ephraim acted as an umpire at baseball games.[34]

By age twenty, Ephraim belonged to the Kaysville Ward elders quorum. On April 30, 1871, quorum minutes say, "Ephraim Ellison bore his testimony to the truth of the work and wished to do better than had heretofore"—meaning he had not attended meetings lately. On October 9, 1871, Ephraim "bore his testimony to the work in which we are engaged. Said that he had done some to help build the Temple and was willing to do more," and donated five bushels of flour. Other elders in the quorum included relatives Michael Pilling and Ephraim's younger brothers Matthew and Elijah. The quorum met sporadically until it was reorganized in 1877, at which point Ephraim became second counselor in its new presidency.[35]

Cooperation and United Orders

Ephraim, during impressionable young adult years, heard emphatic teachings about enterprising for the good of Zion. He matured during an era when enthusiasm for cooperation was widespread. Most residents of Mormon settlements saw themselves as part of a larger commonwealth:

> The small settlements comprised intimate communities that entered collectively into a larger community of communities, embracing the entire

> body of the church. Cooperation for them meant the willing pursuit of any enterprise, in whatever form that promised to benefit the whole body. The form of the enterprise was not so important as the extent to which it could contribute to an early self-sufficiency of the Mormon commonwealth.[36]

While the transcontinental railroad tracks were approaching Utah, Church leaders created cooperative stores in 1868 to keep commerce in LDS hands. The central store in the cooperative system was Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI) in Salt Lake City, and every church ward or settlement was to have its own cooperative store. Soon, 150 retail cooperatives were organized in Utah. "In the 1870s," a business history notes, "cooperation spread through Utah territory like mushrooms on a summer lawn." Thousands of villagers became stockholders in the local co-ops. Ephraim's family patronized the Kaysville Farmer's Cooperative Store.[37]

Cooperatives were to be "stepping stones to a larger, finer and more comprehensive system, the Order of Enoch, the ultimate economic goal."[38] In the early 1870s, Kaysville was one of many settlements that moved ahead to establish a United Order, probably directed by the bishop.[39] These orders were short-lived, but the cooperative ventures lasted into the 1880s until intense federal government prosecutions brought their demise. At that point private enterprises replaced most of the cooperatives.[40] Examination of Ephraim's later enterprises show that they were motivated by a sense of community good no doubt instilled in him by the Church's cooperative and United Order ventures.

John Ellison

Ephraim's father, family records say, was a great reader. John could read a newspaper, look up and away from the paper, and continue telling the last two or three lines of each paragraph.[41] Ephraim's mother Alice was a tall, stately lady with brown hair and blue eyes. She was a kind person and good neighbor.[42] The couple continued to be devoted Latter-day Saints.

On June 21, 1869, John married another wife, Mary Ann Kidd, in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City. President Joseph F. Smith performed the ceremonies. Mary Ann Kidd was born on August 18, 1839,

in Haddington, Yorkshire, England, the daughter of John Kidd and Jane Ingham. She was baptized December 15, 1856, in England. She received her endowments on October 25, 1867. The 1870 federal census lists her as living in the Sugar House section of Salt Lake County. The 1880 census shows her living in Kaysville with John and Alice Ellison.

John entered polygamy while son Ephraim still lived at home. What young Ephraim thought about this marital step is not recorded, but when it became Ephraim's time to marry, he chose to be monogamous.

Ephraim's mother, Alice, died in 1886 at the "old mountain home" on the mountain road east of Kaysville. She was buried in the Kaysville Cemetery. Second wife Mary Ann died on March 19, 1890, when fifty years old, and was buried in the same cemetery. Later, John married Grace Crawford. She was born on June 28, 1844, in Halftown, Atrim, Ireland, to John Crawford and Eleanor Barr. After John died she apparently married a Mr. Stewart. John's marriages to Mary Ann and to Grace produced no children.[43]

NOTES

1. The seasonal outline of farm labors that follows is drawn from the detailed 1863 diary of a neighbor of the Ellisons, William Blood, who at the time was age 24 and Ephraim was 12 and 13. See William Blood, Diaries, 1863–1917.
2. Ibid.
3. Journal History, June 10 and 13, 1864.
4. Sadler and Roberts, *The Weber River Basin: Grass Roots Democracy and Water Development*, 59.
5. Journal History, Nov. 12 and 13, 1864.
6. Ibid., Nov. 18 and 23, 1864.
7. Ibid., May 22, 1865, 2.
8. Ibid., July 4, 1865, 3. Others on the committee, according to the report, were J. S. Smith, William Willes, E. Williams, J. Egbert, Wm. Payne, John R. Barnes, J. Gailey, J. Thornley, E. Phillips, Wm Booth, M. Brazier, and Robert Burton.
9. Wilson, *Folk Housing*.
10. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 228; Journal History, April 19, 1869.
11. Journal History, Jan. 16, 1867.
12. Ibid., Sept. 2, 1867, 1; also, family groupsheet on Ephraim Peter Ellison, EFA.
13. *Weekly Reflex* (Dec. 20, 1923); Hulmston, "Mormon Immigration in the 1860s: The Story of Church Trains," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 58 (Winter 1990): 32–48;

and Hartley, "The Great Florence Fitout of 1861," *BYU Studies* 24 (Summer 1984): 341–71.

14. Perpetual Emigrating Fund, Church Team Train Account Books, 1868, 1866, LDS Historical Department Archives, CR 376/2 Reel 20, folders 80 and 81. Letter, First Presidency to Presiding Bishop Edward Hunter, March 10, 1868, in Clark, Jr., *Messages of the First Presidency* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965), 2:245–46. Kaysville's teamsters in 1866, who went "down" to Wyoming, Nebraska, were Robert Burton, Alonzo King, Thomas Sandall, William Nalder, and William Davis. In 1868, teamsters who went to Laramie, Wyoming were Peter Barton, Wesley Gibson, James Bawsworth, John Philips, Merinos Lund, Thomas Allred, Reuben Allred, and Reddick Allred.
15. Journal History, Feb. 13, 1868, 2, has the text of the act of incorporation; Collett, *Kaysville—Our Town*, 83.
16. *Deseret News*, May 11, 1868.
17. Journal History, May 19, 1868.
18. *Weekly Reflex* (Dec. 20, 1923); Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, "The Golden Spike," February 1965 lesson pamphlet.
19. Journal History, Dec. 15, 1868. This report tells of an attempted robbery foiled by workmen from Layton and Farmington.
20. Journal History, Dec. 15, 1868, Dec. 16, 1868, 2, Dec. 18, 1868, 1, Dec. 19, 1868, 1, and Dec. 20, 1868, 1; Author Unknown, "Ephraim Peter Ellison," 1; for track-laying progress during the remainder of December, see Journal History, Dec. 21 and 28, 1868.
21. Journal History, Jan. 10, 1869, 2.
22. Ibid., March 8, 1869, 3–4.
23. Ibid., May 16 and June 10, 1869.
24. Kaysville built a depot about 100 rods west of the Kaysville meetinghouse; see Journal History, June 11, 1869, 2; Larson, "Building the Utah Central," *Improvement Era* 28 (Jan. 1925): 221.
25. Journal History, Aug. 11, 1869.
26. Ibid., Nov. 9, 1869, 1.
27. Larson, "Building the Utah Central," 225–226.
28. "Ephraim Peter Ellison," 1.
29. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 476.
30. Journal History, Oct. 12, 1867.
31. Raynor, History of the Construction of the Salt Lake Temple, M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1961, 89.
32. "The Salt Lake Temple," *Deseret News*, Jan. 1, 1893.
33. Raynor, "Construction of the Salt Lake Temple," 112.
34. Whitman, "Life of Ephraim P. Ellison," 3.
35. Davis County Elders Quorum Minutes, 1865–1877, CR 2160, #4, series 13–14, LDS Historical Department Archives.
36. Arrington, et al., *Building the City of God,* 109–110.

37. Bradley, *ZCMI: America's First Department Store,* 28; Arrington, *Building the City of God*, 101–2, 383.
38. Arrington, *Building the City of God*, 133.
39. Ibid., 408.
40. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 313.
41. Note in Oma Wilcox's file on Pilling family, EFA.
42. "Alice Pilling Ellison."
43. "Alice Pilling Ellison," 6; Endowment House Records, Oma Wilcox note to the author, in John Ellison File, EFA.

CHAPTER SIX

ELIZABETH WHITESIDES

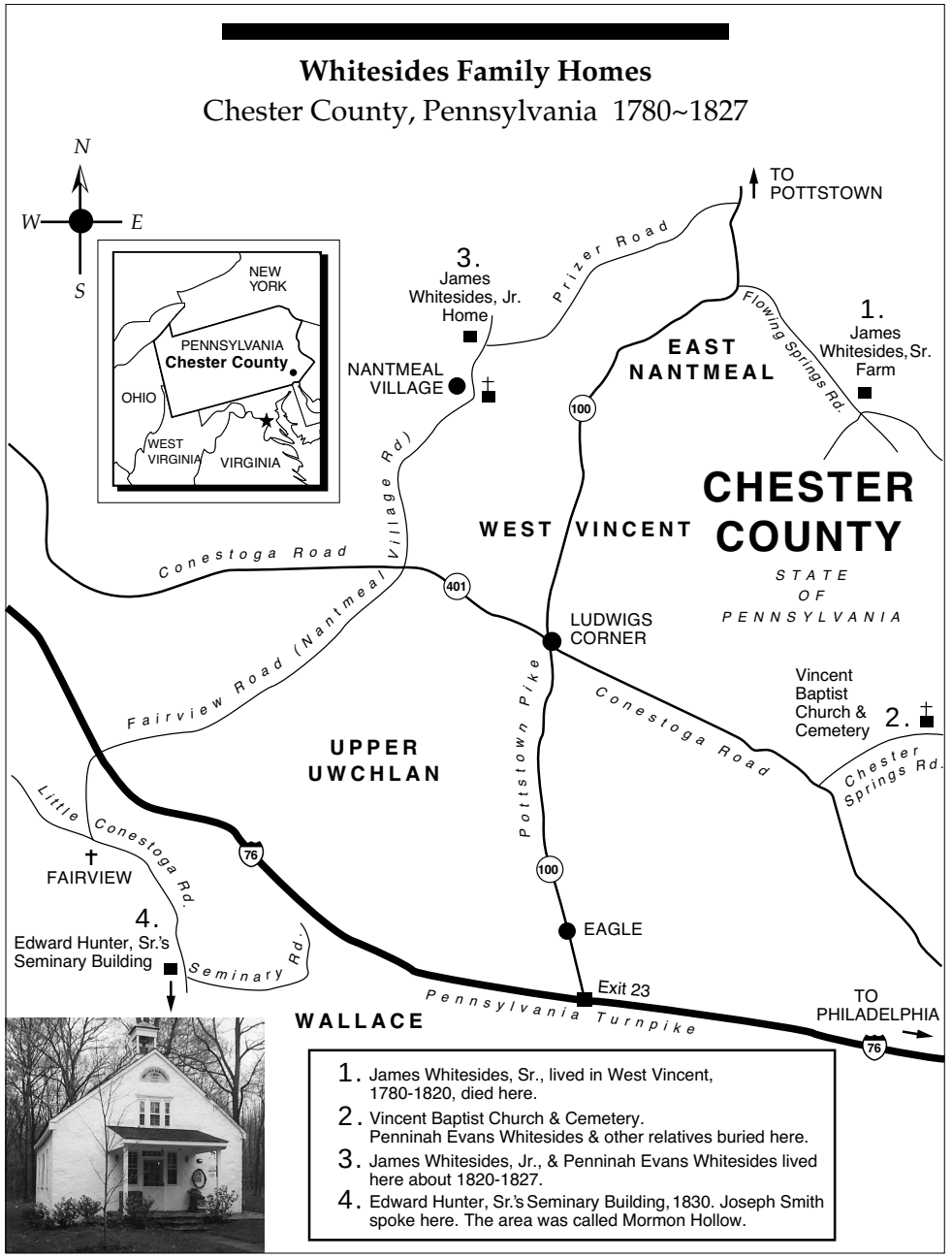
At some point Ephraim Ellison and Elizabeth Whitesides's friendship turned into courtship, and courtship led to marriage. On January 20, 1873, the young couple went to the Endowment House in Salt Lake City, where President Daniel H. Wells of the LDS Church's First Presidency sealed them for time and eternity. The groom was twenty-two, the bride twenty-one. Witnesses to the wedding were Ephraim's father and President Joseph F. Smith, counselor in the First Presidency.[1] Ephraim was John and Alice Ellison's second child to marry.

Ephraim's and Elizabeth's lives had paralleled each other's. Both were born while their families waited to move west with the Saints, he in St. Louis, she a year later in Kanesville. Both emigrated as little children in 1852, in separate wagon trains. They arrived in Salt Lake City within three weeks of each other. Both moved to Kays Creek. She was the oldest child in her family, he the oldest boy in his, so both must have been key helpers to their parents on the farm, in the house, and with the younger children. They both knew each other's relatives living in the settlement.

Their upbringings were similar but their family backgrounds were not. Ephraim's parents were English newcomers to America, but Elizabeth's parents were old-stock American. Her father was from Pennsylvania and her mother from Illinois but with southern roots. Elizabeth's maternal grandparents were Absalom Perkins of Abbeville, South Carolina, and Nancy Martin of Bedford County, Virginia. Her paternal grandparents were James Whitesides, Jr. and Penninah Evans, both of Chester County, Pennsylvania.

Whitesides and Evans Families

Elizabeth's father, Lewis Whitesides, was born on March 26, 1828, in Chester County, Pennsylvania, the last child of James Whitesides, Jr., and Penninah Evans. Mother Penninah descended from a long line of



Pennsylvania Evanses. The immigrant ancestor, a native of Wales, came with William Penn on Penn's second voyage to the colony of Pennsylvania, making this branch of Evanses "one of the oldest families in Chester County." Elizabeth's grandfather, James Whitesides, Jr., was the son of a Scotch-Irish father who had immigrated from Ireland. James's Whitesides network in Pennsylvania associated with the St. Peter's Reformed Church in Chester County.[2]

Local records show that James Jr., Lewis's father, was a schoolmaster in East Nantmeal in 1815, a merchant, and owner of about thirty acres of land.[3] Lewis was James and Penninah's fourth child:

Child	*Born*	*Died*	*Spouse*
Morris	1821	1845	Margaret Pierce
Elizabeth	1824		Samuel Forgues
Mary Ann	1825	1882	Edward Hunter, Jr.
Lewis	1828	1899	Susannah Perkins

Unfortunately, Lewis' mother died two weeks after his birth. The motherless son lived with his Aunt Mary and Uncle "Billy" Wilson in Kimberton West Vincent, Chester County, until age fifteen. Soon after Penninah's death, James married his housekeeper, Eliza Kirkpatrick. He worked with his brother-in-law, John Wilson, in the mercantile business. James converted to Mormonism and was baptized on January 22, 1840.[4] Lewis's siblings Elizabeth, Morris, and Mary Ann were baptized too, but apparently Lewis was not.[5] Family tradition says that Lewis did not become a Mormon until 1850.[6]

Between ages two and twelve, Lewis became half-brother to six children born to father James and the second wife, Eliza:[7]

Child	*Born*	*Died*	*Spouse*
Oliver	1830	1842	Died Young
Sarah	1832	1918	Samuel Brooks
Margaret	1834	1842	Died Young
Rebecca	1836	1837	Died Young
Mark	1838		Unmarried
Parley P.	1840	1866	

In 1840 or 1841, converts James and Eliza, his children by Penninah, and his and Eliza's children migrated from Pennsylvania to live among the Latter-day Saints. They settled in Montrose, Iowa, directly across the

Mississippi River from Nauvoo. Records show that James received his patriarchal blessing at Nauvoo on September 20, 1841, from Patriarch Hyrum Smith. James's granddaughter, Mary Susan Wiggill, said that James took pride in raising thoroughbred horses and that Joseph or Hyrum Smith rode one of James's horses when the two men fatefully rode to Carthage Jail, where they were killed.[8]

Multiple tragedies befell the Whitesides family late in 1842. Within a single week they suffered three deaths, when father James died of "swamp fever" on October 11, eight-year-old Margaret died two days later, and twelve-year-old Oliver died on October 17. Within one fatal week, Eliza became a widow with seven fatherless children:

Morris	21	Sarah	10
Elizabeth	18	Mark	4
Mary Ann	16	Parley	2
Lewis	14		

Daughter Elizabeth married that year, to Samuel Forgues, and stayed in the area. She received her patriarchal blessing in Nauvoo in 1843 from Hyrum Smith. On March 24, 1843, Eliza, concerned about the salvation of her own family, was baptized as a proxy for her recently deceased children, Oliver and Margaret. Married daughter Elizabeth was baptized for three nieces by proxy.[9] Elizabeth later moved back to Pennsylvania.[10]

Morris Whitesides, who was Lewis's full brother and the oldest male in widow Eliza's household, bore crucial responsibility to help provide for his stepmother and his father's fatherless children. Two years after his father's death, Morris married Margaret Pierce, in 1844. She was a seventeen-year-old former Quaker from Delaware, Pennsylvania. But compounding the unfortunate family's problems, Morris died in Montrose on February 19, 1845. Suddenly young Margaret was a widow.[11]

Meanwhile, in November of 1843, Lewis's sister Mary Ann married Edward Hunter, Jr., son of Bishop Edward Hunter. They received endowments and were sealed in the Nauvoo Temple on February 6, 1846. Later that year Edward marched with the Mormon Battalion to California. In 1847 he returned to the Mormon camps, and then he and Mary Ann moved to Utah. They settled first at Kays Creek, probably influencing

Lewis Whitesides's decision to go there. Then the Hunters moved to Grantsville and became town stalwarts there.[12]

Of Lewis Whitesides's six half-brothers and sisters, three died young, and the other three eventually moved to California, as did his stepmother:[13]

Sarah married Samuel Brooke and went to California in the early 1850s, settling in San Bernardino County. Mark went to California with his mother.

Parley P. was killed by Indians in California on March 25, 1866.

Lewis's brother Morris's wife, Margaret Pierce Whitesides, was sealed to deceased husband Morris for eternity and then became a plural wife to Brigham Young, for time only. She and Apostle Young married on January 16, 1845, when she was twenty-one. She came west with the 1847 pioneers and settled in the Salt Lake City Eighteenth Ward. She died in 1907.[14]

By age fourteen, Lewis Whitesides had lost both of his natural parents. Between the ages of fourteen and eighteen (1842 to 1848), he worked on a riverboat that plied the Mississippi River between New Orleans and St. Louis—and perhaps Nauvoo. After the Saints deserted Nauvoo and had established the Kanesville settlement in western Iowa by 1848, Lewis moved there. He found work as a mule driver for the government. In that setting, family tradition says, Lewis learned a few not-so-good habits by LDS standards that "hung to him throughout his life"—apparently swearing, drinking, and liking coffee.[15]

Perkins and Martin Families

About 1848, Lewis Whitesides was working on a ranch near Kanesville, caring for the horses. Daily he took the horses to a millrace for cleaning. Meanwhile, a neighbor needing domestic help hired Susannah Perkins. Susannah, a very attractive young lady, worked at his "farmstead." Somehow Lewis and Susannah became acquainted, and they married on May 5, 1850. He was twenty-two, she twenty. For the first time since he was fourteen, Lewis had a home of his own.[16]

Bride Susannah Perkins's family had deep Southern roots. The Perkins's genealogy runs back to Richard Perkins, born about 1710, who lived in the mountains of old Virginia. He was "a large powerful man who often carried a tomahawk in his belt, hence his nickname, 'Tomahawk Dick.'" During a fight, some Irishmen threw Richard out of an upstairs window, killing him. His son Robert Biggin Perkins, also a Virginian, was a soldier in the Revolutionary War. Robert's son, Ute Perkins, was born in Lincoln County, North Carolina, in 1761. Ute married Sarah Gant, who was a year older than he, in Grandville County, North Carolina. They had ten children, one of whom was Susannah Perkins's father, Absalom.[17]

The Ute Perkins family moved from Abbeville County, South Carolina, to Tennessee in 1805. A quarter century later, in 1829, they relocated to Hancock County, Illinois.[18] "They were good people, but professed no religion until they embraced Mormonism" in Illinois. Ute died in the LDS faith on March 12, 1844, and Sarah on June 6, 1845—both were then in their eighties.[19]

During the 1830s and 1840s the Perkins family in Hancock County was "a complete independent industrial unit," raising everything they ate, wore, or used. The children were characterized by "dark complexions and large statures."[20] Ute's son Absalom, Susannah Perkins's father, was born in 1797 in Abbeville, South Carolina. He married Nancy Martin, who was born in 1799 in Bedford, Virginia.[21] Absalom and Nancy were parents of thirteen children, seven born in Tennessee and the rest in Illinois.

Child	*Birth*	*Spouse*
Ute	1816	Ann Warren
Sarah	1817	John Shipley
William Louis	1819	Mary Ann Brown
		Sarah Jane Richards
Hyrum	1821	
David Martin	1823	Harriett Brown
Levi	1824–5	Susan Booth
James Cafra	1827	
John Calvin	1828	
Susannah	1830	Lewis Whitesides
Nancy Adeline	1831	Isaac Carpenter
Francis Marion	1833	
George Washington	1835	Alice Mellen
Christopher Columbus	1838	Ann Robins

Susannah was born in what became Macedonia, Hancock County, Illinois, seven miles southeast of where Nauvoo would arise nine years later.

The large Perkins family converted to Mormonism during the 1838–1840 period. Absalom's brother, William G., was baptized by Elder Joel H. Johnson in 1838, and then in the 1840s became the bishop in Macedonia or Ramus Branch. Absalom received a patriarchal blessing on January 30, 1844, from his father, Patriarch Ute Perkins, and from Patriarch John Smith.[22] Absalom and wife Nancy received their temple endowments and were sealed in temple marriage on January 24, 1846, in the Nauvoo Temple. Susannah was age sixteen at the time.[23]

Susannah's baptismal date is not known. Her brother David was baptized in 1839, brother Levi in 1840, and brothers William Louis and George Washington in 1844. Her brother Ute became a seventy in Nauvoo and was sealed to his wife Ann Warren there.[24] Susannah's brother David served in the Mormon Battalion and ended up in Captain James Brown's sick detachment to Pueblo. With that detachment, David entered Great Salt Lake Valley late in 1847, then returned to the Kanesville area. He moved to Utah in 1852.

Susannah grew up as part of the large Perkins clan, but details about her early years are lacking. She lived in the settlement that became known as Ramus and Macedonia. LDS prophet Joseph Smith often visited Saints there, and he and his family became close friends of the Perkins family.

Susannah's "earliest recollections of the Prophet were when she was a few years old and he used to come to their place and would take her on his knee." Susannah's brother William Louis, twenty, "went with Wilford Woodruff across the river to heal the sick. They used the handkerchief of the prophet to heal with." Susannah was given a piece of that handkerchief, which she kept as a prized possession.[25] Susannah attended the meeting at which Brigham Young's voice became like the voice of Joseph Smith.[26]

Perkinses Move West

In 1846 the Absalom Perkins family left Nauvoo and moved by covered wagon to Mormon settlements by the Missouri River. They found a temporary settling place outside of what became Kanesville. LDS Church records indicate that their home became the center of a small branch of the Church. At the end of January, 1847, Elders Amasa M. Lyman and George A. Smith left Winter Quarters on the Nebraska side of the river to visit LDS groups on the Iowa side. In various branches they read and explained the "Word and Will of the Lord," a revelation to Brigham Young. After meetings at several settlements—Council Point, Henry Miller's camp, Brother Carter's neighborhood on Mosquito Creek, at a Brother Stanton's, and in the Andrew Perkins' neighborhood—they met on January 28 in the Absalom Perkins' home. There the members voted to sustain the revelation.[27]

A few months later, in the spring of 1848, Susannah's family made a false start west. They were listed to be in the "Third Division" of wagon companies—Absalom, wife Nancy, son George Washington, and a Franklin Perkins, but not Susannah.[28] Then, for some reason, the family dropped out of the company. A year later, Absalom and Nancy did start the journey, but again, without Susannah. Absalom's group traveled in Captain Allen Taylor's wagon train, the second of the 1849 season. Andrew Perkins, perhaps a relative, was captain of a hundred and the company's president. His two counselors, who were also captains of fifty, were Absalom Perkins and Reddick N. Allred. In the Taylor train was the family of Reuben Perkins, Absalom's older brother from Missouri. This company reached Great Salt Lake City on October 10, 1849.[29]

Absalom only lived a few months after that. Reports sent east early in 1850 told Saints in Kanesville that among the recent deaths in Utah Territory was Absalom Perkins. Apparently he died of mountain fever. Susannah Perkins Whitesides was twenty years old and lived near Kanesville when news came of her father's death. About the time this news arrived, she married Lewis Whitesides—in May of 1850.[30]

Lewis and Susannah Perkins Whitesides

As young marrieds, Lewis and Susannah obtained 160 acres of land in Pottawattamie County and farmed it. On November 13, 1851, Susannah gave birth to their first child, a daughter they named Elizabeth—the future wife of Ephraim Ellison. By early 1852, like the Ellisons, Lewis and Susannah decided to move to Utah. Lewis traded the family farm for an ox team and joined the John B. Walker wagon train.

Lewis and Susannah Whitesides

Most people in the Walker Company came from the McOlney Branch settlement, about two to three miles north of Kanesville.

The train's fifty families and five divisions collected together on June 25. They ferried across the Missouri River on June 30 and formally organized near the old Winter Quarters site. On July 5 they started west. A family story says that Lewis Whitesides's married sister, Sarah Brooks, traveled with them; however, she is not on the company's official passenger list. Lewis and Susannah had a wagon, only one yoke of oxen, and one milk cow. During the trek, one family story says, they put cream in a pot that hung under the wagon where the daily joltings churned it into butter.[31]

Sarah Southworth, age sixteen, later wrote about what she and others in the company, including the Whitesides family, experienced together. Each day, she said, "the bugle was sounded in the morning, and all the camp called together for prayers." Their wagons crossed some streams on makeshift bridges made of willows. She told how the travelers cooked by using buffalo chips as fuel:

> We gathered dried dung and buffalo chips to make a fire to cook our food, dug a hole in the ground, put the skillet in the hole with a tight lid on it, put the buffalo chip on the lid, and set it afire. It baked the bread fine. That was the way we did our baking until we got where there was wood again.[32]

At the Loup Fork crossing in present Nebraska, some ox teams became frightened and ran away, dragging wagons towards the river. In the stampede, a woman identified as Mrs. Box was killed, and others nearly so. "It rained so hard that night," Sarah said, "that everything was wet through. The wind blew so hard that we had to sit up and hold the covers on all night."[33] During the long, slow journey, the company suffered fifteen deaths, thirteen by cholera. One cholera victim was an expectant mother. Many babies were born during the trip, Sarah wrote, but the company never stopped because of the birthings.

Somewhere on the trip, Daniel M. Burbank, a sub-captain, spotted buffalo through his spyglass. When he went hunting, he was captured by about 100 Indians, which sent fear through the passengers. "We thought he would be killed," Sarah said, "but the chief gave him up to us if we would give them flour, sugar, and coffee."[34]

Elizabeth Whitesides was less than a year old during the journey, so she rode in the Whitesides's wagon for much of the time. One family story says that somewhere along the trail, little Elizabeth fell from the back of the wagon, "and they had travelled some little distance before they realized she was missing, retraced their steps and picked her up off the prairie."[35]

In what is now western Wyoming, Lewis and Susannah and other members of the Walker Company witnessed an evening wedding. Captain Burbank's wife had died of cholera back along the Platte River. Near the Green River he married sixteen-year-old Sarah Southworth. Captain Walker performed the wedding. "The bugle called the camp together to witness our marriage," the bride recalled. "We had cedar torchlights instead of candles."[36]

Kays Creek Settlers

Lewis, Susannah, and little Elizabeth reached Salt Lake City on October 3, 1852, three weeks after the Ellisons did. Lewis and Susannah went to the home of her mother, Nancy Perkins. In Salt Lake City they found some of Susannah's father's siblings, including Bishop William G.

Perkins.[37] Lewis and Susannah decided to settle near his sister Mary and her husband, Edward Hunter, Jr., at Kays Creek. The Hunters lived on a farm on the north bank of the north fork of Holmes Creek.[38]

Apparently Lewis's stepmother, two of his half-brothers, and his half-sister Sarah Brooks moved with them to Kays Creek briefly before continuing on to California.[39] Susannah's mother, Nancy Martin Perkins, died in 1854 in Salt Lake City.[40]

Lewis and Susannah's first home was a one-room log cabin with a dirt floor and roof. Kays Creek resident Emily Stewart Barnes recalled that as early as 1854, "a family by the name of Lewis Whitesides" lived near her family "in a log house and made molasses."[41] During the next two decades, Lewis and Susannah became the parents of eight more children, all born in Kaysville:

Ann Deseret	1853	Edward Morris	1865
James Lewis	1856	Nancy Penninah	1869
Marion Mark	1858	John Absalom	1871
Mary Susan	1860	William Wilford	1873

To help support his growing family, Lewis Whitesides capitalized on the flow of emigrants passing through Utah to California. They traded him poor cattle for fat ones. Then he fattened up the poor ones and traded them to other emigrants. "Everything he had was cattle," his son recalled. The terrible winter of 1855–1856, which killed so many livestock, particularly distressed Lewis and Susannah. Snow fell two feet deep and froze so hard it could hold a horse on the surface. All of the family's cattle, except for two oxen, died from hunger that winter.[42]

Destitute, Lewis thought seriously of moving to the Mormon outpost settlement in San Bernardino, California. His step-mother's family had gone there, and he started to prepare to follow them. But Susannah refused to go. Nevertheless, Lewis set the day for departing and loaded the family's belongings into a wagon. Susannah's tears and prayers did not change him. The night before he intended to start southward, snow fell to a depth of six inches. The storm changed his mind, so he unloaded the wagon and gave up the idea of moving to California. Susannah firmly believed the snowfall was an answer to her prayers.[43]

In 1855 the Church sent colonists to the Salmon River in present

Idaho to work among the Bannock, Shoshoni, and Nez Perce Indians. About fifty men and some wives and children moved there, built Fort Limhi, cultivated farmlands, and baptized several Indians. But in February of 1858, Indians attacked the Mormons, killing and injuring several men. Two escaped and reached Salt Lake City to recruit reinforcements. In response, leaders sent 150 men. The fifty who left from Farmington included Lewis Whitesides. By March 25 the rescuers arrived and then escorted the Limhi colonists back to Utah.[44] On the way home Lewis found an iron hub band, tied it onto his saddle, and brought it home because iron was scarce. Blacksmith Alfred Alder later forged it into a plow point.[45]

During the Utah War, Lewis joined the local militia and served guard duty in Echo Canyon.[46] Then, during the Move South in the spring of 1858, Lewis and Susannah camped the family at Pleasant Grove for a few weeks. When they returned home they decided to change houses. They took up residence on Lewis's sister's homestead because the Hunters, after the Move South, relocated to Grantsville rather than return to Kays Creek. About 1861, Lewis and Susannah moved again, this time down Holmes Creek. There they built a log house, in which daughter Mary, born in 1860, said she spent most of her childhood. Later Lewis and Susannah built a larger frame home there.[47]

Elizabeth Whitesides grew up in what later became Layton. Being the oldest child in a large family, she had to help care for the younger children and work in the home during most of her years before she married Ephraim. Through her childhood and youth, Elizabeth and her family experienced the same events and town developments as did the Ellisons—grasshopper infestations, the Reformation, the building of the Kaysville meetinghouse, the coming of the railroads, Brigham Young's visits, and other events discussed earlier. Elizabeth, at an early age, was nicknamed Tib or Tibby. Due to household responsibilities, she was not able to attend school. However, a school was held in the Whitesides's home, so she probably participated a little with the younger children.[48]

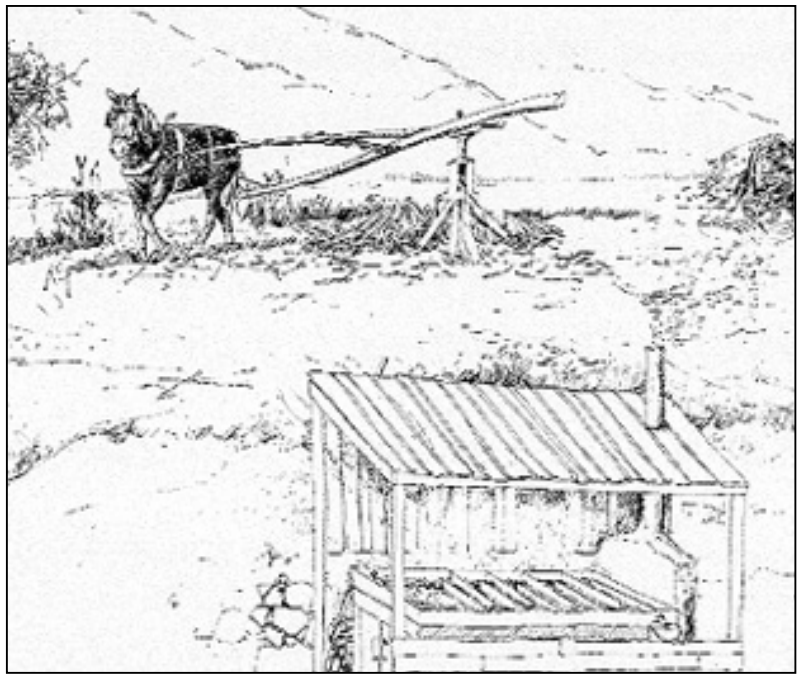
Lewis Whitesides's life experiences as an adult are told in other histories, but here they are retold in summary form in order to show something of the family setting in which Elizabeth grew up.[49] Elizabeth's father played the violin. As mentioned earlier, he was one of

three musicians for whom Fiddlers' Creek was named.[50] Son Edward Morris Whitesides, known as E. M., liked his father's talent. "I thought he performed very well," he said. "One of my childhood delights was to listen almost spellbound to him play 'Turkey in the Straw,' 'Devil's Dream,' 'Fisher's Hornpipe,' [and] 'The Campbells are Coming.'" He said Lewis was employed nearly every weeknight during the winter to play for dances. Because the local "coin of the realm" was produce and not cash, Lewis was paid in produce for his playing. These dances usually lasted all night until daylight.[51]

Lewis was a "fairly good farmer," E. M. said, and grew grain, sorghum cane, potatoes, and corn. He produced most of the family's meat from cattle, hogs, and sheep. He irrigated in bare feet and legs because India rubber boots were not yet available. He gained a local reputation for his skill at plowing straight furrows when planting corn or cane. To do this he put a flag at each end and one in the middle of the field for guides. Lewis made good molasses from the sorghum cane for about thirty years. He operated a mill on the bank of Holmes Creek opposite their home, and apparently found a good market for all the molasses he could make. He maintained a good fruit orchard.[52]

Lewis was too honest to claim he lived up to the ideals of his faith, but his life resembled that of many of his LDS neighbors. He was a meeting goer, said he had a testimony of Mormonism's truthfulness, and was recognized for his honesty. "If there were ever an honest man, he was one," said James H. Wilcox, the county assessor. Lewis held no particular church positions, except the priesthood. Never a fanatic, he appealed to reason often, but seldom to prejudice. He never killed a domestic animal for home use or for sale. When the killing was done, he would not be around.

He felt he belonged to the common people and was more apt to forgive than to condemn. For example, referring to a man not thought well of, he once said: "There have been worse men than he, hung," meaning, "at least he's not bad enough to be hung." In his manner of dress, Lewis was not of the "dandy class." Often he walked to meetings in Kaysville. One Sunday his girls noticed his Sunday shoes looked less than respectable. They took soot from the stove and blacked them until they



Lewis Whitesides Molasses Mill

had a fairly good shine. He put them on, but before he was out of sight of the house he took dust and made his shoes more natural.[53]

When Holmes Creek water users organized a water company, they chose Lewis to be watermaster, a task he filled satisfactorily for nearly thirty years. He never held a civil office.[54] Lewis had no serious trouble with Indians. He once turned down an Indian who was begging. The Indian reacted angrily: "Me shoot." Lewis looked him straight in the eye and asked, "Who the hell are you going to shoot?" The Indian smiled, "Me shoot chicken." That ended the episode.[55]

Lewis's "chief characteristic trait was conservation, which made him a strong disciplinarian of his family." As a father, he did not have heart-to-heart talks with his children. He gave little advice about religion, politics, or education. He was not outwardly affectionate toward members of his family, except that he liked to cuddle small children and sing to them. He was pleased when a son went on a mission. His attitude

toward his first two sons-in-law, Joshua Harris and E. P. Ellison, was "not pleasant" at first but improved.[56]

About age forty, Lewis began to suffer from terrible pain in his head. This plagued him for several years, then gradually diminished. He was not afraid of death and believed that a man had three-score-and-ten years to live. When he approached age seventy, therefore, he said he would soon be living on borrowed time. Remarkably, he did die when he was seventy, of pneumonia, on February 23, 1899. By then he had lived long enough to see the nine children marry. Only son James L. preceded him in death.[57]

Susannah Perkins Whitesides outlived Lewis by fourteen years. In the eyes of her children, Susannah, as a wife and mother, was superb. Because she received little schooling, she read very little and did not write much. However, she was a skilled cook and homemaker. Susannah nursed her family through many illnesses, including diphtheria, and raised the nine children to adulthood. Her husband, like many men at that time, was urged to take a plural wife. The story is told of the ward teachers bringing up the subject during one of their visits. One told Susannah that she should help Lewis select one, to which suggestion she testily replied, "I was just thinking of sending him down to get one of your daughters." That ended the conversation. Susannah and Lewis seemed to have been a devoted couple. After Lewis died, Susannah missed him and mourned his death as long as she lived. She and daughter Elizabeth lived near each other and had much contact. At the age of seventy-six, in 1906, Susannah suffered a stroke that affected her left side and rendered it useless the remaining seven years of her life. She managed to get around with a cane fairly well until the last two years, when she required much care. In spite of all she had to endure, she seemed to retain her sense of humor, enjoying a good laugh over funny situations. She died at age eighty-three on July 9, 1913, in her old house on "Fiddlers' Creek," where she and Lewis had settled sixty-one years before. She was buried beside Lewis in the Kaysville-Layton Cemetery.[58] She preceded daughter Elizabeth Whitesides Ellison in death by only three years.

Elizabeth's brother, E. M. Whitesides, became prominent locally as an educator—first as a teacher and then as Davis County's superintendent of schools. He also grew the first yard lawn in the area, of clover.

Earlier, when he was away on a mission, his sister Elizabeth would go by his home at night and leave sacks of flour and sugar, meat, and other commodities to help out his family.[59]

Like the Ellisons, the Whitesides family members were longtime, pillar citizens in the area. That the son of one solid family married the daughter of another such family reinforced the founding families' confidences that their settlement was a good place in which to live and raise families. Ephraim and Elizabeth's wedding sent a reassuring signal that the future held reasonable promise both for the settlement and for the families living there.

NOTES

1. Endowment House Record, January 20, 1873, LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Film 183398, p. 371. That same day Ephraim's and Elizabeth's fathers both participated with others in the proxy sealing of twenty-one deceased couples.
2. Beck, *Elijah Speaks: Lineage of Charlotte Whitesides Beck*, 3, 59.
3. Ibid., 3.
4. Lewis Whitesides entry in Black, compiler, *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 50 vols.
5. Morris was baptized on October 15, 1840, and Mary Ann in 1841. Elizabeth's baptism date is not known.
6. "Aunt Mary Wiggill's Father's History, As related by Aunt Mary Susan Wiggill," April 20th, 1916; Whitesides, "A Life Sketch of Lewis Whitesides," 11.
7. Beck, *Elijah Speaks*, 64.
8. "Aunt Mary Wiggill's Father's History."
9. Nauvoo Baptisms for the Dead Book, 76. The nieces were Jane Train, Isabella Lunley, and Mary Suman.
10. Lewis Whitesides' entry in Black, *Membership*; and Whitesides, "A Life Sketch of Lewis Whitesides," 1, 4. Elizabeth Forgues probably spent time in the Iowa or Nebraska wilderness with the James Emmett company of Saints before going to Iowa; see ibid., 4.
11. Beck, *Elijah Speaks*, 62–63.
12. Ibid., 63, 64, 66.
13. Ibid., 63–64.
14. Margaret Pierce Whitesides entry in Black, *Membership*; also, Jeffery O. Johnson, "Determining and Defining "Wife": The Brigham Young Households," *Dialogue* 20 (Fall 1987): 61, 66. Information about Margaret Pierce Whitesides is found in her holograph autobiography, LDS Historical Department Archives; the LDS 18th Ward Record of Members, same archives; her obituary in the *Deseret Evening*

News, Jan. 17, 1907, p. 10, and in "One of the Pioneers," *Young Women's Journal* 15: 162–66.

15. Whitesides, "A Life Sketch of Lewis Whitesides," 3.
16. Ibid., 4; "Aunt Mary Wiggill's Father's History."
17. Sarah Gant's birthplace was provided by Oma Wilcox, note to author, in Whitesides File, EFA. The children of Ute and Sarah Perkins were Reuben (born 1783), Levi (1787), Robert B. (1789), Ephraim (1791), Absalom (1797), William Gant (1801), Ann (1801), Lavina (1803?), Sarah Lavinia (1804), and Elizabeth (1807).
18. William G. Perkins sketch in Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:429–30.
19. Perkins, "Record of Early Ancestors," *Hi-Lights from the Jesse N. Perkins, Sr., Family Organization* I (March 1956), 18. Oldest son Reuben Perkins did not convert to Mormonism until July 11, 1848, in Grundy County, Missouri.
20. "Aunt Mary Wiggill's Father's History."
21. Nancy Martin was the daughter of Charles Caffrey Martin and Susannah Richardson; see Absalom Perkins Family Group Sheet, EFA.
22. Absalom Perkins, Early Church Information File, LDS Family History Library; William G. Perkins reached Utah in 1848, and in 1849 he became the bishop of the Salt Lake City Seventh Ward. In 1853 he married Hannah Gold. In 1861 he moved to St. George, where he died a quarter century later, in 1886. By profession he was a farmer and laborer. See Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:429–30.
23. In Utah, David Perkins lived in the East Weber and Ogden areas and died in Pleasant Green in Salt Lake County in 1874. He served for a time as presiding elder in the East Weber settlement, close to Susannah and her family. See Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:389–90.
24. In Utah, George Washington Perkins worked for the Brigham Young Express company, helped to colonize the Green River area and helped to found Fort Supply in Wyoming. He served as a pony express rider and was a farmer and stock raiser by profession. See Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 2:447–48.
25. Ibid.; Wilford Woodruff lived in Montrose. On July 19, 1839, Woodruff's diary notes that in previous days he administered to many of the sick, on both sides of the river. On July 22 Joseph Smith came to Montrose, and during that "day of God's power" much healing was performed. Before departing, the Prophet took a red silk handkerchief from his pocket, gave it to Elder Woodruff, and told him to wipe the faces of the ill with it when administering to them, and they would be healed. Woodruff kept that handkerchief for years. See Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1888, Typescript*, 1:347–348, and Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff: History of His Life and Labors,* 1964, 106.
26. "Aunt Mary Wiggill's Father's History."
27. Journal History, LDS Church Historical Department Archives, January 30, 1847, 1.
28. Ibid., Dec. 31, 1848, Supplement, pp. 18–20.
29. Ibid., December 31, 1849, Supplement, pp. 3–4. Before the journey ended, Captain Taylor penned a report about his company, dated September 3, 1849 (in Journal History, that date). The travelers were then camped at the Fourche Boise River, ninety miles west of Fort Laramie. "Our teams are in tolerable condition," Taylor said. He mentioned "3 heavy stampedes" just west of Chimney Rock that caused "considerable damage," including the death of one man, William Hawk. One stampede broke two wagons, killed six sheep, and dehorned several cattle. Taylor asked Brigham Young to send them assistance before they reached the mountains.
30. Ibid., Feb. 28, 1850, 5; George Washington Perkins life sketch in Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:447–8.
31. Whitesides, "A Life Sketch of Lewis Whitesides," 4.
32. Sarah Burbank Reminiscences, excerpted in Campus Education Week Department, compilers, *Voices from the Past: Diaries, Journals, and Autobiographies*, 28.
33. Ibid., 28.
34. Ibid., 29.
35. Whitman, "Life of Ephraim P. Ellison," 3.
36. George A. Hicks Autobiography, in Andrew Jenson's LDS Emigration Book II, LDS Archives; Daniel M. Burbank, Autobiography in B. Glen Marble, ed., *Mormon Marbles: Roots and Branches*.
37. "Aunt Mary Wiggill's Father's History."
38. This later was the Jerry Wiggill farm.
39. Whitesides, "A Life Sketch of Lewis Whitesides," 7.
40. Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:447–8.
41. Barnes, *The Grim Years*, 46; Collett, *Kaysville—Our Town*, 34.
42. Whitesides, "A Life Sketch of Lewis Whitesides," 7.
43. Ibid.
44. "The Salmon River Mission," in *Our Pioneer Heritage,* 7:162.
45. Whitesides, "A Life Sketch of Lewis Whitesides," 6.
46. Ibid.
47. "Aunt Mary Wiggill's Father's History."
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., and Whitesides, "A Life Sketch of Lewis Whitesides."
50. The other two were Tom Bennett and Jerry Wiggill; see Chapter Four.
51. Whitesides, "A Life Sketch of Lewis Whitesides," 7.
52. Ibid., 8.
53. Ibid., 11.
54. Ibid., 14.
55. Ibid., 13.
56. Ibid., 12, and "Aunt Mary Wiggill's Father's History." Mary, who wrote the history of her father in 1916, added that his disciplinarian trait had been "handed down through his family."
57. Whitesides, "A Life Sketch of Lewis Whitesides," 11–14. Son James died on Nov. 27, 1885.
58. E. M. Whitesides as told to Oma Wilcox, contained in note to author, December, 1991, in Whitesides File, EFA.
59. Ibid.

CHAPTER SEVEN

YOUNG MARRIEDS, 1873–1880

Ephraim and Elizabeth started married life as farmers and stock raisers. Soon after their wedding at the beginning of 1873, they purchased a "small farm" in the part of Kaysville that became Layton. Located on the north side of the North Fork of Holmes Creek, or Fiddlers' Creek, this property served as their home site for the rest of their lives.[1] At first they lived with Ephraim's parents until he could finish the small log room that served as their first home. While living in this humble dwelling for almost seven years, they became parents to their first three children, born two and four years apart:

James Edward	1873
Mary Annette	1875
Laurence Ephraim	1879

About 1880, Ephraim added a modest brick cottage of three rooms to the log structure in order to accommodate his growing family. The log room then became their summer kitchen.[2]

Providing for a Family

Ephraim, bearing primary responsibility for his family's food, clothing, shelter, and income, benefited from his father's experience with livestock. By the 1870s John Ellison was a successful sheepman and cattle raiser. His reputation extended beyond Kaysville, such that LDS church leaders called upon him during a crisis to help save the Church's flocks of tithing sheep. Orson F. Whitney's standard history of Utah recounts the episode:

> One of his [John Ellison's] most important labors was in 1875 or 1876, when he assisted Bishop Christopher Layton in gathering up the Church sheep, from Cache valley to Sanpete, and taking them to Cove Creek, where they were cleansed from the disease called "the scab." They were called to this labor by President Brigham Young.[3]

John "assisted his sons in getting a start" in the sheep and cattle enterprises, Whitney noted. Soon sons Ephraim, Matthew T., Elijah E., and Joseph H. were listed "among the large cattle owners of Davis County."[4] Ephraim, owning a reputation for energy and perseverance gained as a young man, "embarked in business for himself" by running a small band of sheep on the mountain east of the homestead summer and fall.[5]

Davis County's annual tax assessment ledgers show how Ephraim's taxable worth compares with that of his father. Ephraim appears in the tax lists first in 1875, two years after his marriage. He was assessed taxes for four cattle, two horses, two pigs, and one vehicle, valued at $326, and an unspecified amount of land and the improvements on it valued at $500. By comparison, father John possessed land worth twice as much, and owned thirteen cattle and 100 sheep, a sizable flock.[6]

Two years later the tax assessor noted that Ephraim owned twenty-six acres of land and twenty-five sheep. But within another year, Ephraim and Elizabeth had taken a major step forward in terms of owning property. In addition to twenty-seven acres that was their home property, they had obtained another sixty acres. This new land, however, had little tax value because it apparently was grazing land for Ephraim's newly enlarged flock of seventy-five sheep.[7] The family also owned one cow, two horses, four pigs, and one vehicle. Again, by way of comparison, father John owned 130 sheep, 18 cattle, 4 horses, 5 swine, and 2 vehicles. The father's property was valued at $2,548, Ephraim's at $976.[8]

Town leader Christopher Layton, a friend of the Ellisons, had charge of more than 5,000 Church tithing sheep and 2,000 of his own, which flocks he kept on Antelope Island due west of Kaysville in Great Salt Lake. He sold much of the wool to a cooperative woolen factory at Brigham City, "where it was exchanged for flannel for dresses, jeans for boys' clothes, linsey for sheets, yarn for stockings, etc." Very likely John and Ephraim Ellison exchanged wool there, too.[9]

About the year 1880, a little log school was located a few rods east of Ephraim's home. Eugene Thompson was the teacher. Night school was

also held there for men in the community. Ephraim, Rufus Adams, E. M. Whitesides, and others attended.[10]

Woman's Sphere

Elizabeth spent much of the 1870s bearing and rearing her first three children. She devoted time to feeding and caring for little ones. She cooked on a coal or wood-burning stove, laundered in washtubs using water hauled from the creek, hung wet clothes outside to dry, ironed with a flat-iron heated on the stove, sewed and mended clothes for the family, and possibly spun yarn from their own wool. Elizabeth helped coordinate the needed household chores: milking cows, working the gardens, feeding animals, and preserving food for use later on.

Elizabeth knew of the Kaysville Ward's Relief Society and participated in it to some degree. Late in the 1870s, Mary Ann Hyde presided over the society's ninety-plus members, assisted by counselors Sarah B. Layton and Mary Ann Walker. Two dozen women served as visiting teachers. The members' main labors were to round up money and goods for such causes as a Relief Society hall they were building and furnishing, needy Indians at Malad, Idaho, the Salt Lake Temple project, and the Church's Perpetual Emigrating Fund. They collected money and materials for carpeting for the ward's meetinghouse. The Relief Society sisters had opportunities to donate to these causes. Kaysville sisters agreed to raise mulberry trees to promote the Society's silk production experiment. Also, to provide capital for local enterprise, they bought twenty-five dollars worth of shares in the Kaysville Cooperative store.[11]

Late in 1878 the Relief Society organization numbered 121 sisters, but only thirty-five, on the average, attended the weekly meetings in the ward's Relief Society hall. That year the sisters nurtured 500 mulberry trees "of one year's growth," and about twenty sisters subscribed to the *Women's Exponent* magazine.[12] Quarterly, the society held conferences at which sisters heard spiritual and practical counsel. If Elizabeth did not hear these teachings firsthand, they were, nevertheless, a part of the Mormon set of beliefs she knew and adhered to. During 1879, for example, Kaysville sisters listened to advice such as this:

> Let us raise our necessaries and not import. Take care of life, dress reasonably. Frail mothers cannot raise strongly constituted men & women. Mothers, hold the tender affections & confidence of your children, nurture them. Keep them home nights. Caress them. 'Tis our good acts that win us our reward. Learn that God rules.[13]

The Extended Families

While Ephraim and Elizabeth provided for and raised their young children, they had close relationships with uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters, and nieces and nephews. Six weeks after the two married, Ephraim's sister Susannah Ellen, three years younger, married at age eighteen to Theodore Joseph Robins. In time the Robinses became parents of nine children, and Susannah served as a Relief Society officer and teacher for years. John and Peggy Pilling, Ephraim's grandparents, came west and settled in Kaysville to be near their daughter Alice (Ephraim's mother). Grandmother Pilling died at Kaysville on July 7, 1874.[14] Uncle Richard Pilling, seventeen years older than Ephraim, had married Catherine Adams and a plural wife, Hannah Amanda Harmon. Catherine's father, Elias Adams, and his sons built the first dam and reservoir in what is now Layton.[15]

Elizabeth's mother, Susannah Whitesides, gave birth to her last child two months after Elizabeth gave birth to her first one, James. Two of Elizabeth's siblings married five years after she did: James Lewis Whitesides to Alice Ann Bennett, and Mary Susan Whitesides to Joseph Wiggill.[16]

About the year 1880, Ephraim's younger brother, Joe Ellison, ran away from home. Joe headed back to Illinois to stay with his Ellison relatives near Nauvoo. Joe's daughter, Ruth, recounted the runaway story as she had heard it from Joe:

> Pa ran away to Nauvoo, Illinois, when he was sixteen years old. He lived with and worked for his Uncle Tommy Ellison [about forty years old]. They lived two miles east and north of Nauvoo, near the old Polton graveyard (there are many Ellisons buried there). Pa mentioned that the soil in that part of Illinois was the best he had seen, with the grass growing three and four feet tall.[17]

Ruth also recounted Joe's story about a sudden storm he witnessed while with the Illinois relatives, a story much exaggerated:

> While living with his Uncle Tommy, he attended school, and one warm day went to school in his shirt-sleeves. Soon the teacher became alarmed and let them leave for home early, as a large black cloud was rolling in from the north. Pa ran home and already dust was whirling in through the window panes. They hurried and fed and watered the livestock, and within fifteen minutes it was forty below zero [the original story probably said the temperature dropped by about 40 degrees].[18]

Ruth likewise recorded Joe's tale about aging Matthew Ellison, Joe and Ephraim's uncle, who was John Ellison's younger brother by seven years. Old Matthew, complete with an accent that Ruth included, poked fun at his Mormon brother John's religiousness. "John the Baptist," he labelled his brother, and exhibited some rough, almost mean, humor toward nephew Joe, the visitor:

> Pa's father John was truly converted to the Mormon Church, but some of the others didn't join [they did but disaffected[19]]. Pa's Uncle Matt didn't belong to the church and he would address Pa as follows: "Thou are John the Baptist's son and I'm going to thump thee." When riding with him, Pa would want to drive the horses and uncle Matt would answer, "Thou can-s't drive. Thou cans't do naught." His Uncle Matt would josh and tease him and would throw the driving lines of the team out under the wagon tongue, and as Pa would crawl out to retrieve them, he would slap him aside the head. Pa would get back in the wagon, and put his leg under Uncle Matt and sit him out on the wagon wheel. This really surprised Uncle Matt and he would say, "thou are John the Baptist's son and I will thump thee."[20]

Religious Matters

Ephraim and Elizabeth attended church meetings at the Kaysville adobe meetinghouse. In those days members partook of the sacrament water from a common cup which passed down the row, not tiny individual cups, like today. Ephraim was an elder, but his quorum did not meet very often. Possibly children James, Annette, and Laurence attended the Sunday School that started in 1877 in the local schoolhouse, where Alexander Dawson was Sunday School superintendent. Apparently Ephraim sometimes went by train or wagon to Salt Lake City for LDS general conferences in April or October.

For a short period between 1873 and 1875, leaders urged Saints and communities to join together to form United Orders. The purpose was to stamp out selfishness and greed, share work and products so as to eliminate poverty, and to strengthen the economic base of Utah settlements. North of Salt Lake City, many wards and communities unified behind specific ventures, such as stores, lumbering, and tanneries. United Order records are missing for the settlements between Bountiful and Ogden, but during the 1870s, Kaysville had a cooperative store, which apparently served as its United Order-type venture.[21] During the push to create United Orders, John and Ephraim Ellison and other men of enterprise heard strong teachings in favor of the cooperative ideal. Very likely Ephraim was influenced to some degree by such teachings, for during the next half-century he created business ventures that provided important benefits to his family, friends, community, and fellow Saints in the form of needed products, payrolls, profits from dividends and stock, and investment in local improvements. His results accorded well with many United Order ideals.[22]

During a Utah-wide rebaptizing effort in 1875, Bishop Christopher Layton directed at least 118 rebaptisms and reconfirmations in the Ellisons' ward. Names of the rebaptized are not recorded. Very likely the Ellisons participated.[23]

Ephraim and Elizabeth were affected by another of President Young's crusades when in 1877 he reorganized wards and stakes on a large scale.[24] From the Church's existing thirteen stakes, leaders created seven new ones. Impacting directly on the Ellisons, a new Davis Stake was formed on June 16 and 17. Bountiful became three wards instead of one, Kaysville Ward lost its north part, which became the South Hooper Ward, and a South Weber Ward was formed. The new stake ended up with eight "bishops wards."[25] The new stake presidency was William R. Smith, Christopher Layton, and Anson Call. John Ellison became one of the stake's twelve high councilmen.

As part of the restructuring, on June 18, 1877, Apostles Erastus Snow and George Q. Cannon reorganized Kaysville Ward. They installed Peter Barton as the new bishop and George M. Hudson as the elders quorum president. President Hudson picked Ephraim to be one of his counselors and William Harris to be the other.[26]

At Davis Stake's founding meeting, President Brigham Young told

the Saints why the widespread reorganizings were being made. Changes were designed, he explained, to cause wards to be looked after better, block teachers to visit better, and disputes to be settled without church courts. He expected people to better observe "the moral law of our religion." He hoped to see less breaking of the Sabbath. Overall, he said, "we expect to see a radical change," even a "reformation," to make people more responsive to the Kingdom's needs. Not pleased by recent United Order failures, he said he hoped to have every Saint ready to place himself "with all he commands, for the upbuilding of the kingdom of God." Until then the lesser law, tithing, needed to be obeyed.[27]

Three months later, President Young died. Ephraim's friend, Christopher Layton, observed that "a profound sorrow rested like a pall upon the Saints," and "as Israel mourned for Moses, so we mourned in heartfelt sorrow for Brother Young."[28] A forceful leader, the "Lion of the Lord," the man the Saints affectionately called "Brother Brigham," had been the only Church president and prophet that Ephraim and Elizabeth had known. Possibly some family members went to Salt Lake City for the funeral held in the draped-in-white Tabernacle. Following President Young's death, the Council of the Twelve led the Church for the next three years, then chose Apostle John Taylor to be the new Church President.

Ephraim took time to help people. About the year 1887, Elizabeth Rose, wife of Elias Adams Jr., a close friend and business associate of Ephraim, was very ill. Ephraim learned that she had developed a craving for fresh cherries, which were not in season. He made a special effort to locate some and took them to her. As fate would have it, two Adams children, Jabez and Catherine (Katie), later married Alice and Laurence Ellison, two of Ephraim and Elizabeth's children.[29]

NOTES

1. Currently 770 Rosewood Lane in Layton.
2. E. P. Sketch in *Weekly Reflex*, Oct. 26, 1939, and Whitman, "Life of Ephraim P. Ellison," 3. The latter account, by the present occupant of the old Ellison home, says the log room stood "approximately where our dining room now stands," and the three-room addition "is what is now our living room."
3. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4:398–99. Bishop Layton's biography says that in 1875 he "moved the Church sheep from the [Antelope] island into Southern Utah for the winter to a place called Cove Fort" and that "the sheep which I had taken into Southern Utah had fared badly during the winter, and I returned them back to the Church," donating sheep from his own herd to replace losses. McIntyre and Barton, eds., *Christopher Layton*, 133–134.
4. John Ellison sketch in *Biographical Record of Salt Lake City and Vicinity*, 406–7.
5. Ephraim P. Ellison sketch in "The Indomitable Spirit of North Davis County," *Weekly Reflex*, Dec. 20, 1923.
6. Davis County Assessor, Tax Assessment Rolls, 1875, microfilm copy, Utah State Archives.
7. Their home acreage was in the Northeast Quarter of Section 28, Township 4 Range 1W.
8. Davis County Tax Assessment Rolls, 1877, 1878.
9. McIntyre and Barton, eds., *Christopher Layton*, 123–125. The mill burned down in 1877 but was rebuilt.
10. Oma Wilcox note to the author.
11. Kaysville Ward, Relief Society Minutes, September 30, 1878, LDS Historical Department Archives. Helenne Hyde was Relief Society secretary and Jane W. Blood, treasurer.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., Oct. 16, 1879.
14. Rodgers, *Richard Pilling: A Family Heritage*, 40.
15. Ibid., 39–42. Dam constructing by the Adams family is discussed in Adams, *Ancestors and Descendants of Elias Adams: The Pioneer, 1860–1930,* 111–13.
16. Lewis and Susannah Perkins Whitesides Family Group Sheet, EFA.
17. Susannah Ellison Robins, "John and Alice Ellison," a typed sketch in Jensen, *Joseph H. Ellison: Frontiersman, Pioneer, Rancher, Family Man, Devoted Churchman,* copy in EFA.
18. Ibid.
19. Siegfried, *Family History*.
20. Ibid.
21. William Blood's journal, LDS Church Historical Department Archives. January 1872 entries note that he attended the store shareholders' meeting, and, as already explained, the Relief Society owned stock in it in the later 1870s.
22. Arrington, *Building the City of God*.
23. McIntyre and Barton, eds., *Christopher Layton*, 241.
24. Hartley, "The Priesthood Reorganization of 1877: Brigham Young's Last Achievement," *BYU Studies* 20 (Fall 1979): 3–36.
25. Davis Stake, Manuscript History, 1877, LDS Historical Department Archives.
26. Franklin D. Richards Journal, June 17, 1877, LDS Historical Department Archives.
27. *Journal of Discourses*, June 17, 1877, 19:43.
28. McIntyre and Barton, eds., *Christopher Layton*, 137.
29. Oma Wilcox note to the author, EFA.

PART TWO

COMMUNITY BUILDER, 1880–1902

Farmers Union Building, 1882. The original building is on the left. The two-story enlargement was added in 1892

Layton Milling and Elevator Company, 1890

CHAPTER EIGHT

MERCANTILE, MILLING, AND COAL BUSINESSES

By adulthood, if not sooner, Ephraim Ellison began to be known by the initials of his first two names. Contemporaries knew him as E. P. Ellison. Henceforth in this narrative he will be called E. P.

During the entire twentieth century to date, one of Layton's best-known downtown landmarks has been the Farmers Union building. It served as a general store and then, after historic restoration work, became the First National Bank of Layton in 1981. It is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Four generations of Layton residents shopped at the store between 1882, when it opened, and the 1950s, when it closed. E. P. Ellison had his first business office there, from where he handled practically all of his other businesses' affairs. During his lifetime, the Farmers Union became synonymous with E. P. Ellison. (Initially the store was called the Kaysville Farmers' Union—having an apostrophe after the s, but after 1909 the apostrophe was dropped. To avoid confusion, the apostrophe is not used in this history.)

Store Beginnings

Farmers Union was a replacement store for Christopher Layton's mercantile outlet in Kaysville, which had furnished supplies for his large polygamous family and his workmen.[1] In the area which became Layton, residents needed a larger, better store. So several leading citizens decided to form a store corporation, buy stock in it, patronize it, and make it profitable for investors. Founding fathers of the Farmers Union store were all local men: Christopher Layton, Sr., George W. Adams, Thomas H. Hodson, Elias Adams, Jr., Joseph S. Adams, William N. Nalder, Richard Pilling, Alexander Dawson, E. P. Ellison, and John Ellison. They

met at Thomas H. Hodson's house on Kays Creek on February 15, 1882, and approved the articles of incorporation. Under the name of Kaysville Farmers Union they incorporated for twenty-five years to engage in "manufacturing and a general commercial and mercantile business."[2]

Founders chose E. P. Ellison to be one of seven men on the board of trustees and to be store treasurer and superintendent.[3] The first officers were

President:	Christopher Layton
Vice-president:	George W. Adams
Treasurer:	E. P. Ellison
Secretary:	John Ellison
Superintendent:	E. P. Ellison

To raise necessary capital, the corporation issued $30,000 worth of stock to be sold at ten dollars per share. Although they were company officers, E. P. and his father, who bought $500 worth of stock each, were not the biggest investors. Even E. P.'s uncle Richard Pilling owned more than they did:

Stockholder	*Shares*	*Stockholder*	*Shares*
C. Layton	150	Jos. S. Adams	50
G. W. Adams	150	Wm. N. Nalder	50
Thomas Hodson	100	E. P. Ellison	50
Alex. Dawson	75	John Ellison	50
Richard Pilling	60	Elias Adams, Jr.	30

Trustees, at their first meeting, voted that stockholders "will patronize this company with a liberal patronage." They arranged to obtain a deed to the land where the store would stand. They approved plans for a store fifty feet long, twenty-four feet wide, and twelve feet high. They appointed E. P. and three others to be the building committee. To get started, the officers bought Christopher Layton's little one-room store, moved it about two miles north to the new location, and opened it to serve until they could construct the larger building. They hired a clerk, to be paid not more than forty dollars per month. They assigned John Ellison and Thomas Hodson to superintend the store's "moving stock," that is, animals for sale or slaughter.[4]

E. P. had to post one bond to be treasurer and another to be the store's superintendent. Directors on March 27, 1882, wanted to build a

blacksmith shop but postponed it because capital stock was not being paid for as fast as expected. By early April, workmen had started digging the cellar for the new building, on the north side of the small store.[5] They paid Christopher Layton $3,000 for his store's inventory, and obtained from him an iron safe, counters, shelves, and drawers.[6] In May, Joseph Wiggill was hauling rock to the store site. E. P. hired a butcher, arranged to buy wholesale lumber to sell at retail, and obtained proper bookkeeping ledgers.[7] He sought a $10,000 fire insurance policy for the store. The board authorized Christopher Layton to build a granary and granted E. P. a salary of $100 per month.[8] In July, E. P. sent the board a note which, although of little importance, is reproduced here to show something about E. P.'s way of expressing himself—because so little survives of anything E. P. ever wrote or said:[9]

> To the Honorable President and Board of Trustees of Kaysville Farmers Union. Gentlemen. I am very sorrey to say that it is almost impossible for me to meet with you on Monday next, as the Constitution of our firm requires but any advice or instruction that you wish to make in regard to the managment of things and matters generally will be thankfully received by your Humble Servant, and any information that you wish that is within my power I will cheerfully give at the next regular or Special meeting as you may see fit.
>
> Yours respectfully
>
> E. P. Ellison

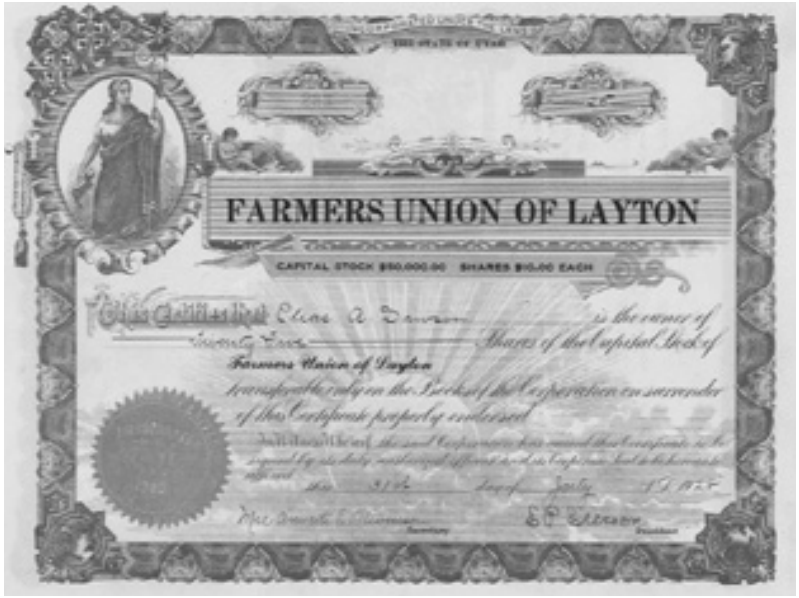
During the next months E. P. and Elizabeth hosted the directors' meetings at their home. E. P. obtained $8,000 insurance coverage for the store. He spent $925 for a granary and nearly $200 on materials for the well and yard of the slaughter house.[10] On February 16, 1883, the board declared a 19.5 percent dividend and then tendered thanks to President Layton, who was leaving the board, for his patronage and good "counsel and feelings." Layton responded that the store "is a success today and admired by others" and wished it future success. That month Layton moved to Arizona to preside over the St. Joseph Stake. Charles M. Layton replaced him as board member. George W. Adams became the store's new president and Dawson the vice-president.[11] That June, E. P. read his superintendent's report to the board,

Interior of Farmers Union store

> Giving the condition of business which was discussed at some length every thing being in as prosperous condition as could be expected. The great Drawback was this credit system the large amt., to be trusted out, and in consequence of which made it difficult to always meet our bills.[12]

Unpaid credit accounts helped cause a slump in the store's business by mid–1883. Another problem E. P. faced was losses caused by the store's butchering operation. In September he reported that "the market is dull for grain at present & our grainery is getting pretty well filled." But he added, with veiled optimism, that "our Debt is coming in pretty good all things considered."[13]

Early advertisements call the Farmers Union a "general merchandise" store, "dealers in Grain, Flour, Feed, Butter, Eggs, Cheese, Fruit, Vegetables, etc.," where shipping was "a specialty." When 1884 started, E. P. wanted "to be relieved of the superintendence of the Store if agreeable all around." Apparently he was having management differences with the board president, because when the board met on March 3, 1884, they elected E. P. president in place of George W. Adams. E. P. was now president, treasurer, and store superintendent. Elias Adams became the vice-president. That year the board declared a 20 percent dividend to be paid



Farmers Union stock certificate, signed by E. P. Ellison as President

in merchandise.[14] On March 5, in his annual report to stockholders, E. P. gave these totals for the business year ending in February 1883:

Amount of business handled	$50,944.56
Value of merchandise carried	12,096.00
Bills receivable	416.00
Beef account	459.49
Due from personal accounts	8,774.98
Expense of doing business	2,511.86
Taxes and license	334.90

Store directors then were:

Elias Adams	E. P. Ellison	C. M. Layton
Rufus Adams	T. H. Hodson	S. H. Nalder
George P. Adams		

E. P. had increased the number of shares of stock he owned so that he then held as much stock as anyone:

E. P. Ellison	150	T. H. Hodson	100
C. Layton	150	C. M. Layton	90
George W. Adams	150		

In 1885, Mr. T. H. Hodson replaced Elias Adams as vice-president.[15] That April the board decided not to accept the Barton Company's offer to merge its store with theirs. E. P. again asked to be released from superintending the store and gave notice of his resignation. "The superintendent said he had to neglect his own private business and if he attended to his private affairs he would neglect the interest of the store, he felt he could not do justice to all."[16] However, the board did not find a replacement, so they persuaded E. P. "to continue for the present."[17]

For 1885–1886 the store did $55,804.29 worth of business, up about $5,000 from the year before. That year the board elected John O'Brien president. Once again, "Mr. Ellison said he would like to be released from the office of Superintendent," but after considerable talk he "said he would hold on to his job until next stock taking, providing the Board would get someone else to take his place at that time." The board asked C. M. Layton and Rufus Adams if they might like to run the store, but E. P. for some reason was not replaced.[18] Despite a slight slump in business the next year, down by $6,000, stockholders received a 24 percent dividend.[19]

On March 7, 1887, the stockholders authorized E. P. to find out what would work best for handling grain and flour—an elevator or low bins. He recommended elevators, so in July the board approved an elevator as the best way to get grain into the bins. The company soon built a "mill house" on the store property.[20]

Business transacted for the 1886–1887 year totalled $59,118.18, which generated a 20 percent dividend to stockholders.[21] Dislike for Kaysville's taxing policies became evident in 1888 when Kaysville City asked Farmers Union to pay $30 in taxes (see Chapter Ten for a full discussion of the resulting crisis). Because the tax had never been assessed, the board decided not to pay. Then, early in 1889, with C. M. Layton as president, E. P. convinced the board to start a legal battle against Kaysville's tax assessments.

> It was then presented by the supt. that a suit is about to be instituted in the courts for to be released of paying Licence & Taxes to Kaysville City and wished to have the privilege of using the name of Farmers Union in case the suit comes that way and can the Board of Trustees do any thing in the way of backing said supt. in case we gain the point, if lost I ask nothing.

The board voted that "in case of victory that we stand our proportion of cost of said suit."[22]

Expanding the Store

During the decade of the 1890s, despite a national depression, the store not only stayed in business but it expanded. When the decade opened, Alex Dawson was president, T. H. Hodson vice-president, John Ellison continued as secretary (serving until 1893), and E. P. was treasurer and superintendent.[23] On February 26, 1891, the board appropriated $230 to E. P., so that the Farmers Union could pay two years of taxes and license fees to Kaysville.

Early in 1891 the store reached a major turning point in its history. E. P. felt it must expand, but not all board members agreed. So E. P. engineered a takeover of Farmers Union by his family. On March 7 the board and stockholders debated whether or not to enlarge the store. E. P. thought that it was advisable "if we only had money, though it might be raised by new or old stockholders subscribing more stock." The men examined architect William Allen's sketches of the proposed new two-story brick building and soberly considered its price tag of $8,000 to $9,000. John Gailey liked the plan because "we had a good grade [of merchandise] and must put something to catch the eye, was heartily in favor of building." Board member Hodson disagreed, because he "could not see the benefit of erecting a $7,000 building. If we erected it we are swamped, would sell his stock at 50 cents on the dollar." To this E. P. replied that he "was in favor of progression, would be willing to pay any one more than 50 per cent for their stock, would take in stock one half of cost of new building." Hodson responded that he thought the prior season "was a very bad one but thought the old shell good for another year." President John W. Thornley liked the building plans but did not want to be forced to invest more money in the store. E. P. said no one would be forced to invest. Mr. Sill worried that his stock would return smaller dividends due to building costs, but Frank Jacques thought the opposite. Hodson argued that they should "live in old hive that has furnished us honey for so long."

After a warm discussion, the stockholders adjourned without a vote.

Then the board of directors met to debate the matter. Thornley noted that in the current store more goods were out of sight than in sight. Dawson felt the $8,000 investment was unwise. W. N. Nalder believed the present store was too small. John Ellison thought the project would increase the value of the property and was willing to invest in it. The board adjourned without voting, but decided to poll stockholders to see who would subscribe to more stock. A few weeks later the board, meeting at E. P.'s home on April 25, 1892, learned how much additional stock had been purchased:

E. P. Ellison	300
Elijah Ellison	10 (E. P.'s brother)
M. M. Whitesides	10 (E. P.'s brother-in-law)
Henry Morgan	10
John W. Thornley	20
Thomas Evans	15
John Flint	44
C. M. Layton	10
Thomas O'Brien	5
Frank Jacques	5
John W. Gailey	40
Alex Dawson and family	50
S. H. Nalder	15
William N. Nalder	5
T. H. Hodson	20
Total	559

When the maneuvering ended, E. P. controlled the company. He subscribed for more of the new stock than all the other buyers combined. The board approved the store addition and ordered that the new stock be paid for by October 1. On May 13 the *Davis County Clipper* newspaper told readers about the decision to build the new building. The officers ordered that, before construction started, the shed building (the small building bought from Christopher Layton) be moved back to be used for lumber. Space was needed because the large new addition was on the south side of the existing building and a second story was included. They approved William Allen's plans for the new building and appointed three men to take charge of the construction job: E. P., Alex Dawson, and John W. Gailey. Work on the new structure began that summer and was finished by the year's end.

The Farmers Union reopened in the new brick building on December 22, 1892. According to the December 22 issue of the *Clipper*,

> We [Layton] also have three stores. The Farmers Union, which is one of the finest stores in Davis County and the company has just moved into their new building. E. P. Ellison is the superintendent and is a gentleman to everybody. He is a man who tries to build up the country and believes in living and letting live.

The town's other two stores were Adams and Sons Company, which carried a "large assortment of dry goods, groceries, etc.," and the William Hyde and Company store. Hyde was the local postmaster. Layton also had a blacksmith shop, and a saloon "for those who require goods on that line." By then, the newspaper added, most stores in the south end of the county had "done away with the credit system." Two months later the reporter said E. P. was someone that "I have learned by experience to be a gentleman who can buy as cheap as the cheapest."[24]

By the end of March 1893, the store was expecting a shipment of 60,000 board feet of lumber, 46,000 of which would be used by the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company for fluming.[25] That spring the store was doing "a rushing business in lumber and cedar posts," and had placed an order for 1,000 chickens. By early May the store received another lumber shipment "and can supply builders at the lowest prices." As an example of how the store served as a community communications center, that April, E. P. posted a sign in front of the store advertising that someone wanted to hire twenty-five sheepherders.[26]

The expanded Farmers Union store had barely opened when Utah Territory and the nation suffered a financial depression. A history of Utah's premier department store, ZCMI, summarized the dire situation this way:

> The scarcity of Eastern capital and exorbitant rates of interest spurred a panic far worse than that of 1873. By 1893, a year long to be remembered for its financial disasters, agricultural depression extended the effects of the diseased economy across the board. Utah in particular felt the blow of low prices for silver. The many mines that shut down completely contributed to Salt Lake City's extraordinary 1893 unemployment rate of 48 percent.[27]

Because of costs incurred to build the new store and losses caused by the national downturn, Farmers Union dividends to stockholders dropped during the 1890s from a high of 25 percent in 1891 to an average of 9 percent between 1894 and 1900.[28] During the decade, the board and officers changed slightly. On March 5, 1894, the stockholders approved that James Ellison be the company's secretary. E. P.'s brother Elijah joined the board, as did J. H. Bonnemort.

In 1896 the upstairs area above the store was finished and opened for use as a community hall. According to the *Clipper* on October 9,

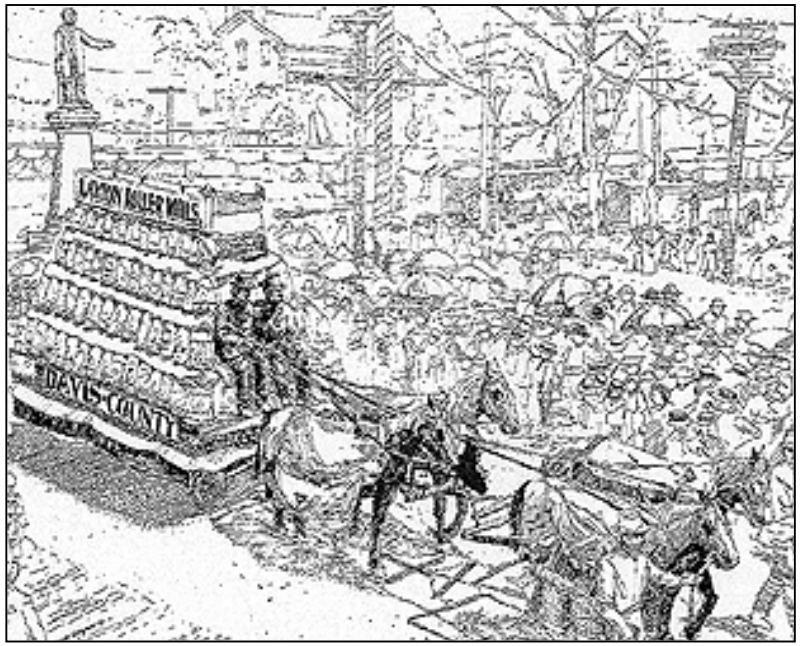
> The upstairs room of the Farmers Union is being plastered and finished to be used for a dancing hall and theatre and for holding political and other public meetings. It is expected it will be finished in about three weeks.

On November 20 the "Union Hall" was officially opened by a free ball, which 104 attended.[29] In time it became the scene for girls' and boys' basketball games, important community meetings, political meetings, community dances, annual Primary dances, Sunday School parties, weddings, and dances to raise money for missionaries. At the March 1, 1898, board meeting, "Supt. E. P. Ellison told the Board how the church wanted to have all Dance Halls run under the auspices of the Young Mens Mutual Improvement Association and wanted an expression from the Board on this matter." Whereupon the board approved John Gailey's motion that "we turn the management of the programme part of the Dance over to the Mutual Improvement Committee."

During its first two decades, 1882–1902, the Farmers Union store succeeded, expanded, and became an important hub for the community. It provided a variety of household goods, groceries, and hardware products. It was not the only store in town, but it competed on a friendly basis with the others. A history published in 1889 said Kaysville then had four stores: the Kaysville Co-op, Stewart & Williams, Barton and Co., and the Farmers Union, which it described as "dealers in general merchandise."[30]

Night Watchman Murdered

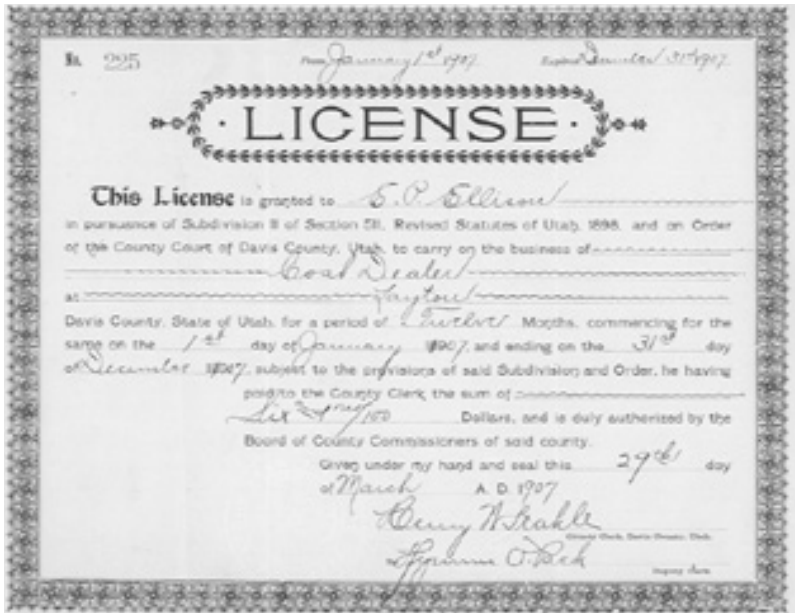
The Farmers Union suffered two troubling intrusions. Late in the spring of 1900, a swarm of bees invaded the store for a second time. They



Layton Roller Mills Float, Pioneer Jubilee Celebration, Salt Lake City, 1897

nested in the wall through a crevice near the window sill. "Bees might be alright in meetings during the summer to keep the worshippers awake," the local newspaper jested, "but they are entirely out of place around a store."[31] A more dangerous intruder, this time a human burglar, murdered night watchman Thomas Sandall on March 28, 1899. Nathan F. "Nick" Haworth entered the store through a basement window. He shot Sandall in the back of the head. E. P., for the Farmers Union, posted a $400 reward for the "capture and conviction" of the killer, while Davis County Sheriff L. E. Abbott offered an additional $600. The guilty man fled to the northwest, near Portland. Sheriff Abbott notified authorities there, and two Portland police detectives, Henry P. Ford and John Cordano, arrested Haworth on December 27, 1899. The killer was brought back to Utah, tried, and found guilty. He served about sixteen years in prison and was paroled in 1916. He was let out once when his wife died in Ogden and apparently was a model prisoner.[32]

Several individuals sought the reward money. In June 1900, Gilbert R. Belnap wrote to E. P. and claimed he provided the evidence that



· LICENSE ·

This License is granted to E. P. Ellison

in pursuance of Subdivision 8 of Section 58, Revised Statutes of Utah, 1898, and an Order of the County Court of Davis County, Utah, to carry on the business of Coal Dealer

at Layton

Davis County, State of Utah, for a period of Twelve Months, commencing for the same on the 1st day of January 1907, and ending on the 31st day of December 1907, subject to the provisions of said Subdivision and Order, he having paid to the County Clerk the sum of Six and no/100 Dollars, and is duly authorized by the Board of County Commissioners of said county.

Given under my hand and seal this 27th day of March A. D. 1907

Henry W. Stahle

Graham O. Peck

Business license from E. P. Ellison's coal business, located near the Farmers Union store

identified the killer.[33] The two arresting detectives likewise asked for the reward money.[34] Lorenzo Stoker of Roy claimed the reward, as did John A. Fitzgerald.[35] An Ogden attorney asked for the reward, and then sued E. P. for it. Who finally received the reward is not identified in E. P.'s records.

In September 1902, someone tried to burglarize the Farmers Union and the Adams and Sons stores, but at both places the night watchmen were awakened before the thief or thieves could enter.[36]

Layton Milling and Elevator

In 1890, E. P., along with Henry Gibson and several others in the area, built a flour mill and created the Layton Milling and Elevator Company. The mill contained modern equipment and was constructed on the west side of Main Street on the south side of the Farmers Union. In December 1892, according to a local newspaper, the roller mills shipped nineteen carloads of flour.[37]

Letterhead used in 1904 says the company was a manufacturer and wholesaler of "Fine Flour" as well as Graham, corn meal, Germade, bran and shorts, and grain. It sold sacks of Number One Hard Wheat. E. P. is

Railroad tracks through downtown Layton in front of Farmers Union store

listed as manager, J. H. Bonnemort as president, J. W. Thornley as vice-president, and James E. Ellison as secretary and treasurer. The company operated an office and warehouse in Salt Lake City at 337–339 West Second South.[38] In 1903, every twenty-four hours the mill produced enough flour to fill 440 sacks—more than any other mill in Utah, according to family tradition. During subsequent years it was called the Layton Roller Mills, Layton Flour Mill, or Layton Milling Company. E. P. served as president and general manager for thirty-one years.[39]

In 1897, Utah held a week-long gala celebration of Pioneer Day, honoring the fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of Mormon pioneers in Great Salt Lake Valley. During this jubilee week of festivities and parades, the Brigham Young monument, which now stands north of the intersection of South Temple and Main Streets, was dedicated. A favorite photograph from the Ellison family and from Layton history files shows a Davis County float pulled by four horses. Titled "Layton Roller Mills," the float honored the county's enterprise by displaying dozens of sacks of the mill's flour stacked in four ascending tiers.[40]

To promote business, Layton Milling and Elevator gave out pocket daybooks with its name imprinted on the front and advertising inside the front and back covers. A 1905 daybook lists E. P. Ellison as manager and says the company is a "manufacturer of all kinds of Mill goods" and gives a promise: "Every Sack of Flour Warranted." Two other claims in the book are: "We manufacture the finest brands of Flour" and "Highest Cash Price paid for Wheat, Barley, and Oats."[41]

Ellison Coal Business

E. P., as a personal venture, established a coal business south of the Farmers Union. This business had railroad tracks by it so E. P. could ship in coal by train to stock his bins. Information about this coal company is lacking. During the 1880s, the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad broke the Union Pacific's near monopoly in Utah Territory. It ran tracks connecting Ogden and Salt Lake City to "the world beyond." Freight rates fell, particularly for coal from Carbon County.[42] This helped E. P.'s coal business.[43] The coal yard was removed in 1953 when Main Street was widened.

NOTES

1. McIntyre and Barton, eds., *Christopher Layton*, 133.
2. Farmers Union, Board of Directors Minutes, filed at Layton First National Bank vault, Layton, Utah, entry of Feb. 15, 1882; cited hereafter as Farmers Union Minutes. The Certificate of Incorporation, dated February 27, 1882, is recorded in the Davis County Probate Court at Farmington, Utah Territory.
3. The others were George W. Adams, Christopher Layton, Sr., Thomas H. Hodson, Alexander Dawson, Joseph S. Adams, and William Nalder. See Farmers Union Minutes, Feb. 15, 1882.
4. Ibid. Within a month John O'Brien and David Craig replaced Alexander Dawson and Joseph S. Adams as trustees—see ibid., March 6, 1882.
5. Farmers Union Minutes, April 3, 1882.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., May 1, 1882.
8. Ibid., June 5, 1882.
9. Ibid., July 3, 1882.
10. Ibid., Sept. 4 and Dec. 4, 1882, and Jan. 1 and Feb. 1, 1883.
11. Ibid., March 5 and 12, 1883.
12. Ibid., June 4, 1883.
13. Ibid., July 3 and Sept. 5, 1883.
14. Ibid., Jan. 7, Feb. 6, and Mar. 21, 1884.
15. Ibid., Jan. 19, 1885.
16. Ibid., April 6, 1885.
17. Ibid., April 20, 1885.
18. Ibid., April 5, 1886.
19. Ibid., Feb. 28, 1887.
20. Ibid., Mar. 2, 1891. This entry shows that the board met for its annual meeting in the "mill house."

21. Ibid., Feb. 27, 1887.
22. Ibid., Mar. 4, 1889.
23. Ibid., Mar. 3, 1890.
24. *Davis County Clipper*, Feb. 16, 1893.
25. Ibid., Feb. 16 and Mar. 30, 1893.
26. Ibid., Mar. 30, April 27, and May 4, 1893.
27. Bradley, *ZCMI*, 52.
28. Ibid., minutes for stockholders meetings held annually in February or March. Dividends listed are:

1883	19.5%	1888	??%	1893	15%	1898	10%	1903	10%
1884	20%	1889	20%	1894	10%	1899	8%	1904	??%
1885	??%	1890	20%	1895	10%	1900	8%	1905	10%
1886	21%	1891	25%	1896	8%	1901	8%	1906	10%
1887	24%	1892	15%	1897	9%	1902	9%	1907	10%

29. *Davis County Clipper*, Nov. 27, 1896.
30. Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories*, 1889, 2:62.
31. *Davis County Clipper*, June 15, 1900.
32. Ibid., Mar. 31, 1899, June 22, 1900, and June 30, 1905; Oma Wilcox Interview with the Author, Notes in EFA; G. R. Belnap, in a note to E. P. Ellison, Nov. 23, 1903, says that the State Board of Pardons commuted Haworth's sentence to life imprisonment, in Layton History File, EFA.
33. G. R. Belnap to E. P. Ellison, June 21, 1900, in Layton History File, EFA.
34. John Cordano and Henry P. Ford claims, in Layton History File, EFA.
35. Notarized statement in letter, Lorenzo Stoker to E. P. Ellison, May 5, 1904; Fitzgerald to Ellison, May 9, 1904, both in Layton History File, EFA.
36. *Davis County Clipper*, Sept. 19, 1902.
37. Ibid., Jan. 26, 1893.
38. Letterhead, in Layton History File, EFA.
39. The Ellison family says the mill was built by E. P. Ellison, Henry Gibson and others; see 1982 First National Bank of Layton calendar, May and June, for drawing and historical sketch, EFA; E. P.'s obituary, in *Weekly Reflex*, Oct. 26, 1939, p. 1. E. P.'s granddaughter Oma Wilcox told the author the mill outproduced the other mills in Utah.
40. Copy in EFA. See Layton First National Bank 1982 calendar for July and August for sketch of the photograph and a historical summary of the parade.
41. The black, leather-covered daybook, measuring 5.75″ by 2.75″, is in Farmers Union File, EFA. A pencilled note in the front says the book once belonged to Abram Higgs of Layton.
42. Collett, *Kaysville—Our Town*, 92–93.
43. In the Farmers Union files, EFA, are E. P.'s annual licenses for 1907 and 1908, issued by the Davis County Court, to "carry on the business of Coal Dealer."

CHAPTER NINE

DAVIS AND WEBER COUNTIES CANAL COMPANY

By the time E. P. and Elizabeth celebrated their tenth wedding anniversary, he was a private businessman but also was becoming a community builder and leader. He entered community affairs in order to influence institutions that affected his farms, businesses, and the town. Between 1880 and 1900, he participated in three north-county developments that mattered to him and to his neighbors: helping the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company bring irrigation water to north Davis County, serving as an elected county selectman, and leading Layton's fight for independence from Kaysville.

The Central Canal Company

Utah and irrigation go together like a house and its foundation.[1] Farmers in the Ellisons' vicinity needed water to make arid Great Salt Lake shorelands more productive. They had tapped local streams and creeks for small-scale irrigating. They experimented with dry farming techniques and new types of plants requiring little water. But the nearby Weber River, fed by distant mountain snowpacks, could provide needed irrigation water, only if proper dams, gates, and canals could be built.

In 1865, Utah Territorial law provided that water districts could be formed to divert water from natural channels and apply it to land, with power to tax water users for costs accrued in developing the system. In response, "many mutual irrigation companies" were established in the Weber River drainage basin, and forty-one irrigation districts throughout Utah by 1898.[2] A water use law enacted in 1880 opened water development to any private groups. Applicants received water claims unchallenged, no matter how large or excessive, unless other water users claimed the same rights. The law pushed individual property rights above common interests.[3]

Building the canal system in Weber Canyon, 1881–82

Coveting Weber water, and using the new water law, several businessmen organized the Central Canal Company in 1881. Major stockholders were William Jennings, William Hooper, the Utah Central Railway, Zebulon Jacobs, William R. Smith, Christopher Layton, and John R. Barnes.

At first, E. P. Ellison barely invested. He owned but one share of its stock in 1883, the year the company increased its capital stock from $75,000 to $125,000.[4] He did attend the shareholders' meetings. In May 1883, for example, he and dozens of others, representing 700 stock shares, met at P. P. Terry's residence. The company's main effort was to dig what was to be the Central Canal, but financial problems halted the construction work before it was finished.

Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company

In 1884, to salvage the uncompleted canal project, several backers created a new company and bought out Central Canal's holdings. The transfer happened in two stages. First, on March 13, 1884, articles of incorporation were drawn for a new Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company (referred to hereafter as DWCCC), whose main purpose was to

operate the Central Canal. Second, in September 1884, Central's properties were advertised for sale and were bought by LeGrand Young and William Jennings, key backers of the new two-county canal company.[5] The new company's directors, elected on November 21, 1884, were Richard Ballantyne, Feramorz Little, Thomas H. Hodson, William Jennings, Anson Call, and Charles F. Middleton. E. P., showing more confidence in this new canal attempt, bought thirty-two shares of stock. William R. Smith became president and William Jennings vice-president.

Incorporation papers declare that the business of the firm was to purchase, hold, control and operate canals, water ditches, and water rights, particularly the Central Canal "with its appurtenant ditches extending from a point about a mile above the mouth of Weber Canyon and running westerly into said Weber County and Davis County, terminating near the line of the Utah Central Railway." The company had authority to own and maintain branch canals and ditches to increase the irrigation effort. It had power to distribute water from its canals and use the same or cause it to be used for irrigation and other lawful purposes. The company scheduled annual stockholders' meetings for the third Saturday in November.[6]

The company then built the canal, which proved to be a laborious task, given the primitive earth-moving equipment then available:

> The canal was dug mostly with "slip scrapers," which were pieces of metal, each with two handles, that were pulled by horse teams and could move about a quarter of a yard of dirt each load. The loads were dumped to build up the lower bank. Water was run in a ditch behind a scraper, and the fall of the ditch was determined by how the water ran in the newly dug portion. if the water did not run, the workers took a "clean shave" off the bottom with the scraper until the water continued along. The Davis and Weber Canal cut through yellow clay that had to be trampled solid to prevent it from washing down the canal and depositing an infertile layer on fields.[7]

When the company was two years old, Thomas J. Steed became its president in place of William R. Smith, and Feramorz Little replaced William Jennings as vice-president. This change took place at the directors' meeting of December 16, 1886. Another leadership change took place on June 29, 1889 when Louis B. Adams became secretary-treasurer.

Competitors for Weber River water rights caused the company complications when they connected canals to the river above the Central

Canal, threatening to lower its flow. The Hooper, Wilson and Plain City Canal interests and others challenged the DWCCC water claims. In their eyes, the DWCCC was a latecomer to the irrigation business, entitled only to *surplus* Weber waters. Knowing how limited the surplus waters were, President Steed urged directors on June 15, 1889, to find ways to develop "natural reservoirs" for winter storage of waters. That summer, 1889, a company committee visited the head of the Weber River and looked for reservoir sites.[8]

Improving the Canal

On the basis of stockholder Ellison's recommendation, the company increased its capital stock by $50,000 in 1889.[9] New funds allowed the company, late in 1889, to renovate the canal and put it in the "condition and size originally designed." When completed, the enlarged canal was twenty feet wide on the bottom, had banks four feet high, sloping not more than forty-five degrees.[10] Repair crews improved two "cuts" of the canal and masonry work at the headgate, and they built a wing and a wastewater spill.[11] In October, bad weather hampered the construction, so directors amassed some thirty teams to hurry the unfinished work.

Late in the fall of 1889 the big canal was completed, capable of carrying twice as much water as before.[12] In 1890, Davis county farmers benefited from the increased amount of irrigation water. The canal brought water to Syracuse, "making it possible to create some large acreages." The town of Sunset also benefited from the canal, "as did all of northern Davis County."[13] As it then stood, the canal started about four-fifths of a mile from the mouth of the Weber River and one-and-a-half miles below the Devil's Gate landmark. The channel extended southwesterly along the south bluffs of the Weber River and, nine miles from its start, reached the top of the bench and then descended through foothills and divided into three canals. One, three feet deep and twelve wide, carried water to Kaysville. Another, three feet deep and ten wide, moved water to Ogden. A third canal, three feet deep and eight wide, serviced Hooperville.[14]

DWCCC diversion point in lower Weber Canyon. (Courtesy DWCCC Archives)

Director

E. P. and Louis B. Adams joined the board of directors, elected to that position by stockholders on November 16, 1889. The two served with Smith, Steed, Thomas H. Hodson, William C. Parker, and William Binford. During the next two years, E. P. met regularly with the board and carried out company assignments, such as inspecting the canal and investigating damage claims.[15] During 1891, the directors responded to a myriad of problems. They appealed a court case brought against them by Cyrus Rawson, but the first district court dismissed their appeal. Another water company requested that the DWCCC turn the water from the canal into the river, which act would have deprived DWCCC of water. They worked out an agreement with the Davis County court regarding improvements on the Weber Canyon road, then solicited and obtained water shares from other irrigation companies, including Riverdale Irrigation. Directors hired an engineer to measure river water from the Davis and Weber headgate down the canals, to determine water loss due to sinkage. They dealt with debts owed to two banks and several individuals, including $300 E. P. had loaned them during a money pinch.[16]

When the DWCCC attorney urged them to file a suit in equity against all companies, individuals, or canals using water from the Weber River and its tributaries, a suit designed to establish all parties' rights to the water, the board assigned E. P. to discover who the users were. Records do not indicate what he found out.[17]

Gradually the DWCCC built branch canals, prompting new water users to sign up for the company's water. New customers meant more income. Constantly the directors felt pressure to provide bigger quantities of water to existing customers and for future ones. E. P. became the company's watchdog for the south branch of the canal. In early 1892, the board authorized him to have repairs made on the south branch and to have a sixteen-foot-wide bridge built over it on the street between two property owners.[18] To borrow $6,000 in 1892, the company mortgaged the canal.[19]

Several factors influenced the canal system's ability to deliver maximum amounts of water. Winter snowfall, spring rains, and summer dryness determined the quantity of stream flow of the Weber River. The canals carried water to farms along the way in the spring, but when hot weather came and the river shrank, the canals ran dry. Because other claimants had priority rights to the water, DWCCC was entitled to water only when there was a "surplus" in the river. So what usually happened was that by mid-summer each year, the DWCCC had to close its headgates and not use Weber water for the rest of the year, unless an unusually deep snowpack, rainy spring and summer, or cool spring and summer kept the river fuller than normal. On rare occasions, the company could provide water to its users until fall.[20]

But even with water available, the canals themselves could waste water due to seepage through canal bottoms or sides, cracks or breaks in the canals, growth of thirsty weeds along the canal banks, evaporation, and illegal taking of water by adjacent landowners. Canals needed to be kept clear of debris and plants. Headgates needed to be fitted properly. Amounts of water used by customers had to be kept to proper limits.

Reports recorded in the company minutes trace out seasons for the canal system. Generally, in October or November, water was emptied out of the channels. Workmen then cleaned and repaired damage and wear, including erosion, to the bottom and banks, lateral ditches, flumes,

and bridges. The irrigation season lasted from April or May into summer and sometimes into fall, and it required that company employees divert water, by using a weir,[21] from the river into the canal, maintain and inspect the system, monitor water amounts drawn by customers and shareholders, and repair leaks or breaks.

Vice-president

On November 19, 1892, E. P. became vice-president of the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company. That day the board elected a leadership team which, through annual reelections, directed the company for the next several years and led it to achieve two major projects: concreting major sections of the canal, and building the East Canyon dam and reservoir. The leadership team was President Louis B. Adams, Vice-president Ellison, and Secretary-treasurer J. C. Nye.

On January 4, 1893, consulting engineer Samuel Fortier presented to the board plans to improve the main canal, which then was suffering from cracks and sliding. They should concrete and brick in the sides of a 700-foot stretch of the canal, he said, to make it more durable and to lower water costs. Fortier took clay samplings and made specifications for "puddling" preparatory to concreting.[22] Puddling is the process of working clay or a similar substance with water to make a mixture that moisture cannot penetrate. Board members inspected his plans closely, then changed some specifications. They said to replace vertical walls with side walls of cement work on a slope with the bank. They reduced side walls in thickness to conform to the bottom. They specified that excavating work be done by contract, the puddling by the company. They insisted that contract cement be mixed on site and materials carefully weighed and watched. Fortier became the project's engineer and superintendent. They contracted with the firm of Hobson and Wilkerson to do the concrete work.[23] They hired Corry Brothers and Company to drive piles and construct a flume. The flume cost nearly $3,500, and a new cut for the canal nearly $1,600.[24]

That fall, 1893, the company also paid out $870 for damages to property and roads caused by an earthslide near the canal.[25]

The remodeled canal opened in the spring of 1894 and worked well.

About that time, E. P. raised a concern about how to monitor the water-users that season:

> May 18, 1894. On motion of E. P. Ellison the watchman was instructed to see all consumers on the main canal and make a record of the amount of land watered, kind of crops raised, the number of shares of stock used and whether owned or rented, and mode of measurement.

By August, the Weber River fell to its usual late-summer levels, so that the DWCCC canals received no water. Board members met at the flume in Weber Canyon and decided that it, too, should be lined in order to stop water seepage. They identified canal cleaning needs. But of pressing concern, they instructed engineer Fortier to investigate possible reservoir sites upriver.[26]

Fortier did as instructed. He selected "an excellent site for a dam site twelve miles south of Morgan in the Narrows, or Red Rock Gorge, of East Canyon Creek, the largest tributary of the upper Weber River."[27] On December 15, 1894, the board reviewed his final report, with maps and cost estimates for Fortier's Morgan County site. They voted to secure the site and to file for the right to build a rock-and-earth-filled dam there.[28] The next spring, on May 23rd, the board met at the "waste weir" to inspect the main canal. They examined repairs on a break in the canal and then decided to increase the stream flow day by day until the canal carried a full stream. They felt the new waste weir needed strengthening and that a ditch for discharge water needed repairs.

During the summer of 1895, E. P.'s labors for the DWCCC included negotiating with the Utah Orchard Company about damages to crops and land caused by a canal break and by the inspecting work performed by D. K. Egbert on the south branch of the canal.[29] An excellent water year meant the company could still provide users with water well into autumn. About five dozen water users petitioned to let water run longer than scheduled, so the board granted a one-week extension, to October 25. The board approved a thorough cleaning of the canal to restore it to proper dimensions of twenty feet wide and four feet deep and decided that the "Ballantyne Waste Weir" be rebuilt, supervised by E. P., Adams, and Hodson.[30]

The next spring, 1896, the board met at the main canal's headgate

from which the north and west branches extended, and inspected it. Then they went up the canal and picked a location for the waste weir.[31] At the 1896 stockholders' meeting, investors heard that the new weir had cost $3,000. But of bigger concern, civil engineer William M. Bostaph summarized for them a set of plans for building a dam on East Canyon Creek. They discussed possible dam heights and reservoir capacities. Convinced, the stockholders voted that the directors seek a loan with which to buy land and improve the proposed reservoir site.[32]

In early April 1897, a landslide near the canal blocked a Davis County road, a ditch of the South Weber Canal Company, and some private property. When charged with damages by all three parties, the board refused to pay. They claimed immunity from liability because there was no water in the canal at the time, the landscape was saturated by "much seasonal rain and snow," and the slide site itself was away from the canal.[33]

Planning East Canyon Dam

Utah changed its 1880 water laws in 1897, in the wake of Utah's gaining statehood in 1896. Legislation created the office of state engineer to inspect dams and monitor stream flows, thereby giving the state some public control over water matters.

During 1897, E. P. and the DWCCC board started the dam project. On August 28, they received a progress report about diggings at the site: that a load of cement was on the grounds, that excavators had found a ledge of rock suitable for the dam, and that workers had located sand more convenient to the site than expected.

With construction underway, the board discussed how to borrow the $50,000 needed to pay for the dam. They winced at one unfavorable offer of a ten-year, 10 percent loan, but had to consider it because "it seems irrigation securities are little called for by Eastern Capitalists, hence we will feel well satisfied if the present loan goes through."[34] They authorized J. S. Painter of Chicago to sell First Mortgage A Series Bonds of $50,000 in denominations of $500 each, the bonds bearing 8 percent interest per annum, to mature in twenty years, but payable at the

company's option after ten years.[35] Utah Mortgage Loan Company of Logan purchased the bond issue.[36]

During October 1897, E. P. and the board scrutinized bids for the dam's foundation work, then hired John Pignon.[37] But apparently no contract was negotiated until the next year. The company advertised for bids on the dam's main structure, running the ad in the *Engineering Record of New York* and local newspapers. On August 18, 1898, they opened the three bids they had received, found that none conformed to the specifications, and returned the estimates for amendments. Perham Brothers & Parker, out of Butte, Montana, joined with Andrews Bridge Company, headquarters not noted, and became the low bidders at $29,430. But the board countered by offering only $27,910. Andrews Bridge dropped out of the partnership, leaving Perham Brothers & Parker to build the dam.[38]

Construction work took place within a one-year period. Perham Brothers & Parker employed some one hundred local men to dig and move dirt and fill "by wheel-barrow, dirt scrapers, and teams of horses." Others "drilled and blasted with explosives in the rock sides."[39] Workmen excavated space for the dam down to bedrock, then poured in tons of cement and sand for foundations for a steel plate that crossed the narrow width between canyon walls. Ends of the dam penetrated nearly two feet into the rock walls of the canyon. Both sides of the steel plate wall across the canyon were coated with asphaltum concrete. Then, workers piled dry rubble masonry on both sides of this steel and concrete core. The dam top was ten feet wide and 120 feet long. At the dam's north end, a tunnel blasted through solid rock provided an outlet for the reservoir.[40]

Company President

Company directors elected in the fall of 1897 were Adams, Ellison, Steed, Binford, Jesse M. Smith, C. F. Middleton and J. C. Child.[41] A year later, President Adams resigned because he could no longer devote the time demanded by the job. So on December 6, 1898, the board elected E. P. to be the new president of the DWCCC, the first of twenty-nine terms for him in that office. Jesse M. Smith became the vice-president.

The new president took the company's helm at a time when the DWCCC was seeking a large loan and pushing the construction of its

first dam. At E. P.'s first board meeting as company president, he heard engineer Bostaph warn that unless the construction work was speeded up, the dam would not be completed on schedule. Responding, E. P. and the board ordered the contractors "to increase the force and hasten the delivery of materials to such extent as may be necessary to complete the work within the time specified in the contract." Mr. Bostaph's December 26, 1898 verbal progress report said in part:

> The tunnel was reported to be in good shape and the pipes and valves fully up to specifications. But stated that the contractors had shown seemingly carelessness in blasting for the spillway and it would necessitate considerable masonry work to replace the rock blasted away, and in view of this fact recommended that the plans be changed and a plank flume constructed for the lower end of the Waterway. Showing that it would be a saving in cost to the company, besides in all probability it would not be many years before the height of the dam would be raised, in which event masonry if put in would be practically lost.

Board members agreed with his recommendations. By April 1899, the bond sale had produced four-fifths of the $50,000 authorized. By then the company had paid $22,277.18 to Perham Brothers & Parker for work on the dam. Contractors agreed to install a plank flume, not a concrete one, for the lower end of the dam, at no cost to the company except for lumber furnished by DWCCC. State government officials asked about the dam's fish way, after which "Mr. Ellison reported having adjusted the matter by agreeing to build a fish way up the back of the dam, and that the same had been accepted by the state Fish Commission."[42]

East Canyon Dam

In 1899, without fanfare, the sixty-foot-high East Canyon Dam became operational. That spring and summer it backed up mountain waters, slowly creating a rising, spreading lake. Water released from the reservoir on August 3 created a stream flow of an estimated sixty second feet. The next day, the reservoir's water level had dropped four inches. Seventeen days later the drop had totalled forty-two inches.[43] The dam held, and inspections when the water lowered showed all was well. E. P. must have felt a sense of satisfaction and accomplishment to see the dam and reservoir working well.

East Canyon Dam, 1899

Canals had barely received water from the new dam before E. P. and the board looked at ways to raise the dam's height. More water meant more profits and expanded agricultural development in north Davis County. The first dam created a reservoir area of 226 acres holding some 167 million cubic feet, or 3,834 acre feet. In the farming season 1900, the first waters flowed from East Canyon Dam, about thirty miles down East Canyon Creek and the Weber River to the DWCCC headgates. "This private enterprise, organized and led by local water users, had proven a success. The company was able to deliver water to twelve thousand acres of land in Davis and Weber counties, which otherwise would have had limited use."[44]

Other water companies using the Weber looked at the dam with some envy. The Wilson Canal Company asked to be allowed to join the venture to help make possible the higher dam, but was turned down. At E. P.'s request, engineer Bostaph prepared cost estimates for raising the dam, then about sixty feet high, to 100 feet, and projected how many acre feet of water such a dam could store.[45] That fall, DWCCC directors reelected E. P. and the other officers.[46]

In 1900, DWCCC started the water year on March 15 when it released river water into its canals. Dropping river levels required that the dam's gates open on June 2. The reservoir water level fell quickly. On

August 18, the board learned that "water in the reservoir would last but a short time" longer. E. P. discovered his company taking more than its share of the canal water, as the August 18, 1900, minutes report:

> President Ellison made a verbal report as to difficulty in keeping water in the canal by reason of the dam at the head-gates being tampered with. And finally by agreement with Hooper and Wilson Irrigation companies the gates at the reservoir were closed down and measurements of East Canyon and the river were made; also the amount of water in our flume, and it was found that we were taking 4.5 feet more water than we were entitled to and the gates were ordered closed down to 40 feet, shutting out 6.5 feet of water leaving 2 feet less than we were entitled to under the measurements.

Raising the Dam's Height

During the summer of 1900, the board, which met regularly by then at the company's office at 407 24th Street in Ogden, reviewed a lawsuit brought by the Hooper Irrigation Company. Then they voted to increase the canal capacity by 25 percent and the capital stock by $50,000—to $250,000.[47] Stockholders on October 3, by a vote of 2944 to 34, approved plans to raise the height of the dam that winter. J. C. Child was instructed on October 9 to go immediately to the dam, take out the spillway and fish ladder, and protect the valve chamber and steel plate preparatory to the work of blasting rocks.

On October 18 the board accepted Utah Construction Company's bid to raise the dam twenty-five feet, and E. P. negotiated a contract with them. All winter, construction crews worked on the new dam wall. By spring 1901, Utah Construction Company received final payments for its work.

In 1901 the newly raised East Canyon Dam was operational. Rather than increasing the dam size to a hundred feet high as originally planned, the new dam was eighty-three feet, or about twenty-five feet higher than before. The higher dam greatly expanded the reservoir's water capacity, from 167 to 387 million cubic feet.[48]

DWCCC personnel constantly struggled to keep adjacent landowners from trespassing. To cite one example, in 1901, people living along the South Branch Canal had blocked the right-of-way along the canal

with fences, gates, and pipes. E. P. "talked with some of the parties having fences across said right of way and all expressed a willingness to put in a good and convenient gate, and asked for more time."[49] Stockholders at the November 16, 1901, annual meeting elected the company's board: E. P., Louis B. Adams, Charles F. Middleton, John R. Barnes, T. J. Steed, Jesse M. Smith, and James G. Wood. This board in turn reelected E. P. as president, chose Louis B. Adams as vice-president, and retained Nye as secretary and treasurer.[50]

The Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company now had a solid foundation for growth and improvements as it faced the twentieth century. Through E. P.'s hands-on leadership in developing a good canal system and constructing two dams, he gained expertise in water systems that he would later use to benefit other of his ventures, particularly sugar manufacturing and ranching.

NOTES

1. On early irrigation in Utah see Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900*, 1966, 52–53; Brough, *Irrigation in Utah;* Peterson, "Imprint Agricultural Systems on the Utah Landscape," in Jackson, ed., *The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West;* Peterson, "History of Agriculture in Utah," in Sutton, *Utah, A Centennial History,* 65–75, 82–84, 98–105; and Sadler and Roberts, *The Weber River Basin: Grass Roots Democracy and Water Development*.
2. Sadler and Roberts, *The Weber River Basin*, 104.
3. Ibid., 104–105.
4. "Record of Central Canal Company, Incorporated 12 February 1881," corporate minutes, located at Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company office, Ogden, Utah. Stockholders are listed in the minutes for May 1, 1883, as is capital stock information. Cited hereafter as DWCCC Minutes.
5. DWCCC Minutes, Sept. 20, 1884.
6. Ibid., Mar. 13, 1884. These minutes are in the same volume containing the Central Canal Company minutes.
7. Sadler and Roberts, *The Weber River Basin*, 118.
8. DWCCC Minutes, July 9, 1889.
9. Ibid., June 29, 1889.
10. Ibid., Aug. 20, 1889.
11. Ibid., Sept. 30, 1889.
12. Ibid., Oct. 7 and 22, 1889.
13. Sadler and Roberts, *The Weber River Basin*, 66.

14. Ibid., 118; DWCCC Minutes, June 15, 1892.
15. Ibid., May 14 and 28, 1891.
16. Ibid., July 28, 1889.
17. Ibid., Oct. 15, 1891.
18. Ibid., Mar. 19, 1892.
19. Ibid., June 15, 1892.
20. Sadler and Roberts, *The Weber River Basin*, 118.
21. A weir is a low diversion dam that raises the river's level enough to divert water into the canal.
22. DWCCC Minutes, Jan. 27, 1893.
23. Ibid., Feb. 3, 1893.
24. Ibid., Feb. 21 and June 30, 1893.
25. Ibid., Nov. 18, 1893.
26. Ibid., Aug. 18, 1893.
27. Sadler and Roberts, *The Weber River Basin*, 118.
28. They filed to build a dam under Sections 18–21 of an Act of Congress dated Mar. 3, 1891, entitled "An Act to Repeal Timber Culture Laws and for Other Purposes."
29. DWCCC Minutes, Aug. 23, 1895.
30. Ibid., summer entries, and those for Oct. 8 and Nov. 14, 1895.
31. Ibid., Mar. 8, 1896.
32. Ibid., Nov. 21, 1896.
33. Ibid., May 7, 1897.
34. Ibid., Sept. 18, 1897.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., Dec. 6, 1897.
37. Ibid., Oct. 8, 1897.
38. Ibid., Sept. 20, 1898.
39. Sadler and Roberts, *The Weber River Basin*, 119.
40. Ibid., 119.
41. DWCCC Minutes, Nov. 20, 1897.
42. Ibid., April 1, 1899.
43. Ibid., Aug. 23, 1899.
44. Sadler and Roberts, *The Weber River Basin*, 119–120.
45. DWCCC Minutes, Nov. 18, 1899.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., Aug. 18 and Sept. 11, 1900.
48. Ibid., April 30, 1901; Sadler and Roberts, *The Weber River Basin*, 120; Wilde, "Defining Efficient Water Resource Management in the Weber Drainage Basin, Utah," thesis, 24; United States Department of Interior, *East Canyon Dam: Standing Operations Procedure*, 28.
49. DWCCC Minutes, Aug. 22, 1901.
50. Ibid., Nov. 23, 1901.

CHAPTER TEN
LAYTON LEADER

Not many people become subjects, as E. P. Ellison did, of three state supreme court decisions, a lawsuit appealed to the United States Supreme Court, and a Church court hearing conducted by three LDS Apostles. Although E. P.'s ventures into politics were brief, through them he helped to develop his county and to lead Layton's secession from Kaysville City. Politically, E. P. first represented his townspeople on school matters. Then, voters elected him a selectman in the county court, a body similar to a county commission. Finally, armed with experience in the inner workings of government and its proper limits, he led Layton's drive for independence. His political work won him name recognition beyond northern Davis County, particularly within Utah's legal community and among LDS Church leaders.

School Trustee

One of E. P.'s first community service involvements was in behalf of local schools. In 1880 the south part of what became Layton belonged to the Eighth School District, which included all of Kaysville. At some point during the 1880s, E. P. served as a trustee of this district, along with E. A. Williams and L. R. Phillips. Apparently they played a part in the building of a brick schoolhouse in late 1881 "near Enoch King's." The school measured thirty-two by twenty feet, with walls three bricks thick. It cost taxpayers $1265.00.[1]

County Selectman, 1890–1892

In 1890, E. P. ran for and on August 4 was elected to a two-year term as a selectman on the Davis County Court. His father had served in that office in 1869, by appointment.[2] The court consisted of a federally appointed judge and three or more elected selectmen. On October 1,


TERRITORY OF UTAH.

To all who shall see these presents, Greeting:

Know Ye, That whereas, E. P. Ellison

was, on the Tenth day of August 1890, duly elected a Selectman in and for Davis County,

and he having duly qualified as such, as appears by the proper evidence on file in the Office of the Secretary of the Territory,

Therefore I, Arthur L. Thomas Governor of said Territory, do hereby commission him a Selectman in and for said County

and authorize and empower him to discharge the duties of said Office according to law, and to enjoy the rights and emoluments thereunto legally appertaining for the term prescribed by law, and until his successor shall be elected and qualified to office.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of said Territory to be affixed.

Done at Salt Lake City, this 20th day of September A. D. 1890, and of the Independence of the United States the One Hundred and 15th

By the Governor: Elijah Sells Secretary of Utah Territory

Selectman Commission for E. P. Ellison, August 1890, signed by Utah Territorial Governor Arthur L. Thomas

E. P. took his seat on the court, replacing Thomas F. Rouche, the court's real workhorse during previous years. Also presenting their credentials with E. P. were new sheriff Elijah Laycock and new county clerk James H. Wilcox.[3]

The Davis County Court met twice monthly in Farmington, the county seat. One big responsibility it bore was for the county's roads. The selectmen worked with the county road commissioner and the county supervisor of highways. They created road districts within the county, appointed district road supervisors, heard the supervisors' reports, voted funds for district road work, and set road policies. E. P. and the other court members made decisions about where roads ran, how to keep them clear of obstructions and junk, when to pave with shale and when with gravel, how to maintain the roadbeds, especially after winter or thunderstorms, where to require culverts for moving water underneath the roads, and where to build bridges and how best to repair existing ones.

Selectmen had authority for running the county's schools. They determined school district boundaries and monitored the work of the

county superintendent of schools. They had responsibilities for licensing businesses, granting telephone and natural gas franchises and railroad rights-of-way, providing for public health, caring for the needy, and ensuring law enforcement. They also oversaw the assessing, collecting, and appropriating of property taxes. Every year, during July and August, the court turned itself into a board of equalization to hear taxpayers' requests to change county tax assessments. In 1891, E. P. and the court met fourteen times for this purpose, and eleven times in 1892.

When Selectman Ellison joined the court, county officials were in the process of moving into a new courthouse and razing the old one. During the move, the court still conducted its normal business. In November, it awarded William Cottrell a contract to remove the old courthouse and grade the grounds. It approved the purchase of linoleum for the ground floor office and hall of the new courthouse, as well as items such as shovels, mats, stove pipe, and hat racks.[4] On December 7, 1891, the court accepted a bid from Stewart Iron Works to erect an iron fence around the new building.

Not long after E. P. joined the court, it handled a petition, denied by the previous court, from Alice A. and M. M. Whitesides, his relatives. The couple requested to be separated from School District Eight. The court approved the petition, thereby causing a change in school district boundaries.

The county needed better maps, so on E. P.'s motion, the court ordered that civil engineer H. S. Joseph be retained for sixty-five dollars to draw a map clarifying several areas. In particular they wanted better details relating to several bodies of water in or bordering the county, including the meanderings of Hot Spring Lake, the Jordan River, and the Great Salt Lake, including Antelope Island, "showing on said map the lake or river line on each lot or parcel of land."[5]

On November 17, 1890, the court authorized E. P. to spend $228 to grade with shale thirty-five rods of Highway One running north of the Adams and Sons store, and to obtain thirty dollars worth of shale to improve a road "west from Mrs. Craig's in Layton precinct." Residents agreed to donate some of the labor needed to upgrade both roads. Such assignments indicate that the court felt that E. P. should handle county matters relating to his home area in what became Layton.

Layton Depot, ca. 1896

By court appointment, E. P. worked with Weber County representatives to correct faults in the Devil's Gate Bridge, a wooden structure spanning the Weber River a few miles up Weber Canyon, east of Uintah and South Weber. Late in 1891, E. P. and a "practical bridge builder" inspected the span, and they advised both counties to replace the wooden abutments with rock ones. Morgan County, bordering the bridge, refused to help. Minor repairs, however, did not make the bridge safe enough. So in mid-March, 1892, E. P. was delegated to prepare and post notices on the south end of the bridge, forbidding anyone from driving more than ten head of horses or cattle, or fifty sheep at one time.[6]

By fall 1892, both counties agreed to replace the risky bridge with "a new iron bridge." E. P. solicited bids for the project. Even after his term of office ended that November, he agreed to see the bridge project through to completion. In January 1893, he was part of a two-county committee that accepted the Toledo Bridge Company's bid. For $1,345, Toledo Bridge agreed to disassemble the old bridge, build and paint the new one by March 20, and not to hinder public traffic for more than five days.[7]

The Great Salt Lake and Hot Springs Railroad Company requested a right-of-way for tracks running from Bountiful to Farmington. On December 22, 1890, the court asked the railroad for a plat showing the

route intended, and ordered the railroad to pay a tax of two mills on the dollar of gross earnings in Davis County. Eight months later, after negotiations, the court granted the railway a franchise by a two-to-one vote—E. P. voted in favor.[8] However, when the railroad company started work before it signed the franchise agreement, the court halted the project temporarily.[9]

Selectmen handled a request that a Centerville road be moved from one side of the Union Pacific railroad tracks to the other. They granted to Davis County Natural Gas Company the right to lay pipes under streets and highways of the county to carry gas for lighting and fuel. The court required that the pipes be three feet from the edge of sidewalks and at least one foot underground and that the company leave the streets and highways in as good condition as before the project began.[10]

In January 1891, the court created a new fee structure for licenses for merchants, peddlers, sewing machine agents, butchers or slaughterers, operators of restaurants and lunch stands, auctioneers, traveling shows, theatricals, menageries, circuses, pool and billiard tables, "nine or ten pin alleys," and shooting galleries.[11] Court members considered applications for liquor licenses. On February 4, 1891, the court granted a three-month license to retail intoxicating liquor at Layton precinct to Day and Company, for $200. As a practicing Latter-day Saint, E. P. probably felt somewhat bothered when his votes on liquor licenses made possible the increased sale and consumption of liquor in his county.

On March 16, 1891, when the court conducted a public auction at the courthouse to sell a parcel of land in Farmington, E. P. acted as auctioneer and sold the lot for $1,400.

Davis County needed a decent jail, its single jail cell in "Mr. Steed's building" being inadequate.[12] Early in 1891, an agent of the Pauley Jail Building and Manufacturing Company showed the court a set of jail plans. Court members then visited Salt Lake City on April 6 to tour the Utah penitentiary to gain information about jail features. On April 20, after careful consideration of Pauley's specifications, the court approved them. It ordered the county clerk to advertise for bids by May 4 for constructing the new facility. With bids in, the court accepted the Pauley Company's $4,000 bid to build a jail having two steel cells and an iron one, two male cells and a female one. On July 1 the court noted that the

jail was completed according to contract, so it ordered the old cell removed from Mr. Steed's building. With the jail ready for prisoners, on August 15 the court stipulated that the county would pay one dollar per day for the feeding and care of any prisoner.

A wide range of county business received the court's attention while E. P. was a selectman. For example, on November 17, 1890, the men approved a plan for White and Sons, slaughterhouse operators, to install a culvert under a county road to carry "clear" water from the plant. This was needed because of a county complaint about bloody water washing across the road. On March 16, 1891, the court created new road districts for the county and then appointed a road supervisor for each. A month later, the court gave Morgan County eight dollars to pay that county for letting "transitory herds" from Davis County spend the previous summer there.[13] That fall, the court heard a report from County Superintendent of Schools Andrew B. Cook.[14]

In the August 3, 1891 elections, Aaron B. Porter and Philander Hatch became selectmen serving one-year terms. As a result, E. P., with a year left of his two-year term, became the senior selectman. Both newcomers reported their credentials to the court on September 21. That day, the surviving members of the court—E. P. and Judge Hector W. Haight—issued a resolution of praise and thanks for the two departing selectmen. James H. Wilcox continued as the county clerk.

Early in 1892 the court responded to a diphtheria outbreak in the county's north end by engaging Doctor D. M. Wilcox to accompany Quarantine Physician Jesse W. Smith to examine the victims.[15]

The sad situation of a county resident with two blind children and a third child rapidly growing blind came before the court, which asked E. P. to investigate. On March 7, 1892, E. P. reported that he found William Barnes's two boys, ages sixteen and eleven, were totally blind, and a nine-year-old boy was almost blind. All three had experienced fits or seizures. The court asked E. P. to find out what kind of assistance the parents wanted. On December 20, 1892, he recommended that the court appropriate fifty dollars to help the family.

When spring arrived in 1892, the court received requests for new roads to be built in Hooper and Syracuse precincts. E. P. investigated and discovered that much grading and several culverts were needed. So the

court authorized the District Two road supervisor to spend $300 on the roads, the money to come from the 1892 tax revenues.[16] E. P. also investigated a proposed road from Kaysville to the Mountain Road:

> Selectman Ellison reported that in company with the surveyor he had gone over the proposed road from Kaysville to the mountain road and finds it will be a better road than the old one. John Ellison will sell what land we need about 3/4 of an acre for $50 per acre and the cost of a 3 wire fence for about 40 rods. Dunmer and Openshaw will give a deed to the balance of the land necessary if the county will pay the cost of a new fence a distance of about 168 rods; it will take about $30 of work to put the road in a fairly passable condition, the Mayor of Kaysville thinks the city will bear at least 1/4 of the cost of opening the road which is estimated at about $135.

On June 20, E. P. reported that Knight and Company, on whose land the old road ran, would pay fifty dollars toward the expense of opening this new road. The court accepted the plan and ordered that Knight and Company send the money, after which the court would issue its order that the road across the Knight land be abandoned. By August 1, the court received the money and closed the old road. On October 13, the plat for the new Kaysville to Mountain Road road was filed with the county.

Among a miscellany of tasks the court tackled in 1892, it published 200 copies of "Instructions to Road Supervisors," wrote and revised an "Order Establishing a Tree Line" along county roads, and recommended that a thirty-foot stone culvert be installed near Thistle Mills in E. P.'s road district.[17] On August 3, the court approved a plan submitted by Mountain Bell to erect telephone poles along Highway One. On September 6, E. P. and the court approved a petition signed by 152 residents who wanted Bountiful to be declared a city of the third class. It was so declared, and elections were set for November 8.

Late in 1892 the selectmen dealt with the problem of creating a county road on the east side of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad tracks north of the train station in Kaysville.[18] Joseph Barton, Charles Barnes, and others agreed to make land available for the project.[19] E. P. visited railroad officials early in December and asked them to help with graveling the road from their station toward the Kaysville station on the Union Pacific tracks. On November 3, he reported the railroad agreed to provide gravel

for the road, forty cars of 123 yards each, at the cost of four dollars per car. The court accepted this offer and appropriated $250 for the project.[20]

Salt Lake mining magnate Simon Bamberger, a promoter of the Great Salt Lake and Hot Springs Railway Company, was building a railroad line connecting Salt Lake City, the amusement resort that became Lagoon, and Ogden, and he wanted to put his tracks in the middle of the new highway in Kaysville. E. P. fought it. He told Mr. Bamberger that the traffic on the highway through Davis County would eventually become so great that the tracks would have to be moved. Mr. Bamberger bought another right-of-way.[21]

By way of postscript, Bamberger, later realizing how insightful E. P.'s opinion had been, instructed his trains' operators to stop for Mr. Ellison to board anywhere and let him get off anywhere he wanted. Although E. P. had a lifetime pass, he usually paid for his ticket whenever he rode the Bamberger.

During county elections in November 1892, E. P. ran for reelection. By then, in Utah Territory, national political parties were forming to replace the local Peoples and Liberal parties. One day while E. P. was sitting in a court session he received a message from the Democrats. They said that if he would ally himself with their party they would nominate and reelect him. "If you place my name on *that* ticket," he replied, "I'll fail to qualify." Instead, the Republican convention nominated him for reelection. (E. P., the family affirms, was a lifelong Republican.)[22] On election eve, November 3, 1892, the *Davis County Clipper* endorsed candidate Ellison:

> E. P. ELLISON. Wanted by the citizens for one of the Selectmen. . . . The above is endorsed by many of the intelligent thinking men of our county. An old hand of experience would be the guiding star to avoid snags to which new men are liable to strike. . . . We have had in our county court during the past two years a broad gaged selectman, a man of quick perceptions, good business qualifications, whose integrity no person in the county will question.
>
> A gentleman who has worked earnestly for the improvement and welfare of the whole county on nonpartisan lines. One who was born and educated in Davis County and now enjoys the honor of being one of their most enterprising citizens. We now refer to Mr. E. P. Ellison who has now the esteem and confidence of every true patriot in our county and deserves the honor of receiving the majority of votes for selectman next November Election irrespective of partizan lines. [Signed] Frank.

But when the votes were tallied, E. P. had lost. Newly elected selectmen replaced E. P., Hatch, and Porter. As was customary, the court issued a resolution citing the three for services well performed for the county. The trio in turn entered a testimonial into the court minutes praising Judge Haight's impartial actions and service—Judge Haight was reappointed to his judgeship by U. S. President Benjamin Harrison, so he continued on the court.[23]

A good assessment of E. P.'s service as a selectman is not possible because appraisals by his contemporaries regarding his county work are lacking. County records show only that he attended meetings and functions he was supposed to attend, expressed opinions, took stands on issues, spent hundreds of hours carrying out assignments issued by the board, and seemed to execute his elected duties in a responsible manner. The county benefited from his investigations, decisions, and labors. County work was carried out acceptably, untainted by scandal or major controversy, which is a tribute to E. P. and the others on the court.

By the time E. P. left office, he understood rather well how the county system of government worked. His familiarity with government agencies and his contacts with civic officers served him well in subsequent years. Even after he departed from the court, its minutes occasionally noted that he appeared to bring in or respond to matters needing the court's attention. For example, on July 2, 1894, he and thirty-seven others petitioned to have the court appoint Thomas Evans as a meat inspector for the north county. (This was twelve years before Upton Sinclair's novel *The Jungle* exposed meat packing abuses so ugly that the nation passed its first Pure Food and Drug Act in 1906.) The court denied the petition, saying the petitioners failed to show need.

But the meat issue produced much discussion and fact-finding, As a consequence, by fall, the court appointed a meat inspector. Animal owners, not the county, agreed to pay for the inspection costs. E. P. and forty others then petitioned again that Thomas Evans be appointed as a meat inspector, and on October 1 the court granted the request.

Further promoting the reform, the court published a bulletin explaining the need for inspections and the procedures. All cattle on the hoof intended for immediate slaughter and conscription for food, the bulletin said, must be inspected at the owner's residence. This was to

discover any animals suffering from hog cholera, swine plague, anthrax, scab, limpy jaw, inflamed lungs, tuberculosis, or tape worm cysts. Hogs, sheep and calves cost five cents each to inspect, cattle ten cents. But if more than five animals were inspected at once, the fee was cut in half. Owners had to pay the inspector's mileage.[24]

Layton Secession, 1884–1902

In 1868, when Kaysville became Davis County's first incorporated city, it included but five square miles. But by 1873, two annexations had increased the size to twenty-three square miles. Its vast area made it "a town too unwieldy to be properly governed." E. P. and many other residents in what became Layton decided it was wrong to pay Kaysville's assessments when the city provided them few basic services in return. Why pay taxes for roads, for example, when the county, not Kaysville City, serviced the roads in their section?

A beginning confrontation involved a one-dollar dog registration fee, which the rural sheepmen, whose dogs protected sheep from coyotes, felt was an unjust tax. That fee was soon dropped.[25] But in 1884, Kaysville assessed extra taxes in order to build new water lines, roads, bridges, a cemetery, a dog pound, and possibly a jail—none of them in the Layton section. E. P. complained about the tax imposition and started what became for him, his family, and his businesses, a twenty-year battle against Kaysville[26]; the contest began in 1887 when the Farmers Union board voted not to pay a thirty-dollar tax notice, claiming the tax had not been properly assessed.[27]

Several events in the Layton area in the late 1880s fostered feelings of separateness. In 1886 a post office was established in Layton. Responding to petitions, the county court on March 12, 1889, created Layton and Syracuse voting precincts and appointed for them a justice of the peace, a constable, and a poundkeeper. Then the Davis Stake created for Layton its own ward in September 1889, first calling it the Kaysville 2nd Ward, but three years later the Layton Ward.[28]

In 1888, 1889, and 1890, E. P. refused to pay Kaysville fees and taxes.[29] His 1889 refusal produced a lawsuit that was ultimately appealed to the United States Supreme Court. The trouble began when Kaysville

city fathers decided to construct a new city hall and obligated citizens to pay off a $5,000 indebtedness for it. Layton taxpayers protested, and the Farmers Union board helped fund a legal fight against the taxes.[30] E. P. hired an attorney, who demanded refunds for Layton residents of taxes previously paid under protest.[31] The effort failed, and Kaysville authorities demanded the taxes. Tax collector James H. Linford, Jr., confiscated a wagon belonging to E. P. and sold it for unpaid municipal property taxes. E. P. responded by having his lawyer file a lawsuit against the collector.[32]

In district court, Justice Charles J. Zane tried the case of *Ellison v. Linford* without calling a jury. E. P. contended the tax was illegal because his property was so distant from Kaysville that it received no benefits from the tax. Judge Zane decided in E. P.'s favor, concluding that Kaysville's claim to jurisdiction over E. P.'s neighborhood was

> Illegal and void, as to the land which cannot by any possibility be benefited by municipal government; . . . to impose tax upon such lands is contrary to that part of the Constitution which provides that private property shall not be taken for public purposes without just compensation . . . [and] to tax him would be to take his property without just compensation.[33]

Judge Zane ordered Kaysville to pay E. P. fifty dollars for the confiscated wagon, plus court costs. But Kaysville appealed the decision to the Utah Territorial Supreme Court.[34]

Meanwhile, pending the appeal, the Kaysville city council was "in a quandary" about whether or not to tax the outlying settlements.[35] On February 4, 1891, the territorial court upheld the Zane ruling.[36] But Kaysville, refusing to give up, appealed the case to the United States Supreme Court. Three years later, in November 1894, the high court dismissed the case because the costs involved were too small for its authority to handle.[37] E. P. had finally won his court battle with Kaysville. The verdict proved, he felt, that Layton was not legally part of Kaysville.

From 1891 to 1898, Kaysville stopped collecting taxes, afraid to discriminate by taxing some parts of the city but not others. Finally, facing terrible financial and court pressures, it resumed taxing in 1898. When it tried to collect license fees in Layton that March, E. P. and others refused to pay what they felt was an illegal fee. Farmers Union records

show that Kaysville City billed the store, "demanding the payment of License for merchant, coal dealer and lumber dealer." E. P., discussing the matter with the store's board on March 22, said the coal license matter was his own, not the store's.[38] Board secretary James Ellison read from the court decision in the *Ellison v. Linford* case, and "after considerable discussion" the board rejected Kaysville's demand because courts had already held "that we are not within the jurisdiction of Kaysville City."

Two days later, Kaysville ordered E. P. to pay for a city license to be a merchant. He refused. The next day, March 25, Kaysville's marshall arrested him and Rufus Adams, the manager of the Adams and Sons general store, for conducting business without a license.[39] Like colonial Sons of Liberty fighting British tyranny, E. P. and Rufus Adams posted a call that day for public support:

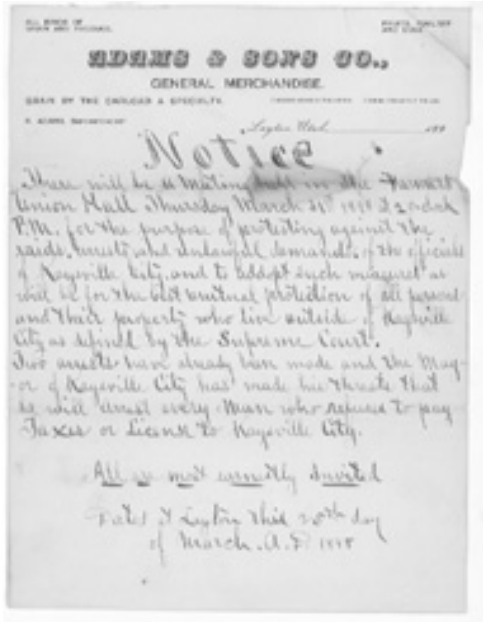
Notice

There will be a meeting in the Farmers Union hall Thursday March 31st 1898 at 2 o'clock P.M. for the purpose of protesting against the raids, arrests and unlawful demands of the officials of Kaysville City and to adopt such measures as will be for the best mutual protection of all persons and their property who live outside of Kaysville City as defined by the Supreme Court. Two arrests have already been made and the Mayor of Kaysville City has made his threats that he will arrest every Man who refused to pay Taxes or License to Kaysville City.[40]

All are most earnestly invited

As a result of the protest meeting, sixty-seven residents pledged their financial backing to test "the Kaysville License question."[41] Again, a legal struggled ensued. When E. P. and Adams were convicted and fined, they filed an appeal. On May 27, 1898, the District Court of the Second Judicial District for Davis County rendered a judgment in favor of E. P., again on the grounds that Layton was not part of Kaysville. Again, Kaysville appealed, and the case of *Kaysville v. Ellison* went to the Utah State Supreme Court. While the appeal was pending, E. P. and Layton merchants asked Davis County to license their businesses. But the county clerk and attorney refused, saying they could not license firms within an incorporated city's boundaries.

In July of 1898, Kaysville assessed a five mill tax levy on properties within the city limits. When E. P. refused to pay taxes that month, the


ADAMS & SONS CO.,
GENERAL MERCHANDISE.
Notice

Handwritten notice of meeting regarding Layton succession from Kaysville, March 1898

city put the Farmers Union and Layton Milling and Elevator Company on its Tax Sale list.[42]

On December 8, 1898, the Utah Supreme Court handed down its decision.[43] Judge Zane, who had handled the *Ellison v. Linford* case in 1891, heard and decided the *Kaysville v. Ellison* case, too. He ruled that Kaysville could not require licenses from businesses that did not benefit from the fees. He chided Kaysville when he suggested that defendant Ellison's store "would be more valuable, and the people of Layton would be better off if there were no such city as Kaysville." This statement "added insult to injury as the verdict again favored Ellison" and left Kaysville to struggle with the dilemma of how to pay its debts without being able to tax part of its citizens.[44]

Changing tactics in January 1899, Kaysville Mayor John G. M. Barnes tried to extend Kaysville police and street services to Layton—to provide services in return for taxes. But Layton residents, who had court proof they were not part of Kaysville, balked, even threatening to arrest collectors, since they had been told by legal counsel that "it is a statutory offense to assume to be an officer and exercise that jurisdiction

E. P. and Elizabeth Ellison, ca. id-1890s

when one is not."[45] On January 25, ninety-seven Layton residents signed petitions to the Board of County Commissioners protesting Kaysville's plan to change road districts "so as to include some part of the precinct of Layton."[46] Meanwhile, by mid-January, the Davis County clerk notified Layton merchants that, because of the *Kaysville v. Ellison* decision, he would license their businesses.

Meanwhile, the civic strife began to stir up LDS church members. Local brothers and sisters in the gospel began to take sides against each other. Some Mormons over in Kaysville talked of voting against E. P. as a stake high councilman. Seeing contention divide his flock, Kaysville Ward Bishop Peter Barton took the matter to the stake presidency. The presidency appealed to the First Presidency for help. This brought three Apostles to the community to see if Church court action were needed.[47]

Unlike most church leadership meetings, the one held on January 13, 1899, in Kaysville was most exciting. Present were Apostles Francis M. Lyman, Marriner W. Merrill, and Anthon H. Lund; the Davis Stake presidency; and factions from Kaysville and Layton. Kaysville Mayor Hyrum Stewart was spokesman for Kaysville, and E. P. defended Layton's position. Kaysville officials accused E. P. of unwillingness to compromise as expected of brothers in the gospel who had differences of opinion. In response, E. P., bothered by talk that he would be voted against in stake

conference as a high councilman, "wanted to know if the case was against Ellison or Layton." It was pointed out that because E. P. "assumed the burden of leadership" of the protesters, "much of the animosity was directed against him personally."

E. P. explained that Layton defenders had received short notice of the meeting—on purpose, he implied—so they had not had time to prepare organized remarks. "However, Ellison responded and represented their viewpoint." He reviewed the some fifteen years of disagreement, his reasons for his own refusal to pay taxes since Kaysville's first "unfair" taxation in 1884, his arrests, and the court decisions that favored Layton's position. Elias Adams summarized the feelings of seventy or eighty Layton residents when he told the Apostles: "We want to get out of the city by all means." Elder Lyman asked if Layton protesters would help bear the burden of the taxes owed? E. P. said he was "willing to help pay the debt when the fight is ended."[48]

The Apostles decided that LDS Church courts had no jurisdiction in the case and advised each party to employ legal help to make "a friendly submission of all their legal questions to the District Court" regarding boundaries and debts. The Apostles then met with the local Saints and announced their decision, which was sustained by vote of those assembled. A committee of seven—three from Kaysville and four from the "suburbs"—was appointed to try to settle the matters. E. P. was one of the seven.[49]

A brief period of conciliation followed.[50] At mass meetings, negotiators tried to agree on a fair tax rate for Layton to pay. Kaysville wanted seven mills, Layton five, so both sides agreed in April to six mills.[51] But the compromising mood was killed when the Utah State Supreme Court decided in *Kimball v. Grantsville City* that local governments could tax all property within their boundaries whether or not an area received direct benefits. Kaysville officials were elated, believing they could now tax and require licenses in Layton. They quickly disavowed the compromise the committee had framed, and ordered the city marshall to collect business fees retroactive to the previous May 1. When Layton's William Flint was arrested for lacking a Kaysville business license, Layton protests flared again.[52]

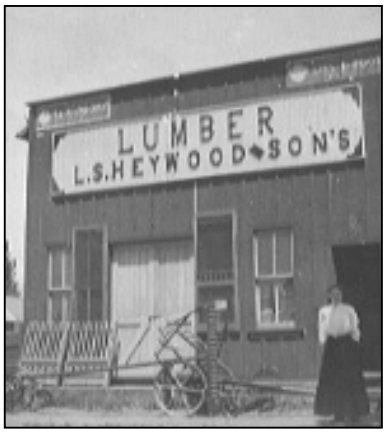
Meanwhile, some Layton merchants, including E. P., agreed to

obtain three-month permits until legal options could be explored. But E. P. refused to renew the licenses on the grounds that Kaysville had violated its agreement with Layton by assessing property taxes again.[53] He operated his store without a county or city license. On August 7, he was told by county clerk Thomas Phillips that the county had once again decided it could not grant licenses to people living within Kaysville city's corporate boundaries.[54] On August 8, E. P. informed Kaysville's city recorder: "I have no intention of changing my mind on the License question, but positively refuse to take out any License from Kaysville city."[55]

Kaysville officials reacted by filing criminal charges against E. P., son James Ellison, and the Farmers Union store.[56] In August 1899, E. P. was arrested on three charges: for selling merchandise, coal, and lumber without taking out a license from Kaysville City. He was tried before a city judge, found guilty, and fined sixty, fifty-five, and fifty dollars for the infractions. E. P. immediately appealed. The *Davis County Clipper* predicted "another long legal war."[57]

Early in October, the Kaysville marshall arrested James Ellison for selling goods at the Farmers Union. According to a favorite Ellison family story about this arrest, James was a young clerk at the store when the marshall and another man entered and asked for a plug of chewing tobacco. Jim reached for it, and the marshall arrested him for selling merchandise without a license. The two men then went to E. P. Ellison's residence and confiscated a new sixty-five dollar wagon—a high price for a wagon—and his dog, which always brought in the cows to be milked.[58] It is not known if either the wagon or dog was returned.

On February 2, 1900, E. P.'s conviction for selling coal without a city license was upheld by an appeals court. By then he and most Layton residents were impatient to settle the long-drawn-out conflict. They sent a petition containing 211 taxpayers' signatures to the district court asking that Kaysville's boundaries be reduced. At an April 23 hearing, Judge Henry H. Rolapp ruled in their favor. He declared that Layton was "but an ordinary farming community and had no necessity for city government."[59] Since Christopher Layton was the first to sign the petition, E. P. suggested that the town be called Layton. At long last, Layton residents had their victory.



Downtown Layton in the early 1900s

However, implementing the decision to reduce Kaysville's boundaries took some work. The same seven-man compromise committee, which included E. P., created after the Apostles' visit, tackled the liability questions.[60] These negotiators ruled that delinquent taxes must be paid but that such should then be refunded. By a final agreement announced on May 27, 1901, Layton residents were ordered to pay all 1898 unpaid taxes plus a one mill tax for 1899, after which Kaysville would refund four mills. This agreement won court approval on August 26. By December, most of the back-taxes were paid. Judge Rolapp, wanting the problem ended, reduced the amounts owed by some of the slow-to-pay people. The final decree, removing Layton from Kaysville, was issued on March 1, 1902. Finally, Layton had won its separation from Kaysville. It became part of Davis County's jurisdictions. E. P. received local credit then and since for leading the fight for Layton's independence.[61]

In 1928, a small postscript was added to the story of E. P's battles in behalf of Layton. That year, E. P.'s granddaughter, Oma Ellison, called to serve an LDS mission, arrived at the headquarters of the Eastern States Mission in New York. There she found that her mission president was Henry H. Rolapp, who had been the judge in the Kaysville reduction case. When introduced to Oma, he asked, "Are you related to Ephraim P. Ellison?"

"Oh, yes, he's my grandfather," she answered.

"In all my business experience I have never dealt with a squarer or more upright man than E. P. Ellison," he replied.[62]

Defeated for State Senator

In Utah's 1900 state elections, E. P. ran for the office of state senator, opposed by John G. M. Barnes of Kaysville. When the votes were counted, E. P. had lost by but one vote.[63] He felt the ballot counting had not been honest, so he filed a lawsuit against the victor. Judge Henry H. Rolapp's Second District Court denied it had power to decide the case, so E. P. sent the case up to Utah's highest court. The problem, as explained in the Utah Supreme Court ruling, was this:

> It appears that both the appellant [E. P.] and the respondent [Barnes] were regularly nominated candidates for the office of State Senator in the Third Senatorial District and were voted for at the late general election. Upon the canvass of the votes by the canvassing board, the board determined that the respondent had received one more vote than the appellant and issued to the respondent a certificate of election. The appellant alleged that seven illegal votes were cast and counted for the respondent, and that certain legal votes cast for the appellant were rejected, and that a correct canvas of the votes would show that he was elected.[64]

The Utah Supreme Court's decision in *Ellison v. Barnes* was that only the State Senate, not a court, could determine who was properly elected. It ordered E. P. to pay court costs incurred by the appeal.[65] Barnes then took his seat in the senate. The defeat ended E. P.'s political ventures. He never again ran for election for state or county office. Instead, he channeled his creative energies into his local companies, his church work, and several new business ventures in Davis County, Canada, and Nevada.

NOTES

1. Oma Wilcox, notes to author, December 1992, Davis County File, in EFA; Gatherum, "Early Education in Layton," in Carlsruh, eds., *Layton, Utah Historic Viewpoints*, 119–130.
2. Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories*, 2:73.
3. Davis County Court, Minutes, microfilm, Utah State Archives. Book 2 or B covers the years 1869 to 1884, Book C 1884–1893, and Book D 1893–1900. Cited hereafter as Court Minutes. E. P.'s service as selectman is documented, therefore, in Book C. The rest of the court included Judge [Mr.] Brandon, and selectmen [Mr.] Holbrook and [Mr.] Steed. But in November, after the United States presidential election, Hector C. Haight was appointed probate judge for the county, replacing Judge Brandon.
4. Court Minutes, November entries, 1890.
5. Ibid., Nov. 10, 1890.
6. Ibid., Dec. 5, 1890; Nov. 15, April 20, and July 1, 1891; March 7 and 29, 1892.
7. Ibid., Aug. 6, Oct. 3 and 17, Dec. 20 and 27, 1892 and Jan. 3, 1893.
8. Ibid., Aug. 15, 1891.
9. Ibid., Oct. 19 and Dec. 12, 1891.
10. Ibid., Mar. 2, 1891.
11. Ibid., Jan. 28, 1891.
12. Ibid., Mar. 16, 1891.
13. Ibid., Apr. 13, 1891.

14. Ibid., Oct. 12, 1891.
15. Ibid., Feb. 8, 1892.
16. Ibid., May 3 and 17, 1892.
17. Ibid., June 20, July 14, and Oct. 3, 1892.
18. Ibid., Nov. 7, 1892.
19. Ibid., Nov. 21, 1892. The county clerk was ordered to record deeds from E. K. Egbert, John Ellison, W. A. Hyde, Annie LaVender, and Thomas Sandall.
20. Ibid., Dec. 20, 1892.
21. "Simon Bamberger" and "Lagoon" entries in *Utah History Encylopedia*, Powell ed., 26, 311.
22. *Davis County Clipper*, Oct. 15, 1892.
23. E. P.'s last meeting as a selectman with the court was on November 8, 1892, when he and A. B. Porter and Philander Hatch received a citation for service well done.
24. Court Minutes, Oct. 1, 1893, and inclusions.
25. Dawson, "The Separation of Layton from Kaysville," *Layton, Utah Historic Viewpoints,* 55, 56.
26. Ibid., 57.
27. Farmers' Union Board Minutes, Feb. 27, 1887.
28. Davis County Court, Minutes, Mar. 12, 1889; Dawson, "Separation," 59.
29. "In the matter of the restriction of the corporate limits of the City of Kaysville, in the District Court of the Second Judicial District, State of Utah, in and for the County of Davis," undated typescript copy in Kaysville-Layton File in EFA, 2.
30. Farmers Union Board Minutes, Mar. 4, 1889.
31. Dawson, "Separation," 59, note 20.
32. E. P. retained the services of attorneys J. G. Sutherland and Arthur Brown; photocopy of handwritten agreement dated May 15, 1889, in Layton-Kaysville File, EFA.
33. Dawson, "Separation," 59–60, see note 28.
34. Ibid., 61.
35. Ibid., 61, 62.
36. "*Ellison v. Lindford* [sic]," Supreme Court of Utah decision, Feb. 4, 1891, in *Pacific Reporter* 25 (Dec. 11, 1890-March 26, 1891). J. L. Rawlins represented Kaysville, Arthur Brown, and Sutherland and Judd represented E. P., the defendant.
37. Dawson, "Separation," 62.
38. Farmers Union Board Minutes, March 22, 1898.
39. Dawson, "Separation," 65.
40. Ibid., 64.
41. Ibid., note 41.
42. Kaysville City Treasurer, Notice to Farmers' Union, July 19, 1899, and same notice to Layton Milling, same date, in Layton-Kaysville File, EFA.
43. Brown and Henderson, Attorneys, published a "Brief of Respondent," E. P. being the respondent, titled "In the Supreme Court of the State of Utah, September Term, 1898, City of Kaysville, Plaintiff and Appellant, vs. Ephraim P. Ellison,

Defendant and Respondent," 12 pp., copy in Layton-Kaysville File, EFA. The pamphlet contains the legal arguments the attorneys used in defending E. P.

44. Dawson, "Separation," 65–66.
45. Ibid., 66; Arthur Brown to E. P. Ellison, Jan. 18, 1899, in Layton-Kaysville File, EFA.
46. The three petitions with original signatures on pencil-drawn lines are in Layton-Kaysville File, EFA. Ellison-related signatories include Elijah Ellison, Alice A. Whitesides, E. P., E. P. representing Farmers Union, and E. P. representing Layton Milling.
47. Dawson, "Separation," 67.
48. Journal of Anthon H. Lund, Jan. 31, 1899 entry in back of journal, upside down, HDC, and 8 pp. typescript of excerpts, in Layton-Kaysville File, EFA, 6.
49. Ibid., 8. The seven were E. P., Hyrum Stewart, James H. Rattan, John W. Thornley, Rufus Adams, Thomas H. Phillips, and T. F. Rouche.
50. Dawson, "Separation," 68.
51. *Davis County Clipper*, Mar. 24, 1899.
52. Dawson, "Separation," 71.
53. Ibid.; E. P. Ellison to O. A. Williams, Kaysville City Recorder, Aug. 3, 1899, in Layton-Kaysville File, EFA.
54. Thomas H. Phillips to E. P. Ellison, Aug. 7, 1899, in Layton-Kaysville File, EFA.
55. E. P. Ellison to O. A. Williams, Aug. 8, 1899, in Layton-Kaysville File, EFA.
56. Dawson, "Separation," 73.
57. *Davis County Clipper*, Sept. 8, 1899.
58. The dog story was told to Oma Wilcox, in her recollection, notes in EFA; *Davis County Clipper*, Sept. 1 and 8, and Oct. 6, 1899; Dawson, "Separation," 73.
59. Dawson, "Separation," 73.
60. Ibid., note 54.
61. Ibid., 73–75; "In the Matter of the Restriction of the Corporate Limits of the City of Kaysville, Decree, in the District Court of the Second Judicial District, State of Utah, County of Davis, Judge Henry H. Rolapp, March 1, 1902," photocopy in Layton-Kaysville File, EFA.
62. Oma Wilcox Interview with the author, May 17, 1988, EFA.
63. Davis County Court Minutes, Book D, contains an insert on p. 449 that gives election returns dated Nov. 6, 1900. These show a difference of 104 votes-–1357 for Barnes and 1253 for E. P. Apparently there was a recount after this which shrank the margin of victory to one vote.
64. "Ephraim P. Ellison, Appellant v. J. G. M. Barnes, Respondent," Decided January 10, 1901, in *Supreme Court of Utah* 23, 185.
65. Ibid.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

FAMILY LIFE FOR ELEVEN

For E. P. and Elizabeth, the 1880s and 1890s were their most demanding years spent as parents.[1] This was a busy and complicated stage in the family's life cycle, filled with teaching little ones to walk, talk, and care for themselves, childhood diseases, schoolbooks, children constantly outgrowing clothes, dressing children for Primary and Sunday School, sibling competition and mutual support, instilling family values, accepting boyfriends and girlfriends, decisions about school and careers, the start of courtships and marriages, and arrivals of the first grandchildren.

The Children

By late 1893, with the birth of Marion, E. P. and Elizabeth were the parents of nine children, the oldest being James, twenty. All the children were born in what became Layton:

James Edward	Sep. 09, 1873
Mary Annette	Aug. 28, 1875
Laurence Ephraim	Apr. 27, 1879
Morris Heber	Oct. 20, 1881
Jean Elizabeth	Apr. 28, 1884
John Parley	Oct. 14, 1886
Alice Louise	Jan. 22, 1889
Evan Lewis	July 13, 1891
Marion Whitesides	Nov. 27, 1893

E. P.'s role as father was to provide for the family. Apparently his life was almost totally one of work. Most of the time that he spent with his children was when they worked with him on the farm or at his businesses. Elizabeth, as wife and mother, shouldered most of the responsibility for caring for, rearing, and training the children. From father E. P. the children learned mostly by example and some by teaching. Daughter Marion felt that her parents were "quite strict." She said E. P. was more

E. P. Ellison family, ca. 1900. Standing, left ro right, Annette, Morris, Laurence, Parley, Alice. Seated, left to right Evan, Jean, E. P., Marion, Elizabeth, James

strict than Elizabeth and sometimes stern. "We knew when we heard his voice that he meant it," she said.

Farms, Fields, and Livestock

E. P.'s grandchildren often repeated a story about him during the 1880s. "At the end of a hard day working with his team," the story goes, "Grandfather is said to come home, turn the team loose so they could go for feed, and do the outside chores, along with the boys who were old enough to help." Then, next morning, "before daylight, Grandfather would be out, sometimes walking miles to catch the horses and get them ready for the day's work."[2]

He engaged in sheep raising. Normally he grazed his sheep outside of Davis County. He ran sheep as far away as southern Utah and north up into Idaho. Laurence and Morris, when they were big boys, helped herd sheep in the summers. Laurence once left Morris in order to obtain some food. Alone, in an isolated place, Morris came face to face with a mountain lion or cougar. He did not know what to do—run or try to scare the cat away. He stood his ground, and the creature walked away. Morris liked to ride horses. One day his concern for horses cost him dearly. When he was eleven, about 1892, he was cutting a strap on a saddle with a pocket knife, when his knife slipped and punctured his eye. For the rest of his life he was blind in one eye.[3]

In the mid–1890s, successful stockman John H. Bonnemort sold his sheep business, some 10,000 sheep, to E. P. and John W. Thornley.[4] Apparently as part of the deal, E. P. and Thornley had to bring hundreds of sheep up from Sanpete County. The *Davis County Clipper* reported on March 25, 1895, that E. P. won a court case involving his sheep. He sued the Rio Grande Western Railroad for damages because one of its trains ran into a flock of his sheep killing eighty-one of them. A court awarded him $260. During only one year of the 1890s--1897—the Davis County tax collector assessed E. P. for 1,150 sheep.[5]

Grandson David Ellison recalled hearing that E. P. bought or leased large grazing acreages in the Bear Lake area just into Idaho. When hay was ready to cut, E. P., Elizabeth and the children went there by wagon and stayed for one or two weeks to cut, rake, stack, and store the hay.

Elizabeth prepared the food, cooking over an open fire. In 1911, Layton stock raisers picked E. P. to go with Elias Adams, James Love, Jesse M. Smith, and John W. Thornley as delegates to the National Livestock Convention at Fort Worth, Texas.[6]

E. P. spent most daytime hours at the Farmers Union, attending to business matters. Children could go to the store and buy treats by charging them to their parents' account. "One day we kids went into the store," Marion recalled. "Father saw me barefooted and told me, 'Don't ever come this way again, be sure you're dressed right before you come out.'" She explained that "he didn't want us barefooted, he wanted us clean." In the recreation room above the Farmers Union, Marion recalled, the Sunday School held an annual afternoon dance and party. She liked it because "I used to get my hair curled for it. They'd wrap my hair with paper and I could have curls that day." One time Marion wanted a new petticoat. Her mother told her that there was no money for one, and that "every dollar your father makes goes to make another dollar." E. P. paid Marion, in her youth, ten cents each week to shine his shoes.[7]

The family possessed considerable property in Layton. By 1892 they owned five parcels of 12, 26, 77, 180, and 156 acres, or 451 acres total. In terms of total taxes paid on property and animals, E. P. that year ranked number one in Layton. The top four taxpayers and their taxable property values were

E. P. Ellison	$15,102
George W. Adams	14,510
Elias Adams	14,462
Alex Dawson	10,964

By 1899, after selling or giving land away, the family owned only 287.5 acres. Early in the decade E. P. had kept between 150 and 190 cattle on the twenty-six acres near their home. The family called their biggest farm "Nineteen," the 180 acres in Section 19 in the northwest part of town on the way to Ogden. Late in the decade E. P. moved the family's cattle, numbering about 100, to "Nineteen."[8]

To work the properties, E. P. hired men to plant and harvest hay and other crops. These work crews required that food be prepared and carried to them twice daily by horse and buggy. For many years Elizabeth cooked

for the hired men, assisted by any daughters old enough to help. Bread could not be purchased anywhere, so Elizabeth mixed and baked it in great quantities. During peak work times, cooking became a "constant and everlasting task" for the Ellison females. They cooked food and delivered it to the workers in the fields. They waited for the men to eat, then brought back the dirty dishes, and cleaned up. Day after day they repeated this routine.[9]

The Ellisons' livestock included dairy cows. Because of them, E. P. belonged to the Layton Dairy Company. At stockholders meetings early in 1901 he was elected to the board of directors of that company, along with Elias Adams, Stephen H. Nalder, T. J. O'Brien, and William Nalder.[10]

Home Life

The oldest three Ellison children grew up in a small home, the three-room brick cottage built in 1880. It lacked running water and bathroom facilities inside, so the children hauled water, a task which became a favorite story they told their own children. Water for washing clothes and dishes and for cleaning had to be carried from a small creek that ran close to the home. Morris told how his mother carried water up from the creek.[11] She carried two buckets of water to do the laundry. E. P. was not home much to help her. Morris felt sorry for his mother and tried to carry the washday buckets for her. Daughter Jean recalled that

> as many as five or six times daily it was her lot, with the help of her younger sister, Alice, to hook up the horse to the buggy and go to a spring almost a mile away for drinking and cooking. These girls carried buckets to the bottom of the hill, filled them with water, carried them back up and poured them into milk cans.[12]

Grandchildren who knew Elizabeth felt that she was an excellent cook. Daughter Alice preferred to do the milking and to let her sister Jean help cook, for Alice disliked handling raw meat. Meat was preserved by smoking, salting, or freezing it in the shed during the winter. Sometimes after school, Marion helped her mother churn butter "up and down."[13]

Elizabeth was "always exacting" and therefore a "good mother." She saw that the family always had a "clean house, clean food, clean everything, and I mean clean," Marion said; Elizabeth was "meticulous." In

Elizabeth Ellison, ca. 1890s

terms of personality, Marion felt that her mother was "very reserved" and "smart, but not too interested in things beyond the home. She was more interested in making a good home and taking care of it."[14]

Elizabeth Ellison would not eat lamb. Jane Watt, before she married James Ellison, worked in the Ellison home. One day she cooked a lamb roast. "Oh Jane," Elizabeth praised, "this roast is delicious. What kind of roast is it?"

"That's a lamb roast," Jane said. Elizabeth was not pleased that she had been fooled.[15]

James picked up a superstition from his mother. If he forgot something, he would come into a room, take off his hat, and sit down. Soon he would remember.[16]

Whenever their parents went to LDS General Conference in Salt Lake City, the Ellison children "eagerly awaited their return, knowing they would be rewarded by a large bag of oranges or bananas, possibly the only time these would be available."[17]

Remodeled and Enlarged Home

In 1896, the Ellisons added onto and improved their home. That year the original log portion was removed. A new, main structure, designed by Kaysville architect William Allen, was built. Allen was E. P.'s age, an Englishman born in 1850. A Kaysville resident, he became a mason and contractor by trade. In the 1880s, suffering from deafness, he took up architectural drafting. Because he was the only architect in Davis County, locals hired him to design "projects ranging from simple cottages and bungalows to large, high-style residences for some of the county's noteworthy and affluent families, as well as for civic and religious buildings." As county selectman, E. P. met twice monthly in the new Davis County Courthouse in Farmington, a fine building designed by Allen in 1889. E. P. would hire Allen to design the expanded Farmers Union building a few years later. Allen designed more than two dozen residences in Kaysville and Layton.[18]

Buildings of that period were often constructed of Kaysville brick—brickmaking was Kaysville's largest non-agricultural industry at the time. According to family notes, Laurence and Morris hauled 65,000 bricks from the brickyard for the Ellison house. Daughter Marion was two years old when the family home was rebuilt. Her parents gave her some toy tools so she could play carpenter, like the workmen.[19] Daughter Alice was in first grade when workmen started on new parts of the house. She came home from school one day, a day when her parents were away from Layton, and discovered the workmen had torn down the kitchen, which was the old log room. She was devastated. She lay down in a ditch, crying. A workman saw her, picked her up out of the ditch, and brought her in and showed her the plans for the new house, which seemed to satisfy her. With the cabin razed, the men built a dining room, kitchen, and upstairs in its place.[20] The home was a gracious one and became the setting for frequent church meetings, business meetings, and social functions.[21]

Then, or shortly afterwards, workmen assembled a unique water system for the house. A windmill stood across the creek and east of the house. A pipe ran from this windmill to a second-floor room. Tanks were installed in this room, which was directly over the kitchen. Pipes delivered water from the second-floor tanks to the kitchen sink. The room at

New E. P. Ellison home in Layton, 1896. Standing, left to right, Margaret Jane Cowley (Ellison), Warren Stevenson, Annette (Stevenson), Elizabeth, Morris, Marion. Evan is standing on the balcony

the end of the hall, in which the tanks were kept, always was called the "tank room."[22] Laurence and Morris slept in that room. Water systems for house and farm were constantly upgraded. The local newspaper for May 31, 1901, reported that E. P., along with Bishop Layton, E. E. Ellison, William Layton, and Jesse Smith were installing 2.25 miles of tile pipe line to convey water to their homes or farms.[23]

Soon after the new part of the home was built, oldest daughter Annette had her appendix removed there. Dr. Rich from Ogden did the surgery—he had read of the operation but had never seen it performed.[24]

In 1897, telephones were installed at the Ellison home and in the Farmers Union store, the first telephones in the area.[25]

Housekeeping in the New Home

Housekeeping for the Ellison family was not simple, given the number of people living under one roof. But the larger, remodeled house made it easier. Every room had a coal stove to provide comfort for each member of the family. Each stove had to be kept free of ashes and soot, then rekindled and lighted each day. Coal oil lamps furnished the light. These had to be cleaned and replenished with fuel almost daily. Beds had no

mattresses, only ticks filled with straw and often topped with feather beds. These feather beds were a child's haven when there was thunder and lightning, for a feeling of complete safety accompanied a sojourn there. The carpets, woven from rags, completely covered the floors, with straw serving as padding. Each spring this padding was replaced with clean, fresh straw which had to be tramped into place by the girls of the family wearing gum-rubber boots. In the fall, clean rags were sewn together and taken by Alice in a horse and buggy to South Weber to a family by the name of Fernelius, who wove them into new carpets.[26]

Monday was laundry day, when Elizabeth washed the clothes. Tuesday was ironing day or "laying away" day when the clothes were pressed and put in drawers and closets. Sunday church clothes were ready for church by Tuesdays. "We always had an orderly home," daughter Marion recalled.[27] Daughter Jean said her mother was an immaculate housekeeper. Elizabeth taught her daughters that when they washed their hands to mix bread, "they were to wipe them on a clean towel, not one used by the rest of the family."[28]

Near the house the family maintained a large garden. They grew apple trees, carrots, potatoes, radishes, tomatoes, and corn. Behind the house and across the creek, the family had a pasture for cows. Laurence and Morris herded cattle together. They had little time for play.[29]

School

In 1881 the Five Points School was built, a one-room brick schoolhouse; it stood near where Fort Lane, Fiddlers' Creek Road (Rosewood Lane), and present Highway 91 come together. One early teacher was Elizabeth's brother, E. M. Whitesides. The school handled six grades, and the classes sat in separate areas. Ellison children walked to the school, which was but a short distance away, and all of them apparently attended that school.[30]

During a smallpox epidemic, students without smallpox vaccinations had to stay home. E. P. and Elizabeth's youngest child, Marion, who had had smallpox earlier, was the only student in her class who attended. One of Marion's favorite girlhood memories involved a dress she wore to school:

> Once mother made me a red dress with ribbon trimming. She sent me to school. She made a black apron to cover it up, but when I got to school I took the apron off so the kids could see my nice new dress. She wanted to cover it to protect it.[31]

Jean, born in 1884, attended school for eight years at the little "Five Points" school. May Gibson Kershaw taught the last two years the school was open. Because of overcrowding, the 1901–1902 school year was the school's last, and the students were transferred to a new Layton Elementary School, which had three rooms.[32]

Ellison children went to school, helped with chores, played some, participated in church, and at least Jean and Alice learned to play the piano. Jean was an organist for the Sunday School and played duets with Alice. Jean's piano teacher was Nora Bonnemort Thornley, the wife of John W. Thornley. Mrs. Thornley rode side saddle to give lessons to Jean in the Ellison home. Jean's close friends were Ida Hyde, cousins Marion Whitesides and Mattie Freer, and a young man by the name of Rob Simmons.[33]

Several Ellison children, after finishing grade school, went on to high school and to college. On October 5, 1900, the local newspaper reported that Laurence and Morris Ellison were attending the University of Utah in Salt Lake City. Laurence was then twenty-one and Morris almost nineteen. The next June the *Davis County Clipper* noted that Laurence was home from the University for the summer. He had completed three years of work in normal school, training to be a teacher, and had one year of studies left. He graduated in 1902 from the University of Utah, where he had served as senior class president, and was hired to be the principal of Kaysville Academy. Jean attended two years at the University of Utah, where she lived with brothers Laurence and Morris. "Her quest for learning, however, was terminated by her devotion to her mother who was an invalid with the very worst kind of arthritis." Jean "was an excellent student of English and a devoted lover of music."[34]

Church Activity

From 1884 to 1887, LDS Church President John Taylor spent some time "in exile" in the Kaysville area to avoid federal agents seeking

to arrest him. E. P. helped President Taylor financially and with his food supply.[35]

Being religious believers, E. P. and Elizabeth made certain that their children were baptized, although some were immersed a year or two after the normal baptism age of eight. LDS records show that James was baptized in 1883, Mary Annette in 1885, Laurence in 1890, Morris and Elizabeth Jean in 1893, John Parley in 1896, Alice in 1897, and Evan and Marion in 1902.[36]

On September 1, 1889, the Kaysville Ward was divided. Its north section, soon to become Layton, was called the Kaysville Second Ward. Daniel B. Harris was sustained as bishop, with counselors John W. Thornley and William N. Nalder. A twenty-one by thirty-seven foot frame building located at 962 Church Street was the new ward's first meetinghouse. Three years later, in 1892, the Kaysville Second Ward was renamed the Layton Ward.[37]

Elizabeth participated in Relief Society. Sisters sought to take care of the sick and needy in their ward, and they visited one another to encourage and maintain friendships. In accord with a churchwide practice, Elizabeth's group gathered and stored wheat. President Sarah B. Layton gave a report about the local Relief Society in 1887. She reported they had 300 bushels of wheat stored. She noted that the sisters had trouble getting together because their homes were so spread out:

> There are not many poor in our ward, we try to attend to the sick, but don't have many working meetings on account of the sisters being so scattered and having so far to walk, when we have work we attend to it in the districts, we have good meetings, have the gift of tongues.[38]

When the Kaysville Second Ward Relief Society was reorganized in 1890, Elizabeth Watt became the president, assisted by Sarah Watt and Mary Ann Adams. Records of charitable donations during the 1890s list Elizabeth Ellison several times. Among her donations were small amounts of money ranging from ten to fifty cents, "calicoes," cotton, sugar, and soap. In 1900 she donated $1.50 for the society's granary. By the mid–1890s, the Layton Ward sisters were storing 500 bushels of wheat. President Watt said the group generally had good meetings. "We have been doing considerable for the poor, the sisters are very liberal, we have good teachers."[39]

In 1891 Alice Ann Bennett Whitesides became the ward Primary president. She was Elizabeth's sister-in-law, married to James Lewis Whitesides. At that point E. P. and Elizabeth had four children of Primary age, who no doubt attended: Laurence, Morris, Jean, and John Parley. Daughter Nettie, fifteen, was the Primary's secretary.[40]

In April 1893, Latter-day Saints flocked to dedicatory services for the Salt Lake Temple. This temple was closer to the Ellisons than the Logan Temple and became the temple the family used.[41]

In those days it was a common LDS practice for a youth to be ordained a deacon and remain such until he became an adult and was ordained an elder. Or a deacon might be ordained a teacher and stay such until he became an elder. Advancing from deacon to teacher to priest to elder, as is done now, was not a rule back then. When two deacons quorums were formed in Layton in 1892, James Ellison, age nineteen, served as president of the first quorum. In 1900, Morris, then eighteen, was the teachers quorum president.[42]

For a time, Elizabeth provided the bread used in the ward's Sunday sacrament services. She mixed and baked bread on Saturday. She'd cut away all the crust before Sunday School and have it ready for the priests to bless. "The bread was so good," Marion recalled. Elizabeth also provided beautiful silver pitchers, large silver cups with two handles, and silver bread trays for the ward's sacrament serving set.

Marion said her mother went to Sunday School with the children, at least while Marion was young. A favorite family story tells of a winter sleigh ride the Ellisons tried to take to church. The horse-drawn sleigh tipped over, and the whole family tumbled into snow-covered manure. They looked and smelled so awful that they returned home to take baths again.[43]

Sunday School Superintendent

On May 25, 1890, E. P. became Sunday School superintendent for the LDS ward in Layton.[44] A Sunday School record book for the 1898 to 1905 period shows what the Sunday School was like for him and for his

family. Its pages tell that by the late 1890s, Superintendent Ellison worked under Bishop Daniel B. Harris. E. P.'s assistants, who changed frequently, were Alex Dawson, A. B. Cook, S. H. Nalder, Charles W. Robins, Rufus Adams and William B. Nalder. More than two dozen families attended the Sunday School, including those surnamed[45]

Ekins	Nalder	Robins	Whitesides
Watt	King	Marston	Thornley
Gibson	Young	Barton	Evans
King	Bennett	Sill	Morgan
Weaver	Baggs	Green	O'Brien
Layton	Wiggill	Linvick	Hodgson
Cowley	Adams	Cook	Ellison

To show what a typical Sunday School meeting was like back then, minutes of the February 27, 1898 meeting are illustrative:

> School called to order at 10:20 A.M. by Supt. E. P. Ellison. Teachers roll called and 8 responded. Singing from 42, "Little Children Love the Savior." Prayer by Bro. Wm. N. Nalder. Singing from page 74, "We want to See the Temple." The minutes of school held Feb. 20 were read and approved. Sacrament was administered by Bros John Ekins and Thos Evans during which time the school was addressed by Bp D Harris. Asst. Supt T J O'Brien spoke a few words upon the subjects of "Humane Day" and "our duty towards dumb Animals." The usual reading exercises were then proceded with. Subjects taught: Class No. 1, Stories on Love. Class No. 2, the Plague of Locust and that of Darkness. Class #3, The third Commandment. Class # 4, Birth of Messiah. Attendance of Pupils 157, officers and teachers 12, total 169. Program Rec. Bro D. M. Sill. The Program for March 6 to come from class No. 1. Singing from page 98, "Try it Again." Benediction by Bro. Morris Ellison. Copy by Elijah King, Secty.

Week by week, E. P. conducted most of the Sunday School meetings. Supposed to begin promptly at 10 A.M., many meetings started ten minutes late, some not until 10:15, 10:20, 10:30, or 10:45. To a stickler for punctuality like E. P., this must have been bothersome—or did this Sunday School problem cause him to champion punctuality? On November 5, 1899, he urged "all to try to be more prompt in getting to school."

As of 1898, the Sunday School enrolled 261 pupils, males and females about equal in numbers, but attendance averaged only 118.[46] One

cause of low attendance was that the meeting hall was too small.[47] One solution they tried was to divide existing rooms in half by using curtains.[48] Another solution they considered but which the bishop vetoed was E. P.'s offer to move the Sunday School to the upstairs hall in the Farmers Union.[49]

Another cause of non-attendance was lack of interest.[50] One Sunday E. P. urged "all to take more interest and try and waken an interest in some of our playmates and bring them along to school."[51] During 1901, officers and teachers, needing to convince boys to attend regularly, created a separate "Theology Class" for the boys. At a 1903 meeting the officers approved E. P.'s counsel that teachers "take up a labor with the children to attend Sabbath Meeting."[52]

During 1901, no Sunday School was held for four weeks because of smallpox, four because of scarlet fever, and another week because of a severe storm.

Superintendent Ellison had to see that officers and teachers were properly called and released and their ranks kept full. Sometimes, as could be expected, he called on his family for help. By early 1901, daughter Jean served as one of three Sunday School organists.[53] Jean became one of three new teachers in mid–1902. Laurence Ellison joined the teaching staff early in 1903.[54]

E. P. conducted monthly "Union Meetings" with the Sunday School staff to coordinate their work, motivate, and solve problems. At one such meeting, two teachers wanted to resign, including John W. Thornley, who said he did not have time to prepare lessons and could not attend Sunday School regularly. E. P. decided to retain Brother Thornley "for the present."[55] At another teachers' meeting, the group decided to buy five dozen music books. E. P. at one point remarked that lesson leaflets for one age group were too difficult. At another meeting, he helped his staff create guidelines for dealing with unreliable teachers.[56]

Children cause reverence problems, particularly in crowded space such as E. P.'s Sunday School classes endured. Early in 1901, E. P.'s assistant, A. B. Cook, pointed out "that the impression had gone out [that] the Latter Day Saints children were rough & rowdy compared with children of other churches, said that we should strive to overcome this impression."[57]

"Concert recitations" were part of Sunday School opening exercises.[58] E. P. once "led the school in concert recitation of the Articles of Faith."[59] At each meeting the sacrament was blessed and passed. Among Ellison relatives who administered the sacrament were James and Laurence Ellison and James Whitesides. A "silent drill" preceded the administration of the sacrament; then, while the sacrament bread and water passed around, it was customary for someone to give a talk. On July 1, 1899, during the sacrament, "Supt. E. P. Ellison endeavored to answer a question which had been asked in regard to the administration of the sacrament. He read the address delivered by Apostle Lyman at the S. S. [Sunday School] Convention on the administration of the sacrament in the S. S." Such talks ceased about three months later, when the Sunday School provided organ music during the sacrament, instead of speakers.[60] A few times the sacrament was not administered at Layton's Sunday School due to no bread and once because of no water.

On Fast Sundays the young people were supposed to bear their testimonies, but usually few responded. On June 5, 1898, "Supt. E. P. Ellison said that as it was Fast Day the time would be given to the Bearing of Testimonies." But the only two who expressed themselves were Assistant Superintendent Dawson and E. P., who "spoke upon the [Spanish-American] War question."[61] Slack testimony bearing caused E. P. to propose that the idea be dropped from Sunday School or made into a class activity. Four months before his release as the superintendent, E. P. complained that "we fail to sense the importance of testimony bearing," an act he felt helped "to strengthen our faith."[62]

Special events regularly punctuated the Sunday School's calendar year. One Sunday in February was Humane Day, intended to remind Saints to treat animals kindly. The Sunday School often participated as a group in Layton's Memorial Day celebrations. There was an annual day at Lagoon resort. The Sunday School sometimes participated in the stake's annual Sunday School Conference. Giving assignments for the upcoming 1902 conference, for example, "Supt. Ellison said that we would be expected to learn the Articles of Faith, The Word of Wisdom, and Oh, My Father."[63] By late 1901, Elizabeth's brother, E. M. Whitesides, was assistant stake Sunday School superintendent, and in 1902, E. P.'s father, John Ellison, was a member of the stake superintendency.[64]

Nickel Sunday came every fall, to raise funds for the Sunday School. One-fifth of the nickel money went to the stake Sunday School organization, the rest to the Deseret Sunday School Union at Church headquarters. E. P.'s donation was usually quite generous.[65]

Dignitaries sometimes visited the Layton Sunday School. Special guests on July 29, 1900, were Apostles John W. Taylor and Heber J. Grant, with Sister Grant. Elder Taylor spoke to the children about obedience, and Elder Grant "advised all to be honest with father and mother." Laurence Ellison helped with the sacrament that day. In 1903, the Sunday School agreed to be part of an official welcoming ceremony in the area during President Theodore Roosevelt's visit.[66]

Layton's Sunday School held a Christmas party each year in the Farmers Union upstairs hall. E. P., when announcing the party in 1899 to the Sunday School, "urged all to be at the entertainment on time and to act respectable while there."[67]

E. P. spoke to his Sunday School students on a range of subjects, most of them practical. He talked about obedience, reverence, punctuality, and fasting. He "asked all children to always remember and say 'Amen' at the close of each sermon."[68] Following one of Utah's worst tragedies, the Scofield mine fire, he talked about "how we should be willing to help the sufferers in their trouble."[69] He "spoke for some time upon the use of tobacco exhorting all to abstain from its use."[70] He deplored "how we are disregarding the Sabbath" and "the ill effects of reading novels."[71]

On December 4, 1904, stake Sunday School leaders visited the Layton unit to reorganize it. They replaced E. P. as superintendent, a change made necessary by his "being absent from home a greater part of the time" in connection with his new Canadian enterprises. Assistant Rufus Adams succeeded him.

Alternate High Councilman

On December 13, 1897, E. P. was ordained a high priest by President Joseph F. Smith of the First Presidency and set apart as an alternate high councilman for the Davis Stake. However, this calling did not release him from his Sunday School superintendency.[72] He became involved in

stake meetings and carried out stake assignments. His home served occasionally as a place for some stake meetings and socials. In late 1901, for example, he and Elizabeth hosted in their home a banquet "in honor of the High Council."[73]

E. P. received his second patriarchal blessing on September 25, 1900, from Patriarch John W. Hess at Farmington, when many stake officers were also receiving theirs. The blessing promised health, peace, and a dose of adversity. In part it said, "you shall never know want, nor shall your posterity, because of the righteousness of your heart." E. P. was told that his children "shall rise up and call you blessed." He was told he had one of "the greatest blessings ever conferred upon man," referring to his ability to explain his ideas upon any matter. "Husband this gift," the blessing instructed; "increase it from time to time and get the spirit of it, and you shall do much good in this important age." All of the main points in his blessing came to pass for him and for his children.[74]

The Extended Family

During the final two decades of the nineteenth century, several of E. P. and Elizabeth's siblings married. Five in Elizabeth's family did: Marion Mark Whitesides (1882), Nancy (1885), Edward Morris (1892), John Absalom (1893), and William Wilford (1898). E. P.'s brothers Matthew Thomas and Elijah Edward both married in 1883, brother Joe in 1884, and his sister Alice in 1892.

Deaths came to the extended family. E. P.'s grandfather, John Pilling, died on August 20, 1887, at age ninety-one.[75] E. P.'s mother, Alice Pilling Ellison, died of consumption on November 8, 1886, at the old mountain home east of Kaysville. She was sixty-five. Elizabeth's father, Lewis Whitesides, died on February 23, 1899, at age seventy.

A favorite family photograph (see page 4) shows the sons and daughters of E. P.'s grandfather, Matthew Ellison, with elderly John Ellison, E. P.'s father, in it. This picture apparently was taken during John's visit to Illinois about 1895.[76] According to Kaysville Ward sacrament meeting minutes for April 14, 1895, "John Ellison was called upon and related some of his experience during his recent visit to Missouri and Illinois."[77]

E. P. likewise visited his Illinois kin. He told his Sunday School late in 1901 that "he had recently visited Nauvoo and the places with which the Prophet was connected."[78]

The First Grandchildren

E. P. and Elizabeth's two oldest children, James and Nettie, left the family nest within a year of each other. James, after grade school, had attended the University of Deseret in Salt Lake City for some of his high school education. Then he worked for his father. He married Jane Watt on February 17, 1897, in the Salt Lake Temple. This linked the Ellison family by marriage to one of Layton's well-known men, George D. Watt, Jane's father, who had served as President Brigham Young's secretary for sixteen years. Jane had worked in the Ellison home, helping Elizabeth with housework and cooking.[79] She was always loved and held in high esteem by the family. James and Jane's wedding reception took place in the hall above the Farmers Union. There was dancing, followed by a tray supper.[80]

Nettie Ellison took some advanced schooling in Salt Lake City, probably at the University of Deseret. While in the city she liked to visit with her aunt, Margaret Pierce Whitesides Young. Margaret was the widow of Elizabeth's older brother Morris Whitesides who died in Iowa before the trek west. Margaret had married Brigham Young and, although he died in 1877, she apparently still lived at the Lion House when Nettie came to call in the 1890s. Aunt Margaret made tea for Nettie, and that is how Nettie learned to like tea.[81] On February 2, 1898, Nettie married Warren Samuel Stevenson in the Salt Lake Temple.

The two marriages soon produced grandchildren for E. P. and Elizabeth. Their first grandchild was John Watt Ellison, born to James and Jane on November 14, 1897. The little fellow lived only eleven months, however. But within two months of his death, two more grandchildren arrived: Joseph Ellison Stevenson to Nettie and Warren, and Elizabeth Jane Ellison to Jim and Jane.[82]

As E. P.'s children became adults, he employed most of them in his businesses. They became a reliable resource for him.[83] E. P.'s enterprises, because of his children, became in good part Ellison family operations.

NOTES

1. During the 1890s E. P. and Elizabeth had the most children at home and dealt with the most teenagers at once.
2. Whitman, "Life of Ephraim P. Ellison," 4.
3. Reed and Eva Ellison Interview with the author, Dec. 29, 1986, notes in EFA.
4. Obituary article about John H. Bonnemort in *Weekly Reflex*, Oct. 14, 1915.
5. Whitman, "Life of Ephraim P. Ellison," 4; Davis County, Tax Assessment Rolls, 1890–1899, Microfilm, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.
6. David Layton Interview with the author, Dec. 5, 1990, EFA; *Davis County Clipper*, Jan. 12, 1900.
7. Marion W. Cowley Interview with the author, May 8, 1987, EFA.
8. Davis County, Tax Assessment Rolls, 1890–1899.
9. Skeen and Bott, "Jean Elizabeth Ellison."
10. *Davis County Clipper*, April 26, 1901.
11. Reed and Eva Ellison Interview.
12. Skeen and Bott, "Jean Elizabeth Ellison."
13. Marion W. Cowley interview.
14. Ibid.
15. Elizabeth Green Interview with the author, Aug. 16, 1986, EFA.
16. James' wife Jane said he learned the superstition from his mother. See ibid.
17. Author Unknown, "Elizabeth Whitesides Ellison," Typescript, in EFA; and Marion W. Cowley Interview.
18. Peter L. Goss, "William Allen, Architect-Builder, and His Contribution to the Built Environment of Davis County," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (Winter 1986), 54, 56, 58.
19. Marion W. Cowley Interview.
20. Cleone Whitman, Tape-recorded comments during tour of the house with the author, May 8, 1987.
21. Oma Wilcox Oral History Interview with the author, May 17, 1988.
22. Collett, *Kaysville—Our Town*, D–11.
23. *Davis County Clipper*, May 31, 1901.
24. First National Bank of Layton 1983 calendar, November and December, has a history of the home and a sketch of it, showing Mother Elizabeth, son Morris, and daughter Marion in front, copy in EFA.
25. Oma Wilcox, based on her scanning of *Davis County Clipper* for 1896 and 1897, mentioned in note to the author, Dec. 1991, EFA.
26. Bott, "Elizabeth Whitesides Ellison."
27. Marion W. Cowley Interview.
28. Bott, "Elizabeth Whitesides Ellison."
29. Ibid.
30. Marion W. Cowley and Oma Wilcox Interviews.

31. Marion W. Cowley Interview.
32. Skeen and Bott, "Jean Elizabeth Ellison"; for a sketch and historical details see First National Bank of Layton 1983 calendar for September and October, copy in EFA.
33. Skeen and Bott, "Jean Elizabeth Ellison."
34. Ibid., *Davis County Clipper*, Oct. 5, 1900; June 28 and Sept. 27, 1901; June 6 and Aug. 1, 1902.
35. Oma Wilcox, note to the author, Dec. 1991, EFA.
36. Layton Ward, Record of Members, LDS Historical Department Archives.
37. Collett, *Kaysville—Our Town*, 82.
38. Davis Stake Relief Society Minutes, April 2, 1887, LDS Historical Department Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.
39. Layton Ward Relief Society Minutes, 1890–1900; Davis Stake Relief Society Minutes, April 19 and Oct. 18, 1895, LDS Historical Archives.
40. Layton Ward Manuscript History, 1891, LDS Historical Department Archives.
41. See William Blood Diary, April 6, 1893, LDS Historical Department Archives, for a Kaysville resident's reaction to the Salt Lake Temple dedicatory activities.
42. Layton Ward Manuscript History, 1892, 1900.
43. Marion W. Cowley Interview.
44. Layton Ward Manuscript History, 1890. For a good explanation of how Sunday Schools operated during the time E. P. was a superintendent, see *Jubilee History of Latter-day Saints Sunday Schools: 1849–1899*.
45. Layton Ward Sunday School Minutes, Feb. 27, 1898 to Feb. 5, 1905, original in EFA, entry for Nov. 4, 1900.
46. Ibid., back of 1898 entries.
47. Ibid., Nov. 5, 1899.
48. Ibid., July 22, 1900.
49. Ibid., Feb. 3, 1901.
50. Ibid., Nov. 5, 1899.
51. Ibid., June 12 [19], 1898, and Dec. 3, 1899.
52. Ibid., Mar. 29, 1903.
53. Ibid., Feb. 10, 1901.
54. Ibid., June 8, 1902, and Jan. 4, 1903.
55. Ibid., June 5, 1899.
56. Ibid., Oct. 2, 1898, and May 7, 1899.
57. Ibid., Jan. 6, 1901.
58. Ibid., Feb. 2, 1902.
59. Ibid., Jan. 24, 1904.
60. Ibid., Oct. 28, 1900.
61. Ibid., June 5, 1898.
62. Ibid., Sept. 29 and Nov. 3, 1901, and Sept. 4, 1904.
63. Ibid., Mar. 2, 1902.

64. Ibid., Nov. 10, 1901.
65. Ibid., Oct. 31, 1898, Nov. 5, 1899, and Oct. 20, 1901. In 1891 the LDS Church established the first Sunday in September as "Nickel Day" in all Sunday Schools, to raise money to operate the general level Sunday School Union and the stake Sunday Schools. "This annual collection has been a source of revenue which is of much assistance to the Union, and at the same time it is not burdensome to the schools." Much of the money was used to procure books and charts that were distributed to the local Sunday Schools at no cost. See *Jubilee History of Latter-day Saint Sunday Schools*, 30–31.
66. Ibid., May 3, 1903.
67. Ibid., Dec. 24, 1899.
68. Ibid., Oct. 22, 1899.
69. Ibid., May 6, 1900.
70. Ibid., Aug. 3, 1902.
71. Ibid., Mar. 29, and April 12, 1903.
72. Davis Stake, Historical Record, 1897.
73. *Davis County Clipper*, Oct. 4, 1901.
74. Patriarchal blessing copy in EFA.
75. Rodgers, *Richard Pilling: A Family Heritage*, 43.
76. An old framed copy of this picture hangs in a museum in Nauvoo, the largest photograph in the building.
77. Kaysville Ward, Sacrament Meeting Minutes, April 14, 1895, LDS Historical Department Archives.
78. Layton Ward Sunday School Minutes, Dec. 22, 1901.
79. Harold Ephraim Ellison Interview with the author, Sept. 6, 1986.
80. Hicken, et al., eds., *"Roundup": Raymond, 1901–1967*, 54. Wedding gifts included a set of flatirons, a mirror, and even a hog.
81. Richard Ellison Interview with the author, Aug. 16, 1986.
82. Family Group Sheets, EFA.
83. Marion W. Cowley Interview.

PART THREE

ENTERPRISING FAMILY, 1902–1916

Ellison Milling Company, Ltd., Knight Sugar Co., Ltd., First National Bank of Layton, Ellison Ranching Company, Farmers Union Letterheads

CHAPTER TWELVE

CANADIAN SUGAR, CATTLE, AND FLOUR

When Utah millionaire Jesse Knight and LDS Church President Joseph F. Smith asked E. P. Ellison to help solve a major problem, E. P.'s life and that of his family changed radically as a consequence. President Smith, hoping to provide employment and incomes to hard-pressed Latter-day Saints in Alberta, Canada, had encouraged wealthy Utahn Jesse Knight to build a sugar factory there. Knight, committed to consecrating his vast wealth to benefit LDS members, told President Smith he needed someone to help him, someone totally honest who had business wisdom and religious devotion strong enough to establish the risky Canadian sugar business. President Smith recommended E. P. Ellison, and as a result, E. P. and Jesse became business associates. From this prophet-prompted beginning sprouted a lifelong friendship between Jesse and E. P., a lasting family friendship between Ellisons and Knights, and several profitable Ellison-Knight business ventures in Canada, Utah, and Nevada, including the Knight Sugar Company in Alberta.

E. P.'s Sugar Experience

With LDS Church backing, an experimental sugar factory was built at Lehi, Utah, which succeeded in manufacturing sugar from sugar beets by the early 1890s.[1] The factory created a demand for beets, and E. P. Ellison, a distance away, took advantage of the market. In August 1893, he raised five acres of beets for the Lehi plant. He showed a local newspaper reporter a beet weighing two pounds and twelve ounces. "If this industry can be started here," the *Davis County Clipper* proclaimed, "it will pay better than raising wheat at 50 cents per bushel." E. P. felt then

and for the rest of his life that manufacturing sugar from beets was a worthwhile business venture.[2]

On December 6, 1897, a new Ogden Sugar Company appointed E. P. to be one of its directors. The firm was created by leading Utah businessman David Eccles, who had helped form the Lehi sugar venture. Joining E. P. on the board were Thomas D. Dee of Ogden, President George Q. Cannon of the LDS Church's First Presidency, and John R. Winder of the Church's Presiding Bishopric.[3] Officers hired the E. H. Dyer Company of Cleveland, Ohio, to build the Ogden factory. Eccles opened two other sugar factories and then merged the three in 1902 to form the Amalgamated Sugar Company, which he headed. E. P. stayed on as a board member of Amalgamated Sugar, which company soon became linked with the American Sugar Refinery Company and therefore part of the national "sugar trust."[4]

Knight Sugar Company

Latter-day Saint families colonized southern Alberta during the late 1880s, creating several settlements, including Cardston. Settlers, with Church backing, constructed a large irrigation canal which opened up new farmlands and led to the founding of Magrath and Stirling. Apostle John W. Taylor advocated the planting of sugar beets as a suitable crop there, whereupon the town of Magrath passed out sugar beet seeds on a trial basis to local farmers. Tests at the Lehi Sugar Factory in Utah confirmed that "a high quality of beet could be grown in Alberta." Local leaders tried to interest Utah mining magnate Jesse Knight and his sons, Ray and Will, in buying southern Alberta land. "Magrath was surprised when Jesse purchased 30,000 acres in January 1901, on the basis of the information on a map and the report of his sons." Canadian Stake President Charles O. Card, Apostle John W. Taylor, and non-LDS developer Charles A. Magrath then convinced Knight to develop beet sugar manufacturing as an industry in Alberta. "At first, Jesse Knight considered the sugar factory idea absurd," one historian has noted, "but the more Apostle Taylor talked to him the more convinced he became."[5] In the spring of 1901, Jesse Knight visited southern Alberta to see the land he had purchased, west of the extensive McIntyre Ranch. His holdings

were called the Bar K2 Ranch. Two days after his arrival, he announced that he would erect a sugar beet factory between Magrath and Stirling, investing much of his own capital. To start the project, he placed a $50,000 deposit with the Alberta Irrigation Company.[6]

In mid–1901, Jesse signed a twelve-year contract to buy 226,000 acres of prairie land from the Canadian Northwest Irrigation Company and the Alberta Railway and Coal Company, obligating him to build a sugar factory there and run it for at least a dozen years. Jesse's primary purpose for investing was "to help build up the district." He picked a townsite for the sugar factory and named it Raymond, after his eldest son. Knight had his Knight Ranch dedicated on August 4th, the sugar factory site on August 11, and the townsite for Raymond that same day.[7] Within six months, some four hundred people streamed into Raymond, anticipating jobs and a market for sugar beets they could grow on readily available farmland.[8]

By agreement, the sugar factory was to be built and operational by the fall of 1902. Knight promised to have 3,000 acres of land ready for planting the next spring, so he hired men with plows and teams to break up the virgin prairie. He paid them $2.50 per acre for plowing. When dry weather made the plowing harder, Knight raised the pay to $3.00 per acre. "Finally, he was obliged to send his son, Ray, to Utah for larger teams and plows to do the work. Ray soon returned with a trainload of heavy horses and equipment, and the plowing was completed on time."[9] Meanwhile, on November 8, 1901, the Raymond Ward was organized to serve the newly arrived settlers, many of whom lived in tents.[10]

About this time Knight asked President Joseph F. Smith to recommend someone to help him manage the Canadian venture. J. William Knight, at E. P.'s funeral in 1939, told the Knight family's version of how E. P. joined their sugar venture:

> He [Jesse Knight] asked President Smith if he knew of a man that he could get to help him carry forward his many projects. President Smith thought a few moments and he said "Yes, if you can get him I know a man that is capable and has wonderful ability, is dependable in every sense of the word." He said, "If you can get Ephraim P. Ellison to join you in your ventures you will get one of the best men—business men—that I know of in the State of Utah." Father did not know Ephraim Ellison at that time. I think he had never met him, but those words were what he had been

praying for in his heart—someone to lighten the load. That load was lightened! When they met and talked matters over, he was not only willing to help my father with his wise advice and counsel, but he joined very liberally with his means.[11]

E. P. consented to go to Raymond to oversee the construction of the factory and then to manage it for a few years.[12] Before E. P. left, however, President Smith suggested an additional project. Knowing E. P. was managing a flour mill in Layton, he urged E. P. to survey the practicability of building a mill in Alberta, too. People there needed a flour mill so they could stop importing flour from Winnipeg and Montana.[13] E. P. agreed.

Beginning in March 1902, E. P. traveled regularly to Raymond and back. Each trip required several train changes. He usually started at the Layton depot and rode the Oregon Shortline Railroad to Butte, Montana. There, he boarded the Great Northern Railroad for Great Falls, Montana; changed to a smaller train that took him to the Canadian border; and transferred (after 1904) to a narrow-gauge railroad owned by the Alberta Railway and Irrigation Company that took him to Stirling, Alberta. Stirling, the nearest railroad point to Raymond, was about six miles away by horse and wagon. Layton to Raymond by train could take fifty hours. E. P.'s tickets were for sleeper cars, although he sometimes stayed overnight at a hotel in Butte. During the year 1902, he traveled to Canada seven times.[14]

When the LDS Church's First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles met in regular meeting on May 1, 1902, Apostle John W. Taylor reported on his recent visit to Canada. He went there, he said, with Jesse Knight "on sugar factory business." While there they found Mormon settlers prospering and expecting to raise 150,000 bushels of grain that year. Elder Taylor added that Ephraim P. Ellison intended to build a flour mill near Magrath at a cost of $35,000.[15]

No sugar factory was built by the fall of 1902; it would open a year late. The Knight Sugar Company was incorporated on October 17, 1902.[16] According to its incorporation papers, the founders created the company to manufacture beet sugar and other saccharine products, and to wholesale and retail the products. The company could buy and sell property and develop the lands by draining, fencing, planting, farming, ranching and promoting immigration. It intended to establish company towns, villages,

and settlements to carry on the business of farming, ranching, and dealing in livestock. In its towns the company reserved the right to operate, control, and superintend the hotels, churches, parks, schools, baths, and work houses. Knight Sugar obtained the legal right to operate stone quarries, lime kilns, brick yards, and lumber yards, "and to deal in such."

The first stockholders met at J. William (Will) Knight's residence in Canada on October 15, 1902. Those attending were Jesse Knight, Will Knight, Ray Knight, George Green, and E. P. Ellison. Jesse opened with prayer, then "made a few remarks saying he hoped the Lord would be with us in this undertaking and that a spirit of fairness would prompt our actions. Bro. Ellison said he concurred in the remarks of Bro. Knight." These men elected Jesse Knight president. E. P. became the company's vice-president and general manager. Jesse spent little time in Canada, preferring to leave the management of the sugar project in E. P.'s hands. The founders chose as their first board of directors[17]

Jesse Knight	John R. Winder
Raymond Knight	Ephraim P. Ellison
Anthon H. Lund	Thomas R. Cutler
Joseph F. Smith	J. William Knight
George W. Green, Jr.	

Three of these nine directors were Knight men—Jesse and his sons Raymond and J. William. Three directors were members of the LDS First Presidency: President Joseph F. Smith and his counselors John R. Winder and Anthon H. Lund.

Needing start-up capital, officers issued 10,000 shares of $100 stock in order to raise up to $1,000,000. Of the first stock issue of about 4,000 shares, Jesse Knight, his wife Amanda, and sons J. Will and Ray bought 80 percent. LDS Church officials held a modest 120 shares. The first investors and their shares of stock were:[18]

Jesse Knight	3,000	Amanda Knight	40
E. P. Ellison	500	Reed Smoot	30
J. Wm. Knight	199	John R. Winder	30
James Pingree	70	John Smith	10
Jos. F. Smith	50	Anthon H. Lund	10
Geo. Romney	50	Geo. W. Green, Jr.	5
John C. Cutler	50	Ray Knight	1

Knight Sugar Co., Ltd., factory, Raymond, Alberta, 1903

Land sales were a vital part of Knight Sugar's hopes for producing profits. When directors met on October 31, 1902, they agreed to sell Knight option lands at six dollars per acre. Option lands lying near Raymond would be sold in forty-acre and eighty-acre parcels, and those who wanted lands for ranching purposes must take option lands on the south side in larger size parcels. Jesse and E. P. built LDS principles into their venture. On February 3, 1903, at a meeting with the First Presidency, the board approved a liquor clause in deeds of property that banned the sale of liquor within two miles of Raymond. At this meeting, sugar veteran David Eccles replaced George Green as a director.[19]

Starting the Factory

In October 1902, the Dyer Company began preparing the ground for the factory construction project. During the next eight months, 150 to 300 laborers, engineers, steelworkers, riveters, and masons erected what was the first beet sugar factory in western Canada. E. P.'s jottings in his 1902 daybook list shipments of building materials arriving in Raymond, including rough, rustic, and finished lumber, timbers, rocks, brick, lime, cement, sand, nails, bolts, white lead, linseed oil, and shingles.[20] The $500,000 factory required 1.25 million bricks, fifty train car loads of lumber, 2,500 barrels of cement, twenty-five cars of structural steel, and fifty

cars of machinery. The finished factory was impressive, according to a 1903 description:

> The building is a handsome one, built throughout of brick and steel, with cement floors. It is three stories high, 300 x 70 feet, without the boiler house, lime kiln, storage rooms and beet shed, while a three-story boarding house for the men has been put up.[21]

Farmers, meanwhile, obtained beet seeds. But they lacked experience with growing sugar beets, so they struggled during 1903 to plant, thin, weed, irrigate, and dig the beets. During the summer the company imported about seventy-five Chinese laborers to help with the thinning. That fall, the sugar factory opened and successfully manufactured Alberta's first beet sugar. Farmers and factory workers received paychecks, and the sugar venture seemed promising for local families and for investors.[22]

In 1903, E. P. appointed son Morris to be the resident manager in Raymond and authorized him to set up the company's business office. At Raymond, Morris boarded with Tom and Ena O'Brien. He obtained ledgers, journals, and stationery from the Hudson Bay store in Lethbridge. Being assistant manager as well as bookkeeper, Morris said, he "actually looked after things about three-quarters of the time."[23]

Sugar and Cattle

In September 1903, the Knight Sugar Company stockholders agreed to buy out and absorb the Knight Ranching Company and the Bar K2 ranch. Apparently some of the sugar company's unsold lands, to be profitable, were used as pastures and ranges for livestock, so directors had to think about cattle in addition to sugar. Also, sugar beet pulp could be fed to cattle.[24] By October 28, 1903, several leading Utah businessmen had bought Knight Sugar Company stock.[25] To raise money for the expanding company, the board in December authorized E. P. to borrow up to $100,000 on behalf of the company.[26]

Early in January 1904, E. P. spent several week days at home caring for his son Parley, who was "very sick" with pneumonia. He spent most of his January days at the Farmers Union. During that year he made several trips to Canada and spent many days working at the Raymond

factory and on ranch matters. Knight Sugar, by obtaining the ranches, became owners of 200 head of horses, 11,740 head of cattle, farm implements, harnesses, bridles, barns, sheds, fences, and lands. In May, E. P. noted in his daybook that he was "looking at land and cattle" but also spent time "thinning beets."[27]

On May 17, 1904, the Knight Sugar Company accepted new by-laws. These stipulated that the company's annual meetings be held on the first Monday in April, that the board be composed of nine members elected for oneyear terms, and that E. P. give annual reports to the board by March 1 each year so the directors could determine what stock dividend to declare. E. P.'s report in 1904 shows that the company's resources, primarily the factory and lands, were valued at $993,630—a million dollar enterprise. By then, official stationery carried a fine masthead showing "Knight Sugar Co. Ltd." and E. P. as manager.[28]

During a midyear 1904 visit to Raymond, E. P. attended a directors' meeting at the Raymond mill, visited the reservoir above town, inspected a farm, did business in Raymond, visited the Milk River Ridge, attended the funeral of a Sister Ririe, attended a beet meeting at the office, and then went home.[29]

That fall another sugar "campaign" got underway. In September, E. P. wrote in his daybook his "estimate of beets" to be harvested:

500 acres	@ 10 tons	5,000 tons
500 acres	@ 8 tons	4,000 tons
500 acres	@ 6 tons	3,000 tons
500 acres	@ 4 tons	2,000 tons
500 acres	@ 2.5 tons	1,250 tons
	Total	15,250 tons

He spent most of October and November in Canada for the beet harvest and sugar processing. On October 16, he was "At office and Factory. Estimated beets in shed." He spent much time "at factory." On October 27, his daybook says, "At office till noon. Fighting fire and at factory afternoon." The next afternoon he went to the Dipping Vat, which he sometimes abbreviated in his daybook, "DV." Raymond Knight had built a dipping vat sixty feet long, eight feet deep, and four feet wide, with corrals and yards to hold 3,000 cattle. Ray estimated he put through 1,500 range cattle a day to treat them against disease.[30] In mid-November E. P. went down to Great Falls and back. His daybook says that on Thanksgiving Day, November 25, he "started cattle. 12 cars for Eldredge."

His six trips to Canada in 1904 compare with his seven trips in 1902 and eight trips in 1903.

Morris recorded on November 26 that workmen finished cutting beets and that the refining of sugar was well underway. On December 22, E. P., back in Canada, noted "Sample of sugar" from the East Range. In 1904 the plant produced 31,593 bags of sugar that netted them $5.50 per bag, of which 60 percent was marketed by May 1905.[31]

Early in 1905, Morris returned to Utah to be married in the Salt Lake Temple to Margaret Jane Cowley.[32] Back in Raymond, the newlyweds set up housekeeping in a small room behind the Knight Sugar Factory office. They lived there for nearly a year, until Morris was called back to Layton to manage the Farmers Union store in place of his brother James, who was called on a mission.[33]

During the fiscal year preceding May 1905, the Knight Sugar Company sold $100,000 worth of beef cattle. The year's grain crop had been "almost a failure on account of the drouth." The company had 3,600 acres of beets contracted. Company holdings consisted of the sugar factory, and the Kirkaldy and Bar-K2 ranches of 139,000 acres.[34] Assets totalled $1,574,068.86. Liabilities included $349,335 owed the Alberta Railway and Irrigation Company for land contracts due in eight equal payments, and $1,000,000 in capital stock.[35]

E. P.'s 1906 daybook contains a notation about a test run at the sugar factory on October 24, 1905. The run consumed 30,600 pounds of coal. Total coal used for steam for the 1905 season was 183,600 pounds, which required 1,001,586 gallons of water and produced 74,892 pounds of ashes. His 1907 daybook says, referring to the 1906 beet season, that the company bought 18,295 tons, cut 17,415 tons, and counted 880 tons as a loss.

Early in 1906 the company petitioned the government of Alberta to pay a fifty cent bounty on each 1,000 pounds of sugar produced. The board that month approved an 8 percent stock dividend for the third year in a row. Resources now included three ranches totaling 207,245 acres.

Also, the company owned unsold residential lots, business lots, and beet lots. The sugar factory and boarding house were valued at $382,293.[36]

Raymond Power Plant

On March 20, 1907, E. P. sent Jesse Knight the company's annual report by mail from Los Angeles. In it, E. P. called for Knight Sugar to build and operate a power plant for the town of Raymond:[37]

> The town of Raymond are clamoring for an electric light plant, I have given the matter some little study and believe that we could install the additional apparatus necessary to supply the town with light for several years to come for about $12,000.00. This would be a good thing, I think for the town and might be the means of keeping some people there that would otherwise leave, and also a means of inducing others to locate there. I do not think it would be a source of revenue to our company, but think we could pull out even on it, my idea is for us to furnish the light at a stipulated price, by the town guaranteeing the payment, I think of a certain amount each month. . . . We have boiler capacity enough and we have buildings sufficient to accommodate the above plant.

Facing a dilemma inherent in religiously sponsored real estate ventures, E. P. raised a question about selling land to any who apply "or to our people only." "Brother Ray [Knight] is of the opinion we ought to sell when ever there is an opportunity." E. P. said he had exceeded the $150,000 the board authorized him to expend, and needed a higher figure in order "to do the volume of business we have done in the past." His report resulted in stockholders receiving a 10 percent dividend due to profits and to about $14,000 in government bounties. On April 1, 1907, the board approved the $12,000 power plant for Raymond, if E. P. felt the plant would be profitable. They authorized him to borrow up to $300,000 for the company.[38]

E. P.'s annual report on March 31, 1908, said that the Raymond power plant had been installed at a cost of $14,000. This was $2,000 over estimate because Westinghouse Electric shipped materials three months late, resulting in the installation of equipment during cold weather and shortened daylight. On Christmas Eve, 1907, the power plant started generating, and the town was officially "electrified" three days later.[39] E. P.'s report said that to date, Raymond had 100 lights connected and 200 more

being installed. "The town of Raymond gives us exemption from taxes of all kinds for twenty-five years and collects all moneys for supplies and lights."

When James Ellison returned from an LDS mission in California, E. P. sent him to Raymond to manage company operations.[40] James and his wife Jane and their five children moved to Canada on May 2, 1908, beginning what proved to be a seven-year residency. One time, son Laurence and his wife Katie went to Canada on the train with E. P. At Great Falls, Montana, they needed to change trains. As they were waiting on a bench, Katie said, "Mr. Ellison, that is a beautiful building across the street." "Yes," he said, "I guess you didn't know that I own part of that building." "What building is it?" she asked. "The United States Post Office," he replied.[41]

Farmer Reluctance to Grow Beets

E. P.'s annual report in 1908 told of heavy cattle losses during the winter, but that the horses were fine. It said that the recent sugar run production suffered due to a beet shortage. "The farmers are slow to contract for the growing of sugar beets," he complained. "The people of Cardston have quit altogether, the last season they planted only one half the acreage contracted and delivered no beets." Farmers of Stirling had set their own beet prices, despite Knight Sugar offering them five dollars per ton and a bounty. Citing E. P.'s report, the board declared a 10 percent dividend. Stockholders reelected the board. E. P. tried to be released as company manager, but was retained:

> Joseph F. Smith moved that E. P. Ellison be Manager, at this point Mr. Ellison said that he had made a request to the president to be released on account of failing health, from this position, after some considerable discussion on his being released, Joseph F. Smith renewed his motion which was put by the President and carried.

E. P., Jesse, and Ray Knight were the executive committee of the company.[42]

Horse Buying in England

A year later, directors again declared a 10 percent dividend. They also authorized E. P. "to go to England and buy one car of registered Shire

Stallions, and one car of registered shire mares" for the ranches. Two days later, at an "extraordinary meeting" of shareholders at the company's office at 69 East South Temple, shareholders granted power to the board to mortgage real and personal property of the company in order to obtain loans. Stockholders elected James Ellison to be the company's secretary and treasurer.

Soon after the meetings, E. P. and Ray Knight headed for England, where they purchased what was perhaps the largest shipment of registered horses that had ever been brought to Canada to that time.[43] E. P. left for England on April 8 by train with Ray Knight and Bishop David E. Layton, beginning a five-week trip. They reached New York City via Denver and Chicago on April 12 and stayed at the McKenzie Hotel. David Layton said that while traveling across the country, even in the New York hotel, E. P. always suggested they have prayer in the morning.[44] The men had one day to see the city and do business, including the purchase of some scales, and then boarded the *Mauritania* for the ocean voyage. E. P. became sick the first day at sea. Ocean "quite rough," he noted in his daybook on April 17. The men reached Liverpool on April 20.

While in England, E. P. received mail, including a letter from nephew William A. Taylor, who sent him several addresses of English relatives, and said, "hope you will Bee Successful in finding Some of the Relatives."[45] Apparently E. P., although in the land where his parents were born, did not have time to contact relatives.

During the first several days in England, E. P. went to a horse auction, examined horses at Shrewsbury, and went to Kirkculbright in Scotland, where he purchased eight stallions and eight fillies—"all clydes," he noted. At Leeds he toured Fowlers' "Plow works." On April 29 and 30 he bought ten fillies, three stallions, "15 horses" at Peterbro and fourteen more at "Forshaws." During the first five days in May he was in London and made one purchase of five fillies. David Layton recalled that one of the sellers, Alfred Smith, was impressed by E. P.'s skill at judging horses. "`Well, you didn't make any mistake bringing the right parties to look 'em ova'," he said. In Mr. Smith's house, the host said, "What will you gentlemen have to drink? cider? or whiskey?" E. P. answered, "Oh, a glass of milk or water." Smith, startled, said, "Oh, that's poor stuff at the best."[46]

On May 7, E. P. went to Glasgow, Scotland, where the horses they had purchased were loaded onto the ship. According to David Layton, the man who loaded the horses said it was the biggest shipment that had ever left Scotland's shore. In one shipment, Layton said, were sixty-seven head of draft horses, including twenty-eight stallions.[47] The next day E. P., his companions, and the horses sailed for Canada. When leaving England, E. P. noted in his daybook, with a touch of disdain, that an Englishman has four necessaries of life: wines, spirits, beer, and tobacco.

For the return trip the men sailed on the "Donaldsen Line." The ship owner, Donaldsen, had Ellison, Knight, and Layton sit at the Captain's Table. He rode down the river with them while they departed Glasgow because he was so pleased with their company, and then he took a small boat back to shore when they reached the ocean.[48] Six days into the voyage their ship steamed its way through icebergs for about twelve hours. On May 16 the ship entered the St. Lawrence River, and two days later it docked at Ottawa. There E. P. obtained "papers for Horses" from the government. On May 19 they unloaded the horses from the boat and put them into railroad cars. E. P. then headed home through Detroit and Chicago, arriving in Layton on May 23. (In 1916 a reporter asked E. P. how many miles he had traveled in his lifetime. E. P. replied that he only kept track for one year, the one when he made two trips to Europe and several trips to Alberta and Montreal, covering a little over 35,000 miles.[49])

Early in 1910 the company directed E. P. to buy William H. McIntyre's ranch of about 64,000 acres if he could get a good price. Sugar company stockholders received a 12 percent dividend that year. Directors then were[50]

Jesse Knight	Anthon H. Lund	Thomas R. Cutler
E. P. Ellison	Ray Knight	David Eccles
Joseph F. Smith	J. Will Knight	C. A. Magrath

At the April 3, 1911, shareholders meeting, where a 12 percent dividend was again announced, 9,028 shares were represented, including the major shareholders:

Knight Investment Company	3570 shares
David Eccles	2000 shares
LDS Trustee-in-Trust	530 shares
E. P. Ellison	512 shares

That day, at the directors meeting, "On motion of Joseph F. Smith, a vote of thanks was voted to the manager, E. P. Ellison, for his efficient and successful management."

Beet Shortages

For three years, starting in 1911, E. P. and the Knight Sugar executives fretted about shortages of beets and beet laborers. Below zero temperatures during the fall harvest season in 1911 meant that the factory received "not very many beets" to refine. Wheat, too, was standing in the fields in the shock, wet, frozen, and covered with snow. "It is certainly very discouraging to nearly everybody," E. P. wrote to Jesse Knight from Raymond on November 11. E. P. added that he was limping and under the doctor's care due to "getting one of my feet badly crushed under some falling timbers."[51]

Difficulties with farmers and weather convinced the profit-minded Knight Sugar Company executives to pull out of the sugar manufacturing business in Alberta. On December 22, 1911, board members authorized E. P. to try to sell the factory, beet lands, and the ranches. They stipulated that for two months a buyer could purchase the company's land at seventeen dollars per acre and receive the factory at no charge. In 1912 manager James E. Ellison, accompanied by Morris, traveled to Belgium and Holland, and also toured England and France, to recruit men to work in the beet fields.[52]

E. P.'s 1912 daybook mentions on March 26 that "Belginns arrived 58 in all." The Ellison brothers booked their return trip on the brand new, supposedly unsinkable liner *Titanic*. Luckily they changed their plans. The *Titanic* struck an iceberg and sank on April 15, 1912, with the loss of 1,500 passengers.

E. P. visited Raymond in June 1912, and found "the worst prospects for beets that we have ever had, except possibly the first year." Drought had caused "a very poor stand of beets." Farmers had little hope for the grain crops, either. Ranch cattle, however, were "first rate."[53]

A story circulates in the Ellison family about E. P.'s skills as an appraiser of livestock, but when the event happened is not known. E. P. was in Mexico, appraising ranch property and livestock for a brother of a captain in the British navy. He was offered a vessel, manned, equipped with food and necessities for a twenty-day cruise, all expenses paid. E. P. declined the offer.[54]

In 1912 and 1913, E. P. continued to seek buyers for the factory. At one point he investigated an inquiry about Knight Sugar building a new factory at Port Mann, Canada.[55]

One of the Knight Sugar Company's directors, David Eccles, died in December 1912. He was then considered the wealthiest man in Utah.[56]

On April 7, 1913, E. P. resigned as manager of the Knight Sugar Company "because the time and personal attention required by his varied interests caused him to feel that the company's business should be entrusted to someone else." Directors gave him a vote of thanks for "faithful and efficient service in the successful conduct of the company's business from its beginning to date." In his place, directors elected his son James as General Manager at a salary of $5,000 per year. E. P. remained on the executive committee with Jesse and Ray Knight. In late July 1913, James reported that the land was dry and grain suffering. Beets, however, were growing quite well, even the ones hard hit by a hailstorm a few weeks before. "It seems if there is not one thing, there is something else to fight against here in Canada," he lamented.[57]

Late in 1913, aging Jesse Knight shared with the Knight Investment Company board, who owned a majority interest in Knight Sugar, his Christian approach to being a capitalist. He admitted that Knight Investment Company had taken on a number of large enterprises during the past year, costing large outlays that he believed were justified. His son, J. Will, felt that these new projects were unwise investments "in view of our financial condition." Jesse, however,

> Conceded that the financial burden seems heavy but that he was moved to assume these obligations as a duty placed upon him by providence to acquire, hold and develop the country for the benefit of the Saints. He added that it is his abiding faith that we would be sustained and assisted when in need because of obligations undertaken with such objects in view.[58]

On November 3, 1913, workman Walter Barratt was killed at the sugar factory when his clothing became caught in machinery. A coroner and Northwest Mounted Police came from Lethbridge to investigate. They summoned six men for a jury, who decided Mr. Barratt met death by his own carelessness. James reported this accident in detail to Jesse Knight, but also reported that beets were up but the sugar run would be short because "it seems impossible to get the farmers to raise beets in this part."[59]

By early 1914, with land sales down and beet production low, the board offered to rent land to settlers at $2.50 per acre per year, to furnish the use of a house, team, some pigs, a cow, and to guarantee them the right to purchase forty acres of land with ten equal payments. In return, the settlers would have to raise twenty acres of sugar beets each year. The board made this offer because they knew they must "all do what we can to encourage beet raising."[60]

But by fall 1914, James complained by letter to J. Will Knight about the company's fortunes. He noted that the K2 properties were on the selling block and that he was considering a possible move of the factory to eastern Canada. "It is quite discouraging here at the present time, and has been for the past two or three seasons," he said. "It seems, if we want to run our factory here, we will be compelled to raise most of the beets ourselves, and of course, this is an 'uphill' proposition, to say the best of it." He believed that current sugar prices could make the company a little money if they had some beets.[61]

> We have from 5000 to 6000 bags on hand from our last run on raw sugar. We should be able to make a little money on this, but there were so many expenses preparing the beet land, seeding the same, and keeping the weeds down this season, that they will more than eat up all our profits.

World War I broke out in Europe, and the Canadian military needed horses. If the army wanted artillery horses, James noted, the ranches had quite a number of them. "We are doing everything possible to sell all the horses we possibly can." The ranches had no beef steers to speak of, he added. They had 200 to 300 head of extra-choice young cows, three-to six-year-olds, which he might consider selling if he could get a decent price. "It really looks too bad to sell them on account of the kind they

are, nearly all white faces, and our being short of cattle any how. However, we have to be governed some by our finances here."

Jim then described the beet situation to Will: "Our beet crop is almost a total failure; not enough to start the factory for. The grain crop in this part is very very poor. In fact, we have nothing to boast of, except wind, and we have had an abundance of that most of the season." Jim added that he had been unable to make collections on past due payments for farmland purchases.[62]

Going Out of Business

Clearly, the company wanted out of the Alberta sugar manufacturing business. E. P. knew that sugar factories could be disassembled and moved. On November 27, 1914, he wrote to Jesse Knight and reported on meetings he had had with Thomas R. Cutler of Utah-Idaho Sugar and "the Eccles boys." E. P. told Cutler that Knight Sugar was considering three Utah locations for its Raymond sugar factory: the north end of Cache Valley, Layton, and Spanish Fork. "He seemed to appreciate my calling on him and did not show any disposition of being opposed to any of those points." David C. Eccles, however, seemed opposed to the Cache Valley and Layton sites. E. P. also told Jesse that he had received back from the railroad no freight rate estimates yet to move 1,368 tons of machinery and structural steel from Raymond to Downey, Idaho, to Layton, or to Spanish Fork.[63]

A month later E. P. wrote again, after visiting Canada. On the trip back he had stopped at Great Falls, where people "seemed quite anxious" to have the Raymond factory move there. The people lacked beet experience and could not grow beets for 1915 or 1916. But, he told Jesse, "after discussing the Sugar Factory business fully with Ray [Knight] and Jas. E. [at Raymond] we were unanimous in the opinion that the factory should be closed down for next year."[64]

E. P. decided he wanted the sugar factory moved to his home town of Layton. In a December 10, 1914, letter, Will Knight told E. P. he favored the Layton site because the factory would be easier to manage and supervise there; local farmers knew about sugar beets; labor unions would not be a problem; and the factory would benefit Utah people.[65]

Closing the Factory

During a December 1914 meeting the board voted to close the Raymond factory. When they announced their decision, a storm of protests broke out in Mormon towns in Alberta. The Lethbridge Board of Trade met and polled farmers to see what beets they would be willing to grow. Because labor was a problem, farmers felt they would grow one acre each rather than five or ten, so they could realistically handle the tough task of thinning the beets. "The question of labor during the thinning and topping seasons, was considered of the utmost importance, and was regarded as one of the serious drawbacks to the industry here." One man suggested that boys out of school could do the thinning. Someone proposed the city grow beets on a civic farm. A commissioner said farmers in the community of Taber could grow enough beets for a dozen factories "if they were given irrigation."[66]

Coaldale farmers seemed eager. They said they were willing to grow enough beets to justify the factory—after Bishop J. W. Evans of Raymond polled them. He urged the Knight Sugar officials: "We have got the factory, and can grow the sugar beets, why don't we keep it?" Mr. Dahl from Raymond told them any yield over five tons per acre was profit—he had averaged thirteen tons and made good profits for many years. Coaldale, because it had good alfalfa land, could be good beet land too, he said. Before the Coaldale men adjourned, they created a committee to visit farmers and urge them to grow beets.[67]

Farmers met en masse in Magrath, and at Ray Knight's suggestion appointed a committee of eight influential farmers to solicit beet acreage for 1915 and 1916. The group pledged to sustain the factory. "This is no scare, gentlemen," Ray Knight told them; "the factory will be moved unless we get the raw product. Beets are what we want, enough to make a profitable run. If we can get the beets, I believe the plant will stay in Alberta." Spokesmen hoped that "if people showed they genuinely wanted the factory and would support it, the company would reverse their decision."[68]

Bishop J. W. Evans of the Raymond Second Ward wrote a pleading letter to Jesse Knight, dated January 5, 1915. The decision to close the plant "has caused a wave of excitement unparalleled in the history of Raymond" and "has also stirred up Southern Alberta as a whole," he said. He enclosed newspaper clippings to prove the point. He argued that farmers, who had lost interest in growing beets in part because the company recently had had no field superintendent, now were eager to pledge beet crops in order to keep the factory. "You may safely expect large returns," he promised. He believed that the Canadian Pacific Railroad, vitally interested in developing the country, probably would supply considerable tonnage of beets themselves in order to encourage the industry. CPR's vice-president, J. S. Dennis, said the company was "willing to do anything we can to assist in retaining it [factory] there."

Jesse Knight answered Bishop Evans on January 13, 1915. All of the Knight Sugar Company officials, he said, have worked earnestly for a number of weeks to decide what was best for the company and for residents there. While the committee was not unanimous in its judgment, the majority favored not operating the factory in Canada. Twelve years' experience let them see what they could hope for in the near future.

> The idea is also expressed that not only Sugar Company officials, but many of the farmers and ranchers have lost money in their endeavor to maintain the sugar factory, and that if the factory were removed elsewhere the farmers would give their undivided attention to hay or grain culture, combined with stock raising, which would be a surer crop for them and they would not be so dependent on outside labor.

Jesse Knight added that "most of the committee members feel quite positive that it would be to the advantage of the Knight Sugar Company to either move the factory elsewhere or to shut it down permanently." The committee would report to the board that week, he said, at which time "the matter will be disposed of definitely and I trust for the best good of all concerned." Jesse expressed "only the best of desires for the success of the Raymond and Southern Alberta farmers and would even be willing to take a loss, so far as the Sugar Company is concerned, if I knew that by so doing it would work to the ultimate benefit of the district. As to this point I am not thoroughly convinced," he said, but admitted that "I am inclined to let other members decide the question."

Apparently commitments to grow enough beets did not materialize, or were too slow in coming, so local leaders in southern Alberta felt that

their only hope for saving the factory and the beet industry was for someone there to buy the factory. Seeing the factory close was painful for many farmers, community boosters, and company workers. Ray Knight opposed the decision. On January 14, 1915, he sent an urgent telegram from Canada to Will Knight, which Will shared with E. P. It read:

> Your wire received. Not satisfied with decision. Sugar factory should not be moved. If decision is not iron clad I will come down right away. Don't think any of you know spirit and feeling of people up here. Answer.

Will's answer was: "Nothing but sure sale would change decision."[69] Will also received a telegram on January 15 from Bishop Evans: "Wire best price and terms for factory and sugar section. Strong financial concerns interested to keep plant here." Will replied:

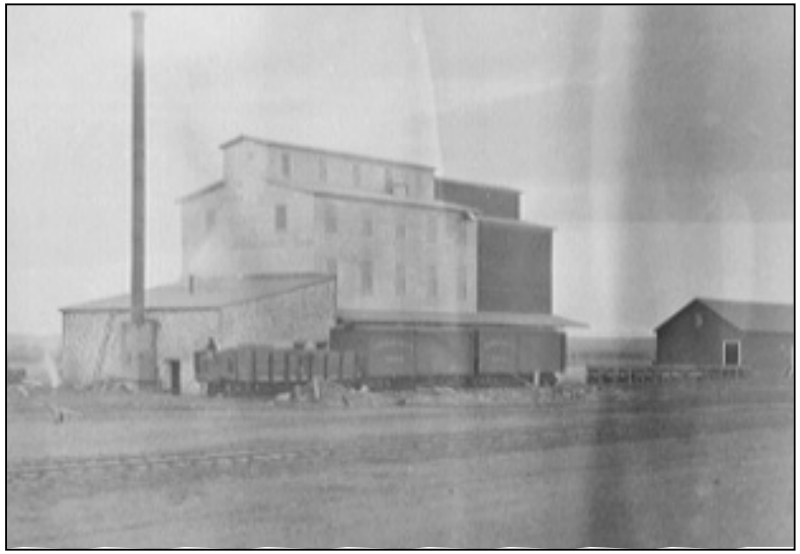
> Will agree to sell factory and sugar section for $275,000.00 if $50,000.00 is deposited immediately with bank of Montreal at Raymond as first payment, deferred payments bearing seven per cent. Will consider deal closed if bank wires us first payment as above is made.

Quietly at work, while the Raymond factory's fate was being argued, was a market factor hurtful to sugar manufacturers in the United States. In 1913, Congress had enacted the Underwood Tariff, which reduced by 25 percent the protective fees charged against foreign sugar, and then put sugar on the tariff-free list in 1916. "Such action would no doubt have destroyed the beet sugar industry had it not been nullified in effect by the coming of World War I on August 1, 1914."[70]

When no investors stepped forward to keep the plant at Raymond, the Knight Sugar Company prepared to move it to Layton. Farmers in the Layton and Kaysville area gave commitments to grow beets for the company in 1915. James Ellison remained in Canada until May. That February he was called to be the bishop of the Raymond First Ward but served only until May, when, the factory idle, he returned to Layton.[71]

Despite some good sugar runs, Alberta histories that discuss the Knight Sugar refinery say that, overall, "the venture failed."[72] A historian of sugar beet manufacturing in the West said this about the venture:

> The growing of beets in Canada was new and no one there had any experience in growing sugarbeets. The first year 8,000 bags were produced; the next few years were no better and the entire history of the plant in Canada was one of frustration [due to] long distances, formidable climate, lack of labor; wheat and livestock were better alternatives.[73]



Newly-completed Raymond Milling and Elevator Company flour mill, Raymond, Alberta. Construction has just been completed and the building is unpainted with no sign. 1902. (Courtesy Sir Alexander Galt Museum, Lethbridge Alberta)

The Raymond plant later was sold and moved, not to Layton but to Cornish, Utah in 1917 (see chapter seventeen). However, sugar manufacturing returned to Raymond a decade after the Knight Sugar Company left. In 1925, LDS Church President Heber J. Grant, who was also president of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, moved an unproductive sugar factory from Washington state to Raymond and reestablished the sugar industry, "this time with marked success."[74]

After closing the sugar factory, Knight Investment Company continued to operate the Canadian ranches. During the 1930s, banks foreclosed on the Bar K2, after which the McIntyre Ranch acquired it.[75]

Ellison Milling and Elevator, Ltd.[76]

In 1902, during E. P.'s first year in Canada, he followed President Joseph F. Smith's advice about milling and organized the Raymond

Ellison Mill and Elevator A at Raymond, Alberta. First built in 1902, burned and re-built twice, 1924–25 and 1937

Milling and Elevator Company. Pessimistic old timers warned that in southern Alberta's severe weather, farmers could not grow sufficient wheat to keep a flour mill busy. A *Lethbridge Weekly News* survey found that twenty local businessmen doubted that a "150 barrel" flour mill could succeed due to lack of rainfall, wheat, and markets. However, E. P., after assessing the virgin grassland around Raymond, "was confident that this virgin land could produce wheat." So he raised capital for the milling venture from his friends in Utah.[77]

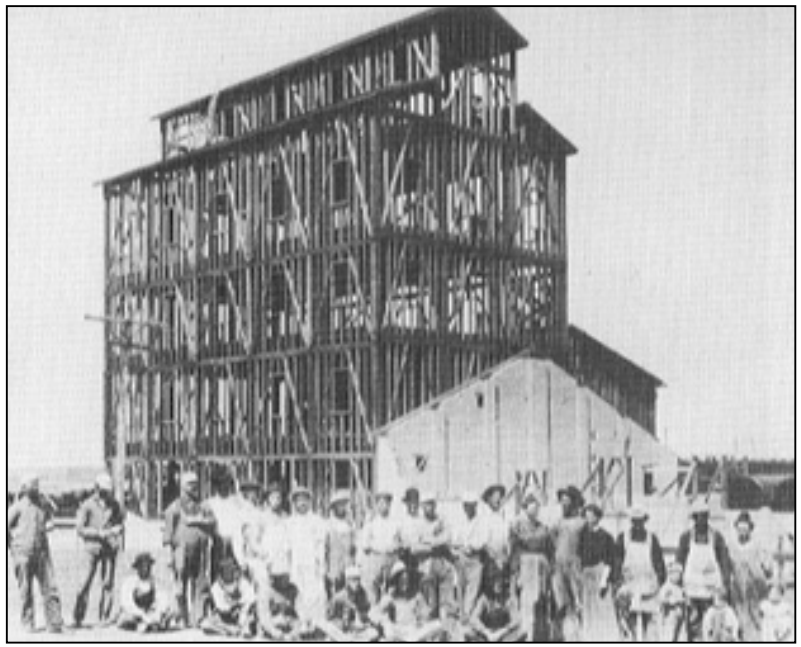
The Raymond Milling and Elevator Company was organized and capitalized at $32,100. Then the company obtained promises from some Raymond settlers to break the sod and sow wheat. The company erected an elevator and flour mill, both of frame construction and painted red. A boiler room, made of red brick, was on the west side of the mill to produce the steam needed to power the mill. Coal for the boilers came from Lethbridge, at first by wagons, later by trains. A mill pond, fed by irrigation ditches, provided water for the mill, and served as community swimming pool in summer and skating rink in winter.[78]

The elevator had storage capacity for 50,000 bushels of wheat. It was termed a "150-barrel roller mill." Mr. Yaunt, from Utah, was the first miller, replaced a year later by Sam Helwig from Ontario.[79] Soon after the mill was operational, E. P. told directors "that he had acted as manager of

Ellison Mill and Elevator B at Magrath, Alberta, 1906, burned down in 1916

the company during the construction of the mill, and it was understood that as soon as it was completed he was to be released, and therefore he now presented his resignation." He hired George W. Green, Jr., for one year at a salary of $100 per month, to take charge of the mill. Green, who had worked in the Layton mill, handled the first grain delivery to the elevator on October 3, 1902. Milling began the next January. Sacks of flour bore the brand name of "Our Best" flour.

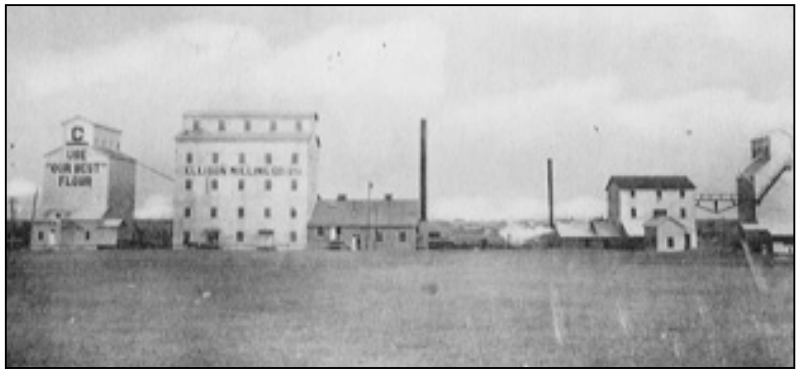
Listed as directors at the first board meeting of Raymond Milling and Elevator, held on April 29, 1903, were Charles McCarthy, J. William Knight, J. J. Head, J. W. Taylor, L. H. Baker, and W. W. McIntyre. Company officers were E. P. as president, Levi Harker, vice-president, E. B. Hicks, secretary, and Raymond Knight, treasurer.[80] During the mill's first six months, it received 54,000 bushels of wheat, for which it paid farmers $27,443—an average of fifty-one cents per bushel. The mill had operated 120 days, eleven hours per day, except for May when it ran ten hours.[81] In his presidential report in 1904, E. P. said the mill "concluded its first year's run with fairly good success and all products were meeting with ready sale." That year Charles A. Magrath and George W. Green replaced J. W. Taylor and Charles McCarthy as directors. "The addition to the Board of Mr. Magrath was most fortunate," a history of the operation notes, because Magrath had helped develop the town of Lethbridge,



Construction of the Ellison Mill in Lethbridge, 1907, showing workmen and their families from the Raymond and Magrath Mills who were sent to Lethbridge to construct the mill. The establishment of the mill marked the introduction of a significant Mormon influence within Lethbridge (Courtesy Lethbridge Historical Society)

had been the town's first mayor, and was a developer interested in attracting settlers to the area.[82]

In 1905, directors decided to build another grain elevator, this time at Magrath, to be followed later by a mill. Morris Ellison, bookkeeper for the Knight Sugar Factory, became a director to represent E. P., who was not always able to come from Utah to attend meetings. In 1904, however, E. P. made six trips, staying ten days to three weeks each time, "to inspect beet crops and the operation of the Sugar Factory and the Flour Mill."[83] Good crops meant that the 1905 milling year was successful enough for stockholders to receive a 15 percent dividend. In 1906, with E. P. in charge of having it designed and machinery purchased, the Magrath mill was completed. It had the same 150 barrel capacity as the Raymond mill. David Clemis came from eastern Canada to be the miller. When the mill opened that November, Raymond Milling had doubled its milling capacity in four crop years.[84]



Ellison Milling Co., flour mill and storage elevator, Lethbridge, Alberta. The Taylor Mills is on the right. (Courtesy Sir Alexander Galt Museum, Lethbridge, Alberta)

Lethbridge likewise wanted a mill, so the company agreed to build one there, too. Directors made two historic decisions. First, they renamed the corporation, calling it Ellison Milling and Elevator, Ltd. Director McGrath wanted the new name in order to honor E. P. Ellison and to avoid community jealousies. Second, directors voted to increase capitalization to $150,000. In the agreement which Ellison Milling signed with the city of Lethbridge, the city granted the company total exemption from taxation for fifteen years, spelled out how it would provide the mill with water, and promised further exemptions if the mill were enlarged. Shareholders accepted the new plans in January 1906, and approved a new stock issue of $58,000. The new entity received a certificate of incorporation from the Province of Alberta on October 30, 1906. The Lethbridge mill, which cost $58,700, opened in November 1907.[85]

Expansion proved profitable. In 1909 the company needed more storage space at the three mills, so it started erecting more grain elevators in Welling, Coaldale, and Diamond City. The year 1909 proved prosperous enough for directors to declare a 16 percent dividend.[86] The Lethbridge mill became the most important of the three because Lethbridge had better railroad shipping facilities. Company headquarters moved there in 1911, as did supervisor George Green. By then his salary was $150 per month. Another elevator was purchased at Foremost. But then, disaster struck. The Magrath mill was completely destroyed by fire in 1915. Directors opted not to rebuild it because the other two mills could handle the extra milling.[87]

NOTES

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2. *Davis County Clipper*, Aug. 22, 1893.
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4. Other board members were President Joseph F. Smith, Fred J. Kiesel, Hiram H. Spencer, Joseph Scowcroft, Adam Patterson, Joseph Clark, and George Stoddard; Arrington, *Beet Sugar in the West*, 8–30.
5. Tagg, *A History of the Mormon Church in Canada*, 99.
6. Godfrey and Card, eds., *The Diaries of Charles Ora Card: The Canadian Years, 1886–1903*, 97; Brado, *Cattle Kingdom: Early Ranching in Alberta*, 138.
7. Godfrey and CArd, eds., *The Diaries of Charles O. Card*, on those dates.
8. Ibid., 99.
9. Palmer and Palmer, "Mormons in Western Canadian Agriculture," in Brigham Y. Card, et al., *The Mormon Presence in Canada*, 238.
10. Ibid.; "A Brief History of the Knight Sugar Factory Co. Ltd.," Typescript, Knight Sugar Company Minutes, Glenbow Library, Calgary, Alberta, Canada; J. Orvin Hicken et al., eds., *"Roundup": Raymond, 1901–1967*, 39. Another history says that Jesse Knight "assembled twelve teams which followed along behind each other turning over the prairie sod and preparing it for Alberta's first crop of sugar beets"—see MacGregor, *A History of Alberta*, 165.
11. Funeral Services of Ephraim P. Ellison, Oct. 23, 1939, Typescript, (EFA).
12. Hicken et al., eds., *"Roundup,"* 49.
13. Ellison, "The Raymond Milling and Elevator Company Limited," in Hicken et al., eds., *"Roundup"*, 56–63; E. P.'s daybook for 1902 notes that Raymond then had 250 people, Stirling 440, Cardston 1000, and Etna 200.
14. E. P. Ellison Daybook, 1902.
15. Larson, ed., *A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson*, 429 (entry for May 1, 1902).
16. Knight Sugar Company, Board Minutes, Oct. 17, 1902, Glenbow Library. Cited hereafter as Knight Sugar Company Minutes.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., Oct. 17, 1902.
19. Ibid., Oct. 31, 1902, and Feb. 3, 1903.
20. E. P. Ellison Daybook, 1902.
21. Hicken et al., *"Roundup,"* 39–40.
22. Ibid., 71.
23. "Sketch of Morris H. Ellison" in Hicken et al., eds., *"Roundup,"* 50; Morris Ellison kept a small black daybook in 1904, from which Eva (Mrs. Reed) Ellison made excerpts for the author, in her letter to me dated Feb. 7, 1987, in Knight Sugar Company File, EFA.

24. Knight Sugar Company Minutes, Sept. 7 and Nov. 5, 1903.
25. Some of E. P.'s friends who invested were Henry H. Rolapp, Thomas D. Dee, H. T. Dyer, John Flint, W. A. Dawson, and sons James and Morris Ellison.
26. Knight Sugar Company Minutes, Sept. 7, Nov. 5, and Dec. 26, 1903.
27. E. P. Ellison Daybook, January and May, 1904, entries.
28. Letter in Knight Sugar Company Minutes, May 1904 section.
29. E. P. Ellison Daybook, June and July, 1904.
30. Brado, *Cattle Kingdom*, 171.
31. Eva Ellison, excerpts from Morris Ellison Daybook; E. P.'s 1904 daybook says that Raymond's population was 1768. Of these, 1669 were Mormons, including 343 tithepayers and 40 nontithepayers.
32. Knight Sugar Company Minutes, Mar. 22, 1905.
33. Hicken et al., eds., *"Roundup,"* 52.
34. Knight Sugar Company Minutes, April 10, 1905.
35. Ibid., Mar. 1, 1905.
36. Ibid., April 2, 1906.
37. Knight Sugar Company Minutes, April 1, 1907.
38. Ibid.
39. Hicken et al., eds., *"Roundup,"* 23.
40. Ibid., 53–55.
41. Oma Wilcox note to the author, Dec. 1992, EFA.
42. Knight Sugar Company Minutes, March 31, 1908.
43. Ibid., May 3, 1909; Hicken et. al. eds., "*Roundup*," 47–51; the five-week trip's details are drawn from E. P.'s 1909 daybook, entries for April and May.
44. Oma E. Wilcox notes of conversations with David E. Layton, typed, 2 pp., undated, in Knight Sugar Company File, EFA.
45. William A. Taylor to E. P. Ellison, at Liverpool, April 12, 1909, John Ellison File, EFA.
46. Wilcox notes of David E. Layton conversation.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Oma Wilcox conversations with the author.
50. Knight Sugar Company Minutes, April 4, 1910.
51. E. P. Ellison to Jesse Knight, Nov. 10, 1911, Knight Investment Company Papers, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Cited hereafter as KIC Papers.
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53. E. P. Ellison to Jesse Knight, June 20, 1912, KIC Papers.
54. Note in Oma Wilcox File, EFA.
55. Knight Sugar Company Minutes, April 1, 1913.
56. Arrington, *David Eccles, Pioneer Western Industrialist*, 170.

57. James E. Ellison to Jesse Knight, July 25, 1913, KIC Papers.
58. Knight Investment Company, Minutes, Dec. 25, 1913, KIC Papers.
59. James E. Ellison to Jesse Knight, Nov. 4, 1913, KIC Papers.
60. Knight Investment Company, Stockholders Meeting Minutes, April 6, 1914, KIC Papers.
61. James E. Ellison to J. Will Knight, Sept. 23, 1914, KIC Papers.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid., Nov. 27, 1914, KIC Papers.
64. E. P. Ellison to Jesse Knight, Dec. 17, 1914, KIC Papers.
65. J. Will Knight to E. P. Ellison, Dec. 19, 1914, KIC Papers.
66. Unlabelled clippings in letter from Bishop J. W. Evans to Jesse Knight, Jan. 5, 1915, KIC Papers.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. Included in letter from J. Will Knight to E. P. Ellison, Jan. 15, 1915, KIC Papers.
70. Backman, *Story of The Amalgamated Sugar Company, 1897–1961*, 48.
71. Hicken et al., eds., "*Roundup*," 54.
72. Brado, *Cattle Kingdom*, 138.
73. Arrington, *David Eccles, Pioneer Western Industrialist*, 244.
74. Tagg, *A History of the Mormon Church in Canada*, 106.
75. Brado, *Cattle Kingdom*, 138.
76. Unless otherwise documented, information given here about Ellison Milling is taken from Eva R. Ellison's "The Raymond Milling and Elevator Company, Unlimited," in Hicken et al., eds., *"Roundup,"* 56–63.
77. Hicken et al., eds., "*Roundup*," 50.
78. Ibid., 51.
79. Eva R. Ellison, "The Ellison Companies and Influence in Canada, 1902- 1940," Typescript, 1992, 30 pp., copy in EFA, 3, cited hereafter as Eva Milling History.
80. Ibid., 3.
81. Ibid., 4.
82. Ibid.
83. Morris H. Ellison Daybook, quoted in Eva Milling History, 6.
84. Eva Milling History, 6.
85. Ibid., 6–8.
86. Ibid., 9.
87. Ibid., 10.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF LAYTON

During his lifetime, E. P. Ellison's financial successes and his reputation for being a good businessman stemmed, in large measure, from his being a respected banker. In America's "Age of Enterprise," business developers like E. P. constantly dealt with banks. They needed banks to safeguard funds, make money transfers, and to grant loans. In 1905, at age fifty-five, E. P. decided to create a local bank rather than continue funneling his banking activities through someone else's institution. The Farmers Union had been serving in a casual way as a bank, but Layton needed a full-service bank. E. P.'s banking venture, like most of his business attempts, proved successful.

Starting a Bank

E. P. established the First National Bank of Layton during a period that one historian calls Utah's "era of bank expansion" between 1888 and 1920. At the close of 1887, Utah Territory had but eight private, two territory-chartered, and seven nationally chartered banks. A short period of rapid expansion of banks followed, until 1892. Then the Depression of 1893 and other factors slowed the rate of increase until 1905, the year when E. P. and others organized the First National Bank of Layton. Starting that year, and continuing through 1920, Utah saw "a constant increase each year in the number of operating banks." In 1905, eleven state banks and two national banks opened. Layton's bank was the sixteenth national bank to open in Utah.[1] By then nearly every Utah community of at least modest size had a bank because "the inhabitants were eager to have local banks, so that they could deal directly with their bankers instead of by mail." Local people liked the "personal touch" and felt "confidence in the reliable, well-known local man."[2]

Farmers Union store, 1905

Founding fathers of First National Bank of Layton were E. P. Ellison, James Pingree, Rufus Adams, George V. Stevenson, John Flint, Elias Adams, Thomas J. Smith, John H. Layton, and Jesse M. Smith. When the bank opened, E. P. was its largest stockholder. He held twenty-five shares, Pingree twenty, and most stockholders ten, including E. P.'s son James. Sons Morris and Laurence owned five each. The bank began with a stock capitalization of $25,000, the shares valued at $100 each.

In order to open, the bank complied with Utah's 1888 Banking Act. This law required a minimum capitalization of $20,000; and 25 percent of capital subscriptions should be paid in cash. Incorporation was valid for fifty years. Officers could be elected for one year only. Bank officers could personally borrow only $10,000 for not longer than three months, and only if they provided collateral worth twice the amount borrowed, and bank stock could not be part of the collateral.[3]

At the first meeting of the new bank's board, on March 15, 1905, the first matter of business was to select officers. The men picked James Pingree as president; E. P. and Rufus Adams vice-presidents; James Ellison, cashier; and Laurence Ellison, assistant cashier. They authorized President Pingree to buy $7,500 worth of United States bonds to deposit with the

L. E. Ellison in front of the First National Bank of Layton, 1905

government "to secure our circulation."[4] Then they assigned President Pingree to order plates designed for their own currency in denominations of ten and twenty dollar bills. They voted that he make a deposit of 5 percent of circulation as a "redemption fund" with the government.

E. P. wanted the bank to be located across the street from the Farmers Union, on the north side of Gentile Street. So after making funding decisions, the directors gave attention to constructing and furnishing the bank building. They asked James Pingree to order bank fixtures, a safe, and stationery. They appointed James Ellison and Rufus Adams to serve as a building committee to oversee the construction of the bank and to buy and install a steel ceiling on the building. The board asked Laurence and E. P. to buy land for the building from the Thomas Sandall estate and to close the contract.

William Allen, designer of the Farmers Union building, Ephraim and Elizabeth's residence, and many attractive Davis County buildings, drew the architectural plans for the bank.[5]

On May 15, 1905, the First National Bank of Layton opened its doors for business. Depositors the first day did not include any Ellisons. Apparently they were too busy getting the bank opened and operating. No longer did Layton residents need to go to Kaysville for banking services or leave their money under the care and protection of the

Farmers Union. Having its own bank enhanced Layton's business district. Located at 50 West Gentile Street, it opened with but one employee, Laurence Ellison. This started for Laurence a banking career that would span sixty years. His older brother James was cashier but never actually worked in the bank.[6] Laurence, who had been a school principal before taking the bank position, was not yet married.[7]

At the end of the bank's first day of business, Laurence tried to balance the accounts and discovered he was two dollars short. Worried, he worked until 2 o'clock in the morning before he found out that you cannot count silver dollars by measuring one stack against another. Eighteen new dollars were the same height as twenty old ones! In that day, most other banks did not handle "coppers"—pennies—and dealt only with the nearest nickel below actual amount, but Laurence always insisted on exact change.[8]

A month after the bank opened, the board voted to install three awnings for the windows, learned that the new safe would cost $900, and elected an executive committee of James Pingree, E. P., and Rufus Adams.[9]

Early in 1906 James left for an LDS mission to California, so the board promoted Laurence to cashier, and Morris Ellison replaced Laurence as assistant cashier but never worked at the bank.[10] Starting in 1906 and for the next two years, the bank paid an 8 percent dividend to stockholders.[11]

Ledgers during the bank's first year show payments made to get the bank open and started. The bank paid P. A. Isakson for construction work, Arthur Ellis for work around the grounds, and Fred Lund for "extra yard work." It paid John Sandall for yard work, including planting grass, installing a tie pole for horses, clearing weeds in front, and cleaning the bank. The bank paid express bills for the currency supply shipped to it. It bought a typewriter, stationery, a door lock, and stamps. It obtained bank letterhead and printed checkbooks from Utah Lithographing, including some for the local school district. In March 1906, it purchased linoleum, furniture, blinds, and oil for paint, and in April a metal, lettered sign. In June it bought a Burroughs adding machine.[12]

A newspaper notice of October 20, 1905, informed residents that they could pay their taxes to county treasurer George H. Blood at the First National Bank of Layton.[13] Likewise, the bank served as a place for

water users to pay their bills to the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company. The bank began publishing quarterly bank reports in the local newspapers.[14] In his 1906 daybook, E. P. jotted down "loans" (apparently meaning loans the bank issued) totalling $34,000, most of which involved the Pingree bank:

Pingree Nat. Bank	$8,000	First Nat. Bank Morgan	$2,500
Pingree Nat. Bank	$9,000	Louisa M. Adams	2,000
Pingree Nat. Bank	$7,500	John [?]	5,000

Destructive East Wind

A hurricane-force east wind of seventy-four miles per hour roared through north Davis County on October 20 and 21, 1906, causing extensive damage. It blew down the Layton bank's roof and walls. Also destroyed were Richardson's wagon shop, Becker's new saloon, a cannery roof, S. H. Nalder's big barn, William N. Nalder's slaughter house, the engine room of the flour mill, and two windows and the spire of the Layton LDS meetinghouse. That building was cracked, and the Tithing Yard's fences and sheds suffered $3000 worth of damage. "That was a terrible East wind," the *Davis County Clipper* reported; "The damage it did in this county can never be estimated. It swept things before it like a tornado." In Kaysville, many homes, stores, and public buildings were damaged, including a tower toppled from atop city hall. Between Kaysville and Centerville, several freight cars were blown off the Oregon Shortline railroad tracks. Even a number of headboards and gravestones in a cemetery were flattened. Western Union Telegraph lost three-fourths of its poles between Woods Cross and Syracuse Junction.[15]

Despite the bank building's damage, the bank's day-to-day business did not suffer much, because the Farmers Union served as a temporary bank office.[16] Immediately, the bank hired masons to rebuild the bank building. By mid-November workmen had razed the damaged walls and cleaned mortar off the brick preparatory to rebuilding the walls.[17] Bank directors claimed the bank was being rebuilt as strong physically as the Bank of England was financially. Iron anchors, several feet long, were placed in the walls, and other irons were put between courses of bricks in such a way as to hold the building together.[18] From November until

March, workmen cleared debris away, hauled in sand, lime, rods, nuts, screws, washers, cement, and lumber from the Farmers Union, and thousands of bricks. Carpenters and laborers repaired the brick walls and installed a new tin roof.[19] A few months later the bank had moved back to its former location and begun doing business in its rough, unfinished structure.[20] The bank board met and voted against paying a dividend, due to the costly repairs. They authorized E. P. "to investigate some protection for large plate glass windows against winds." They made him responsible, too, for overseeing the finishing of the inside of the building.[21]

Loans and Deposits

A bank ledger book for accounts receivable for 1905–1911 traces the loan practices of the bank. Loans were for thirty days to six months, and some were "on demand." The amounts ranged from very small to $500, $1,000, and $9,000. Loans carried interest rates of 8, 10, or 12 percent. One popular collateral for loans which E. P. had full confidence in was Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company stock.

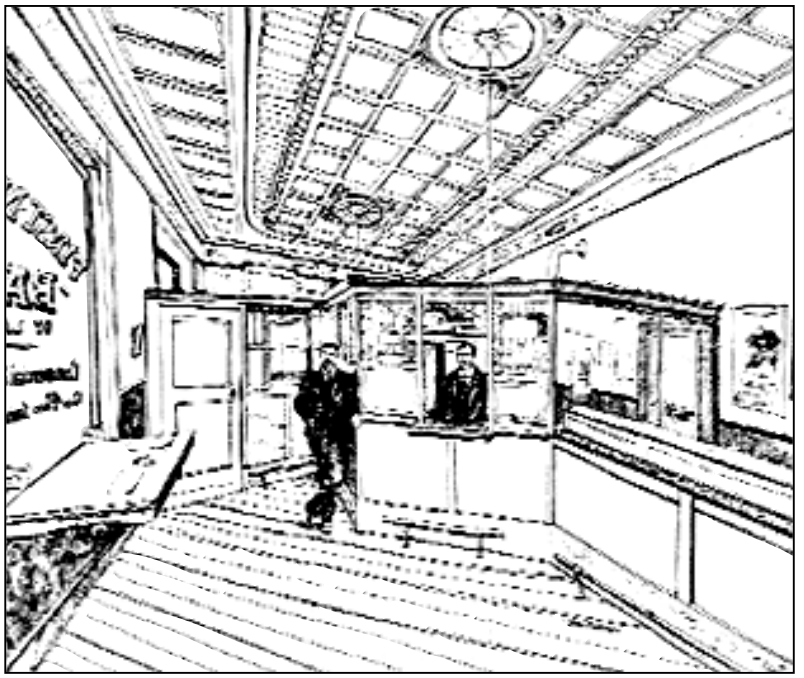
Among the large depositors during the bank's first three years were T. P. Carlos, who deposited $1,200, $1,200, and $500; and Harriet E. Bayless, with deposits of $1,000, $1,031, and $1,000.[22]

National and local economic trends influenced the bank's deposits and loans. For example, directors' minutes for January 1, 1907, note: "Owing to the instability of money conditions it was on motion decided to discontinue the making of loans for the time being till money matters become more settled."

On December 28, 1907 the Executive Committee of E. P., James Pingree, and Rufus Adams audited the bank. They did this

> By counting the cash, proving the balance books and ledgers, cashier check book, time certificates of deposit, savings deposits, and by proving the statements from correspondent banks, comparing the stock ledger with the stock certificate book, listing, proving and going carefully through the overdrafts and notes of said bank.

Auditors found conditions "well in hand and prosperous." Two days later the bank paid the Sorenson Storett Company $782.17, the balance owing on a safe being moved in, and for door locks.[23]



Interior of the First National Bank of Layton, 1905. The ceiling of the bank was covered with squares of decorative pressed tin, and a brass foot rail added a touch of class. Laurence E. Ellison is shown in the "Teller's Cage"

During 1908, bank business was routine. The board approved $600 worth of fire insurance for the bank building and another $400 on fixtures and furniture.[24] By then, if not sooner, the bank had a telephone from Rocky Mountain Bell Telephone Company.[25] The bank had granted a large loan of about $20,900 to one of E. P.'s business associates on February 2, 1908, to be paid off at the rate of about $1,000 per month.[26]

In 1909 the bank paid a 10 percent dividend, up 2 percent from the previous three years.[27] Directors' fees were two dollars, "providing they arrive not later than 10 min. from appointed time." That April the bank paid or loaned $40,000 to Ellison Milling and Elevator Co. Ltd. In 1909, directors voted that the bank's east face receive a large board sign with the title "First Natl. Bank" printed on it. They also ordered that the word "bank" be printed on the brick arch over the east window.[28]

Two days before 1909 ended, the board received a detailed financial statement of the four-year-old bank's conditions.[29] By then its assets were

about $160,000. Biggest assets were loans and discounts worth $94,000 and $25,000 in U.S. Bonds that secured their currencies. They held about $5,200 cash on hand. They valued their bank building and furnishings at $4500. Their liabilities were $25,000 in circulating banknotes, $48,108 in checking accounts, and $36,380 in saving deposits. "Undivided profits" amounted to $1,362.

The bank joined the Utah Bankers Association, organized in 1909. By 1912, seventy-seven of Utah's ninety-nine banks belonged to it. The association was designed to promote cooperation and unified action on items of common interest, including such things as common policies and practices, education, legal regulations affecting banks, new legislation, and related matters. Annual association meetings let members get acquainted with each other and discuss local, regional, and national problems.[30]

Ledger entries show the Layton bank paid for electric lights on January 2, 1910, so at least by then the bank was wired for electric power. That year it made payments to Home Telephone and Electric Company. In 1912, Utah Power replaced Home Telephone and Electric as the bank's power company.

By 1910 the directors at monthly meetings were approving loans. For example, in February they authorized thirty loans totalling $11,025, nineteen loans in March, fifty-three in April, fifty in May, sixty-two in June, and twenty-nine in July. Some of these loans were renewals. In 1910 and for the next several years, the bank paid 12% annual dividends to shareholders.[31]

Attempted Armed Robbery

A dangerous moment in the bank's history was a robbery attempt on May 20, 1910.[32] William (Bill) Bringhurst and Willard (Curly) Thompson, who had committed several robberies in Utah, scouted out the Layton bank with the idea of robbing it.[33] They found out that Laurence Ellison was the bank cashier, so they walked down Gentile Street to see his house. They appeared sociable when they stopped to visit with Dora Cook, a neighbor girl, who had two children in a baby buggy. They learned that the children belonged to the Ellisons and that the fine horses in the pasture near the house also belonged to Laurence and Katie

Ellison. The men then planned to rob the bank at a later time. About two A.M. they met the elderly town night watchman, Hyrum Evans, near the depot and talked with him. One was about five feet ten inches tall and wore a brown striped suit and black stiff hat. He was "dark-complexioned," had a low voice, and a scar on his cheek. The other was about five feet seven inches, had black, curly hair, and wore a jumper and dark-colored trousers, with a grey slouch hat.[34] They pretended they were telegraph linemen and asked about the location of some wires.[35] Catching Mr. Evans off guard, they overpowered him, disarmed him, robbed him of about $1.45, and bound him. They took him a half-mile to Laurence's house, broke in the bedroom window with revolvers, and ordered Laurence to get up. Laurence was allowed to put on his pants and socks but no shoes. They jerked the telephone off the wall and cut the wire leading to the house. They warned Katie that if she tried to get help, she would be shot, and that the house would be guarded. The two children were Harris, two, and Oma, one.

Both criminals, guns pointed, forced Laurence and the night watchman to run the half-mile to the bank. Laurence worried about the elderly watchman. Arriving at the bank, Laurence was forced to let them inside and then into the vault. But he told the men he could not open the safe because it had a time-lock which would not open until 10 A.M. The criminals had not heard about such a lock. They had brought nitroglycerin and threatened to blow the safe open with it, but they did not have enough of the explosive. They worried about time, especially about leaving Laurence's family so long, unguarded. So one of the men ran back to the house and talked with Katie. Little Oma was crying, so he offered to hold her, but of course the frightened mother would not allow it.

Meanwhile the other man forced Laurence and the watchman to lie on the bank floor. He kept his gun pointed at them. "Are you a Mormon?" he asked Laurence. Laurence was afraid if he said yes he would be shot, but he did not want to lie. "Yes, I'm a Mormon." "Well then maybe you are telling the truth," the burglar replied. His partner soon returned.

By then the eastern sky barely began to lighten. Katie knew that her brother-in-law, Riley Skeen, who lived across the street always came outside to get firewood early in the morning. When she saw him she stepped

to the door and called, "Riley, will you come over for a minute please?" "Alright, I'll just get the fire started and I'll be right over."

At the bank, meanwhile, the criminals felt it was too late to blow up the safe and be able to escape unnoticed. So they locked Laurence and Mr. Evans in the vault. They handed the nitroglycerin to Laurence and told him how to get rid of it. "Drop it in the Weber River a drop at a time," they said. The robbers searched unsuccessfully for loose change in the bank's drawers. Leaving the bank they cut its telephone wires, then went to the Ellison home, took Katie's prize horse and Laurence's riding horse, and escaped, their only booty being a little cash and the watchman's gun.[36]

Laurence and Mr. Evans were trapped in a vault that was air tight. But the robbers had not locked the door correctly. Laurence remembered a screw driver which bank president James Pingree had insisted be kept in the vault, felt blindly for it in the dark, found it, and used it to pry open the inner door to let air in. Outside, meanwhile, someone found Katie's horse along the highway, frothing, a mile or two beyond Layton. The other horse turned up in the Farmington hills. Two relatives, taking pigs to market early in the morning, noticed something strange about the bank, investigated, and helped free Laurence and Mr. Evans.[37]

President Pingree immediately posted a $200 reward for the arrest and conviction of the two robbers. When police in Salt Lake City arrested a suspect, Laurence, Katie, Mr. Evans, and others went there but found the suspect was not one of the robbers. Experts agreed the attempted robbery was "well planned" except the robbers did not know about the time-lock.[38]

Four days after the Layton crime, the same two men held up the Clift House Gambling Resort in Salt Lake City. Bringhurst pawned a ring taken in that robbery, and this led to his arrest. Thompson was arrested in Butte, Montana, three weeks later. The two confessed to twenty-five crimes in Utah, including the attempted robbery in Layton.[39] Thompson, age twenty-six, was the taller man. Bringhurst, twenty-four, was the dark-complexioned man with the scar. They had been boyhood friends in the Salt Lake area before becoming "partners in crime." Bringhurst had served an LDS mission from 1905 to 1907. In 1907 he married in the Salt Lake Temple, but he and his wife separated in 1910.[40]

Prosecutors tried the men for the Ogden robbery. Bringhurst's father asked E. P. not to prosecute his son. E. P. declined but said he would bring the matter up before the board and let Mr. Bringhurst plead his case. The man failed to show up, so the board advised attorney N. J. Harris to prosecute Bringhurst and Thompson.[41] Thompson was convicted of the Ogden robbery and sentenced to twenty years in prison. Bringhurst pleaded guilty to robbing the Clift House and was sentenced to twelve years in prison. He served two years and was paroled on September 23, 1912. But he broke parole and was returned to jail. In 1913, Thompson wrote to Laurence and asked for a recommendation for parole; that May, Mrs. Thompson, with two sisters, visited Laurence and asked him to intercede for her son. At issue, it appears, was whether the bank would seek to have the two men charged for robbing the Layton bank—their convictions had been for the Ogden crime. That September the bank's board voted unanimously to prosecute Bringhurst and Thompson and asked James Pingree, Rufus Adams, and Jesse N. Smith to act for the board to assist the cashier in the prosecution.[42]

Bringhurst, a model prisoner, gained his release in 1917 and moved to Los Angeles. Thompson served eleven years, then joined Bringhurst in California. On December 6, 1921, both were involved with others in killing two Los Angeles policemen. Both were tried and convicted. They were sentenced to hang at the same instant. An extra gallows was constructed, and on April 18, 1924, they were executed together, by hanging, in San Quentin Prison. More than a hundred persons crowded into the death chamber and witnessed the executions. Laurence received an invitation to attend the execution but did not go.[43]

Routine of Business

Between 1911 and 1915 the bank prospered. Its assets grew to between $150,000 and $200,000. Through E. P.'s influence, the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company became one of the bank's main depositors, making $5,000 deposits about once a year.[44] In 1913, if not sooner, the bank became a repository for county moneys. It had to post a $10,000 indemnification bond so that Davis County Treasurer Jens K. Nelson could bank with it.[45]

Security, of course, always was of concern to a bank. By January 1911, the bank was paying an assessment fee to Home Telephone and Electric Company for streetlight service.[46] It also paid a regular fee for night watchman service.[47]

In 1911, according to E. P.'s daybooks, he received as quarterly dividends for his Layton bank stock $50, $75, $75 and $75. He received about the same amounts in dividends from the Pingree National Bank and the First National Bank of Morgan. His biggest dividends came from the Knight Sugar Company—$1,536 per quarter, and then from Ellison Milling and Elevator—$609 per quarter; and $466 to $500 per quarter from investments in the Utah Ore Sampling Company.

By the end of 1912, the bank's assets stood at $181,624.39.[48]

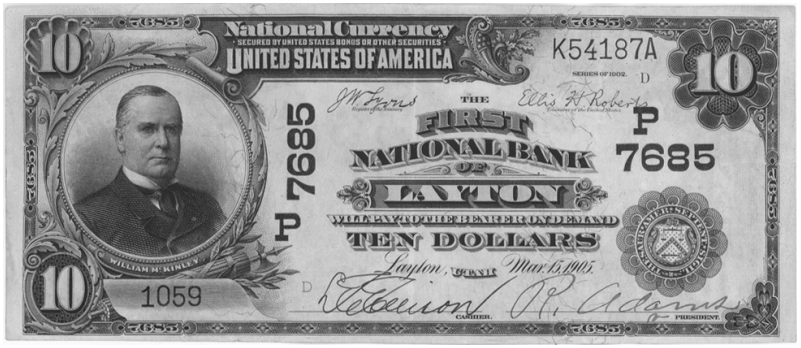
Federal Reserve System

The federal government created the Federal Reserve System on December 23, 1913, designed to supervise the nation's banks. The act established a part public, part private banking system headed by a board of governors and coordinated through twelve regional "banker's banks." It required that all banks chartered by the national government, such as the Layton bank, join the system. All of Utah's nationally chartered banks joined the Federal Reserve System, but state banks dragged their feet until during World War I, when it became their "supremely patriotic duty" to join. The First National Bank of Layton joined the Federal Reserve system right from the start, in January 1914.[49]

On January 10, 1914, examiners who audited the bank's books found the bank's resources were at $201,402.43. "The bank is making reasonable profits for the shareholders," they noted, and the "working affairs of the bank are in good shape." They found "no money loaned for speculative investments to anyone," as well as "no obligations of any kind or nature against this bank for borrowed money either for rediscounted paper or for the sale of bonds with an option to repurchase."[50]

In April the bank's executive committee applied for eighteen shares of stock at $100 each in the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco. They assigned James Pingree to be a District Reserve elector.[51]

E. P. began the year 1915 by auditing both the Pingree bank and the



Currency issued by First National Bank of Layton, 1905. National banks, authorized by legislation during the Civil War, could invest in bonds of the United States, which they deposited with the Treasury Department, and they were then entitled to receive currency, made by the U.S. Bureau of Printing and Engraving, equal to 90 percent of the value of the bonds. In 1935, national bank notes were retired

Layton bank.[52] Early in 1915 the Layton bank posted a new, higher bond, this time for $20,000, in order to continue being a repository for the Davis County Treasurer.[53]

Coins and Paper Money

One well-told Layton bank story is about a careful customer who was the grandmother of Sterling W. Sill, an LDS General Authority many years later. The lady came into the bank to cash a check. Cashier Laurence Ellison gave her paper currency. She walked back home, but then came back in a little while and said to him: "Bro. Ellison, if it's all right with you I'd rather have the gold."[54]

By 1915, E. P. Ellison, involved in a variety of businesses, was best known in Utah for being a leading banker. His banking expertise and sound financial judgment were widely respected. As a result, during his lifetime, he served as president of the First National Bank of Layton, vice-president of National City Bank in Salt Lake City, member of the board of directors of the First National Bank of Morgan, president of Pingree National Bank in Ogden, chairman of the board of National Bank of Commerce in Ogden, member of the board of the Winnemucca State Bank in Nevada, and president of the Clearfield State Bank.[55]

NOTES

1. Stucki, *Commercial Banking in Utah*, 25–26, 100–102.
2. Sutton, *Utah: A Centennial History*, 3 vols., 2:965.
3. Stucki, *Commercial Banking in Utah*, 79.
4. Layton First National Bank, Board Minutes, located in the bank's vault, Layton, Utah. Cited hereafter as Bank Board Minutes.
5. Wilson, "Folk Housing," in Carlsuh, eds., *Layton, Utah Historic Viewpoints*, 103.
6. *Weekly Reflex-Davis News Journal*, May 29, 1980.
7. Oma Wilcox, conversations with the author. A story some descendants tell says that E. P. was pleased to see Laurence doing a proper "man's job" rather than teaching. Two years later, Laurence, age 28, married Catherine (Katie) Adams, daughter of Elias Adams, a member of the bank's board.
8. *Weekly Reflex-Davis News Journal*, May 29, 1980.
9. Bank Board Minutes, June 23, 1905.
10. Ibid., Feb. 6, 1906.
11. Note inside of first volume of Bank Board Minutes.
12. Bank Checks, Register, 1905, First National Bank of Layton.
13. *Davis County Clipper*, Oct. 13, 1905.
14. Bank Checks, Register, May 1905-March 1920.
15. *Davis County Clipper*, Oct. 26 and Nov. 2, 17, and 22, 1906; *Deseret News*, Nov. 23, 1906—this issue contains pictures of the damaged Layton bank and of other buildings.
16. *Davis County Clipper*, Nov. 9, 1906.
17. Ibid., Nov. 22, 1906.
18. Ibid., Nov. 16, 1906.
19. Bank Check Ledger Book, 1906–1907, First National Bank of Layton.
20. *Davis County Clipper*, Dec. 14, 1906.
21. Bank Board Minutes, Dec. 12, 1906.
22. Certificates of Deposit, Ledger Book, First National Bank of Layton.
23. Bank Ledger Book, Dec. 30, 1907.
24. Bank Board Minutes, Feb. 12, 1908.
25. Bank Ledger Book, Feb. 5, 1907.
26. E. P. Daybook, 1908, EFA.
27. Note pinned inside first minute book.
28. Bank Board Minutes, Sept. 9, 1909.
29. Ibid., Dec. 29, 1909.
30. Stucki, *Commercial Banking In Utah*, 35.
31. Note pinned inside first bank minute book.
32. "Bank Grows with Layton," clipping, n.d., in First National Bank of Layton, clipping file; Oma Wilcox Interview with author, notes in EFA; *Ogden Daily Standard*, May 20, 1910.

33. See Newell G. Bringhurst's paper presented at the 1991 Mormon History Association conference, an excellent study of his great-uncle's career of crime: "William A. Bringhurst: From Devout Latter-day Saint to Condemned California Killer—A Personal Confrontation with the Past," typescript, May 28, 1991, copy in EFA.
34. *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 21, 1910, and Salt Lake *Herald Republican*, same date.
35. *Ogden Daily Standard*, May 20, 1910, and Salt Lake *Herald Republican*, same date.
36. Oma Wilcox says the men took $1.45. Newspaper accounts say they stole $7.50 and the watchman's revolver. See Salt Lake City *Herald Republican*, May 21, 1910, and *Salt Lake Tribune*, same date.
37. *Weekly Reflex*, March 25, 1910.
38. *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 21, 1910.
39. Bringhurst, "William A. Bringhurst," 32–36; Salt Lake *Herald Republican*, June 30, 1910, *Ogden Daily Standard*, May 20, June 1 and 2, 1910; *Weekly Reflex*, May 1, 1913.
40. Bringhurst, "William A. Bringhurst," 27–30.
41. Bank Board Minutes, Sept. 14, 1910.
42. Ibid., Sept. 24, 1913.
43. Bringhurst, "William A. Bringhurst," 7–8, 24–25, 37. William Bringhurst's grave marker is in the Taylorsville (Utah) Cemetery; see Bringhurst essay, endnote #60. That Laurence Ellison was invited to the execution but did not go is in Oma Wilcox Interview with author, Notes in EFA.
44. Bank Certificates of Deposit Ledger Book.
45. Bank Board Minutes, April 23, 1912.
46. Bank Ledger, Jan. 5, 1911.
47. Bank Ledger, April 9 and June 8, 1912.
48. Bank Board Minutes, Jan. 17, 1913.
49. Stucki, *Commercial Banking in Utah*, 36–37; Bank Board Minutes, Jan. 17, 1914.
50. Bank Board Minutes, Jan. 10, 1914.
51. Ibid., April 22, 1914.
52. E. P. Ellison Daybook, January, 1915.
53. Bank Board Minutes, Jan. 20, 1915.
54. Oma Wilcox to author, Notes in EFA.
55. Clearfield State Bank changed its name to Community First Bank and has been been acquired by First Security Bank.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

ELLISON RANCHING COMPANY

E P.'s labors to manufacture Canadian sugar nudged him into the ranching business in Nevada, starting in 1910. From boyhood through his adult years, he had worked with farm livestock and sheep herds on open ranges, gaining firsthand familiarity with what we call animal husbandry.[1] While serving as manager of the Knight Sugar Company operations in Canada, he worked with that company's cattle as well as with sugar matters. His trips to Canada included regular visits to the K–2 ranch and others belonging to the company. His involvements with Knight Sugar's Canadian ranches prompted him, ever the businessman, to investigate ranching business opportunities closer to home.

Founding Ellison Ranching Company

On May 25, 1910, five days after the robbery of the First National Bank of Layton and four days after Halley's Comet first appeared in the Davis County night skies, a group of capable businessmen gathered at the Ellisons' Layton home to establish a ranching company to operate in northwestern Nevada between Winnemucca and the Oregon border.[2] Jesse Knight came by train from Provo, bringing along one of his right-hand men, son-in-law Robert E. Allen. Like E. P., these two were Knight Sugar Company officials. From Ogden came Dr. Edward Rich, a friend of E. P. and an investor in Ellison ventures. Local friends John Flint, John Layton, George W. Layton, and J. H. Wilcox also arrived, as did H. T. Dyer, and E. P.'s son Laurence. At the meeting, these men organized the Ellison Ranching Company.[3]

"E. P. was sixty years old when he formed Ellison Ranching Company," descendant Peter Ellison told a family reunion at Elko, Nevada, in 1985. "With all the business interests he had going you would think that he would slow down and spend his time running the many

ventures he already had founded, but that wasn't his style: he was a man of vision, an empire builder."

In preparation for the meeting, E. P. had just completed trips to several Nevada ranches.[4] In late April he had gone to Winnemucca to look over a "Humboldt Ranch." In mid-May he had spent four days on the Buffalo Ranch north of the city, on an unnamed ranch "cutting out cattle" and branding 226 cows and 221 calves. He reported these trips to the men gathered at his home, after which they approved Articles of Incorporation for the Ellison Ranching Company and elected officers and directors.

E. P. and Jesse Knight agreed to operate the ranching company the same way they did the Knight Sugar Company, with Jesse Knight serving as president and E. P. as vice-president and general manager. In this enterprise, however, most of the Ellison Ranching Company officers and board members were E. P.'s associates, not Knight men. Laurence Ellison became treasurer and J. H. Wilcox, secretary. Joining E. P. and Jesse Knight on the board were Robert Allen, H. T. Dyer and E. P.'s friends Edward Rich, John Flint, and John H. Layton.

With charter and officers in place, the new company was ready to buy ranch properties and livestock. To invest heavily in ranching, they knew, was to gamble on good profits while risking great losses. They knew they needed to obtain capital through stock sales and loans, and then properly retire the loans. Sheep and cattle must be fed inexpensively, kept safe, and sold at profitable prices. A supply of hay and feed had to be obtained by growing or buying it. Good breeding animals needed to be bought and bred skillfully to produce the best offspring possible. Cattle and sheep faced such natural hazards as drought, freezing winters, diseases, poisonous plants, and predators. Prices paid for livestock could rise and fall dramatically, fueled by unstable supply and demand. So, well aware of the risks and work involved, E. P. and his associates embraced the ranching challenge, primarily because they all trusted E. P.'s ranching expertise and his proven business and finance skills.

It required a year for the men to raise money by selling stock and then to have stockholders officially approve the expenditures. In the meantime, E. P. "purchased, on his own account, the Quinn River,

Home, and Buffalo ranches in Nevada, containing approximately 26,000 acres," along with considerable livestock.[5] Soon after the founding meeting ended, E. P. visited the ranches he was buying. In late June, he took the train to Winnemucca, then traveled to the Home Ranch along the Quinn River, where he spent several days branding and driving cattle and receiving horses. He visited the Buffalo Ranch and Rebel Creek spreads, then returned home on July 4th.[6] E. P., new ranch owner, had climbed into the saddle and was pushing the new ranching operations ahead.

(E. P.'s daybooks and the Ellison Ranching Company records often use the term Home Ranch synonymously with Quinn River Ranch, and the Quinn River Ranch and Home Ranch are sometimes talked about as though they are one ranch. Both the Home Ranch and Buffalo Ranch were on the Quinn River, so when records mention the Quinn River Ranch, they sometimes mean the Home and Buffalo Ranches, too.)

An expert on dams and water systems, E. P. felt that one part of the grazing lands Ellison Ranching was purchasing needed a reservoir. In mid-August he visited a reservoir site and inspected four creeks at Buffalo Ranch. On Ellison Ranching letterhead, he wrote to Jesse Knight on August 17, 1910, saying that he had just returned from a reservoir site on McDavid Creek.

> Have been out there with the Nevada State Engineer and spent six days in looking over the proposition. He seems to be well impressed with our plans of storing the water. While there is but little water there at the present time, after going over and examining the measurements made by the Salt Lake Engineer and going through the whole proposition he agreed to report favorably to the State Land Board. We will now have to wait their decision in the matter.

During his trip, E. P. found the ranches' "hay doing nicely, things going alright."[7]

E. P.'s 1910 daybook notes that in October he visited the Buffalo Ranch and "measured hay." He inspected and worked on a canal and returned home. In October, company treasurer Laurence Ellison worked with stockholders to obtain their promised investment money and issue them shares of stock. Jesse Knight subscribed to one-fourth of the total capital stock but bought more than that.[8] Incorporation documents specified 5,000 shares of ranch stock that had a par value of $100 per share, creating a capitalization of $500,000. E. P. and his associates subscribed for 1,250 shares and the Knight people 1,250 shares, which together accounted for 2,500, or half of the 5,000 shares. They agreed that when this stock was paid for, they would issue to themselves, the original stockholders, half of the remaining shares, worth $125,000. That would leave $125,000 worth of stock to be sold. By October, sales of stock had raised $80,000, with which they paid $42,280 for land, $28,000 for horses, mules, and cattle, and $4,400 for implements, furniture, and supplies.[9]

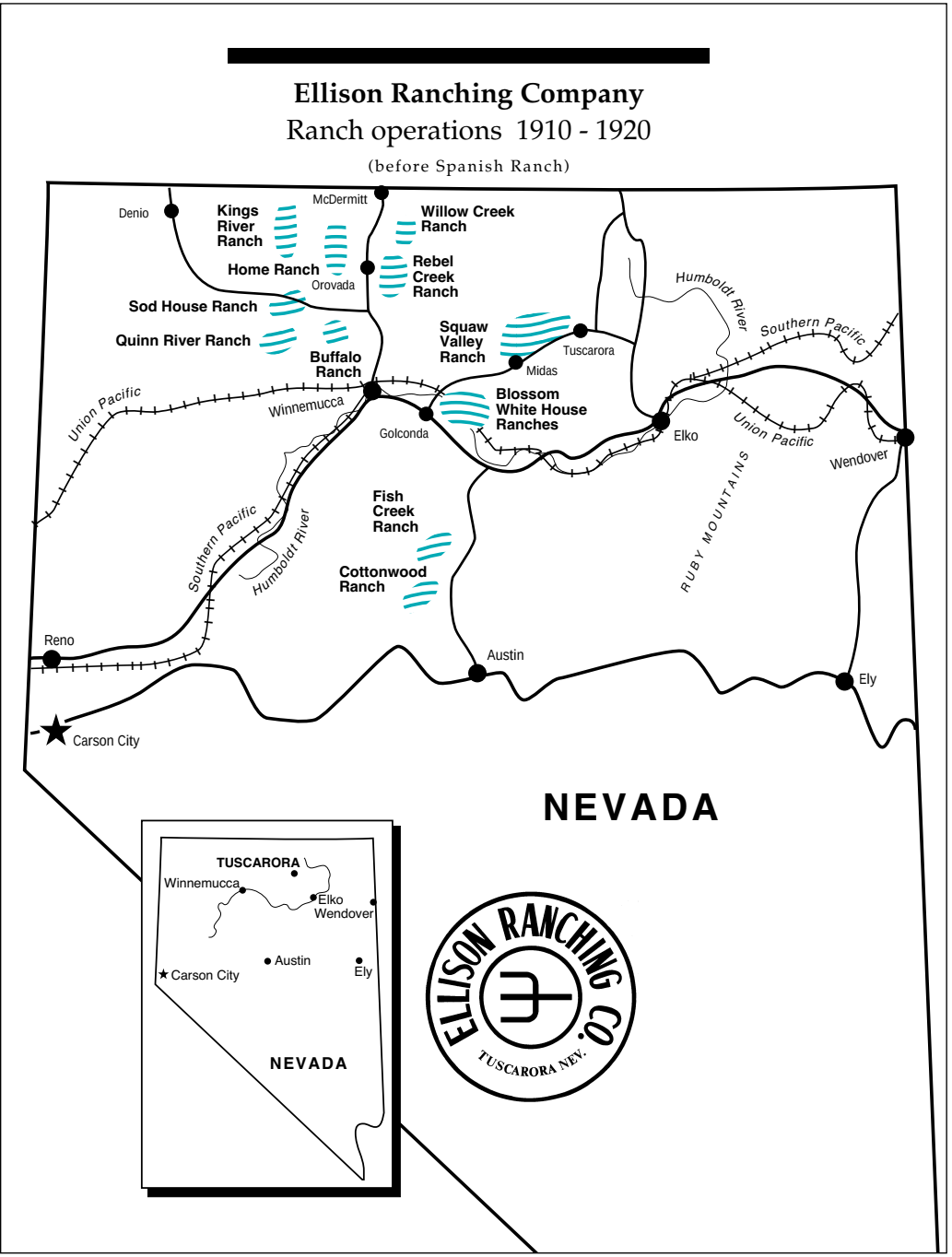
Approval for the reservoir came, so when winter ended, E. P. directed creation of the dam. During May 1911, E. P. noted that he "put in dam" and worked "on canal" on the east branch of the Quinn River. A month later he spent a week branding horses and cattle, among other tasks.[10]

Four Nevada Ranches

E. P. arranged for Ellison Ranching to take over from him the Quinn River, Home, and Buffalo Ranches. On June 13, 1911, at the board of directors' first annual meeting, they reviewed a proposition presented by E. P. from Randall Sage of McDermitt, Humboldt County, Nevada. Sage offered them a ten-day option to buy the Kings River Ranch of 14,500 acres, more or less, and 400 head of cattle, as well as farming machinery, for $45,000 down and $25,000 later. Directors approved the purchase; so Ellison Ranching bought the Kings River Ranch that day. About the same time, the company purchased the Rebel Creek Ranch.[11]

These ranches were in northwestern Nevada. From Winnemucca, the Kings River Ranch was eighty miles northwest, and almost on the Oregon border; the Quinn, Home, and Rebel Creek Ranches fifty to fifty-five miles north; and Buffalo Ranch forty miles north.

To reach the ranches by train, the stopping point was Winnemucca, 360 miles west of Salt Lake City. Winnemucca was serviced by two major railroads, the Southern Pacific and the newer Western Pacific route, which began running passenger trains two months after Ellison Ranching came into being. Winnemucca, too, was a connector town from which coaches, wagons, and riders headed northward to or came south-



ward from Boise, Idaho, along a main road that ran past four of the Ellison ranches.[12]

Winnemucca was the seat of sparsely occupied Humboldt County, a 10,000 square mile expanse of "alkali flats, worn hills, rock-studded mountains and tiny streams that disappear."[13] Northern Nevada's series of short mountain ranges had experienced mining booms earlier and would again, but they served Nevada best by capturing winter snows which melted to create grazing lands higher up and small streambeds lower down—situations conducive to sheep and cattle raising. Most of northern Nevada's rangelands were owned by the federal government, but ranchers could obtain permits to run cattle and sheep on those hardly wanted, lonely lands.

E. P. appointed his son Parley, or Parl, to be superintendent of the ranches. Parl took up residence at Rebel Creek, the place chosen to serve as the ranch headquarters. However, E. P. and Laurence handled ranch business matters out of the Farmers Union, giving Ellison Ranching a Layton address.

At the 1911 board meeting, E. P. presented his first annual report of Ellison Ranching's operations. Directors voted to pay E. P. ten shares of stock for his first year's work. They set Parl's salary at $150 per month. They agreed to hold future meetings either in Salt Lake City or Provo. They reviewed how the $45,000 amount was being paid to the seller of the Kings River Ranch. As became custom, Ellison Ranching held its stockholders' meetings the same day as and just after the board of directors' meeting. Stockholders that day reelected the directors and gave E. P. a vote of thanks "for his efficient services during the past year."

During July 1911, E. P. spent more than two weeks at the Kings Ranch, Home Ranch, Buffalo Ranch, and the town of McDermitt on the Oregon border. In September he spent a similar week on the ranches. That month, E. P. asked Jesse Knight to pay another 10 percent of his personal stock subscription of $123,000 so E. P. could pay for 1,000 head of cattle purchased on September 25th. Jesse sent $12,400.[14]

Successful Start

E. P.'s second annual report to the directors, on July 5, 1912, showed

that Ellison Ranching was already a half-million dollar operation.[15] It stated that the Kings River Ranch, Buffalo Ranch, and Home Ranch had resources valued at $517,000. Their 39,645 acres were worth an average of $8.56 each, or $339,437 total. They owned $121,188 worth of livestock, including 298 horses and 3,246 cattle. Their 5,134 tons of hay was appraised for $26,000. As accounts payable, E. P. listed $30,000 owed Randall Sage, $1,004 for Humboldt County taxes, and $3,300 for labor costs. E. P.'s annual salary then was $1,000 and Parl's $1,800. Major stockholders and their shares included

Knight Investment	939	John Flint	140
E. P. Ellison	560	Mary A. Matson	125
J. Wm. Knight	434	Edward I. Rich	280
R. E. Allen	309	Ezra C. Rich	150
W. L. Mangum	309	H. M. Rowe	150
Raymond Knight	234		

E. P.'s sons owned small amounts: Laurence, thirty shares; James, fifty; and Morris, thirty-eight. Parl, supervising the ranch operations, apparently was not a shareholder. Knight business interests owned more than triple the number of shares that the Ellison relatives did.

Purchase of Nelson Ranch

During the July 5, 1912, meeting, directors considered a sale proposal from the Thomas Nelson Company of Nevada for about 22,000 acres, much of it along or adjoining the Humboldt River between Golconda and Battle Mountain, and part of it eighty miles northeast of Home Ranch on Willow Creek.[16] They authorized E. P. and director R. E. Allen to examine the property and, if the deal looked good, to take steps to close it. At the stockholders meeting that afternoon, more than 80 percent of the issued stock was represented.

E. P. visited and inspected several ranches. He checked out the Pumpernickle and Grass Valley ranches south of Winnemucca and west of Battle Mountain, and the Indian Spring and Golconda ranches near present Valmy. He then headed northeastward to a horse camp at Willow Creek, passing over part of a lambing ground. At Tuscarora he inspected a band of sheep and stayed overnight on the range. During his return trip

he stayed a night at the Golconda Cattle Company ranch in Squaw Valley, then went to the Home Ranch and back to Winnemucca.

There, he spent a day with Mr. Nelson, agreeing to terms for the land deal. E. P. then went to Buffalo, Home, and Kings River Ranches with Mr. Sage. They inspected some mountain land owned by Sage. Parl then accompanied them back to Winnemucca. E. P. wrote in his daybook on July 19: "in Winnemucca till 5 pm drawing up contract, then started home."

Ellison Ranching directors met again on July 23, 1912. E. P. reported to them that he had obtained a "favorable option" on the Nelson property. They authorized him to close the deal, for a price not specified in the minutes. The sale price was no less than $165,000, perhaps as much as $210,000. On July 31, E. P. paid $45,000 "on Nelson property," and the Nelson Ranch became part of the Ellison Ranching Company's operations. Late in 1912, Ellison Ranching borrowed $165,000 from Knight Investment Company—three notes for $55,000 running consecutively to October 18, 1913, 1914, and 1915.[17]

Ranch Management

In November and December 1912, E. P.'s daybooks note, he was dividing sheep at the Nelson Ranch. On December 5, he put rams into four herds. His notations indicate that earlier—as of October 31st—they had five bands of horses that included 1,973 horses and 289 colts. He noted the sale of 4,025 cattle.

Seeking to expand the company's credit, E. P. contacted Nevada and Utah banks. Some, if not all, of the board members invested $1,000 each in the Winnemucca State Bank and Trust Company, commitments probably solicited by the bank before it could agree to issue loans to the company.[18] E. P. also contacted Zions Savings Bank and Trust in Salt Lake City, which requested a statement of condition in order to keep two accounts open, one for each of two ranches.

E. P.'s son Morris sent the necessary statement, which provides a detailed picture of the ranch's stock and land. According to its figures, the Cattle Accounts consisted of about 700 calves, 955 cows, 434 one-year-old heifers, 342 one-year-old steers, 1905 two-year-old steers, 75

three-year-old steers, and 33 bulls, for a total of 3,744 head and 700 calves. The report continued:

> The sheep consist of 8,975 head of lambs at $1.75; 1,700 old ewes at $1.50; 19,792 ewes and wethers; and 410 rams at $8.30—total 30,877 head.
>
> The horses consist of 472 Head of Range, saddle and work horses; and are an exceptional good bunch.
>
> We have 39,645.14 acres of land on the Quinn River [Quinn River and Home Ranches] and King River Ranches; and 22,000 acres on and adjoining the Humboldt River, between Golconda and Battle Mountain, and control considerable range land not owned. On all these ranches are valuable improvements, and the price of the land includes these.[19]

In round terms, Ellison Ranching's livestock count was 4,400 cattle (1 percent of Nevada's total), 500 horses, and 31,000 sheep (2 percent of Nevada's total).[20] According to the report, the price of land included many implements and a quantity of furniture. It observed that ranch hands in 1912 put up about 6000 to 7000 tons of hay—"alfalfa, timothy, red top and wild hay." It explained the company's efforts to put more water onto the land in accord with the Carey Act, a federal law passed in 1894, which granted one million acres of land to each arid state in the western U.S. that inaugurated irrigation projects:

> The Carey Act account shows the expenditure on our surveys, measurements of water, etc., in connection with our application for about 50,000 acres to be set aside under this Act. We are still making measurements so that we are unable to say anything definite in regard to this proposition. The Government may or may not approve of our application.[21]

Company officers estimated that Ellison Ranching would receive 8,000 acres of government land at four dollars per acre.

To raise capital, Ellison Ranching sold the mineral rights beneath about 2000 acres of the ranch lands-–49 tracts of 40 acres each, and a smaller tract—to the Knight Investment Company.[22] Then, armed with proper loans and funding, E. P. purchased another parcel of land. The board met in special session on April 7, 1913. E. P. reported he had bought 2,000 acres of mountain land near the Kings River Ranch from Randall Sage at four dollars per acre and had agreed to sell mineral rights connected with that land to Jesse Knight for fifty cents per acre. The board approved this. The board authorized E. P. to execute loans as needed to carry on company business.

E. P.'s annual report up to May 1913 shows that the ranches were running 40,843 head of sheep—an increase of 9,000. Ranch property included 8 hay fields, 2 alfalfa fields, and 29,320 wool fleeces (weighing about seven pounds apiece) worth $30,786.[23] E. P. sold the entire wool clip to the Knight Woolen Mill in Provo—an "entire train" was needed to haul the wool.[24] During June, E. P.'s daybook says, he looked at beef cattle along the river by Buffalo Ranch and Home Ranch, and at three sheep flocks at Kings River.

In the arid Great Basin, water disputes are not unusual, and Ellison Ranching got into one because of the dam E. P. had built. At the 1913 annual meeting, board members authorized E. P. to "secure additional counsel," if needed, to defend a Quinn River water suit. However, details about the water problem are lacking. The board also gave him permission to sell or exchange land he might think was beneficial for the company and "to put up such buildings as may be needed on the ranches and to make such repairs as he thinks necessary." They voted to give him a $5,000-per-year salary and to pay him $3,000 for his services as manager to date.[25]

In July 1913, E. P. spent two busy weeks riding the range. At "Resource" he inspected four herds and met with the "forester," Mr. Schoultz. The next night he camped at the Spanish Ranch (which Ellison Ranching would own one day), then went to Tuscarora and camped for the night atop a mountain. The next day he inspected two herds, and camped at "Kent's Ranch." On July 25th he borrowed a horse and rode to the Nelson Ranch in the afternoon. He made stops at Buffalo, Home, and Kings River Ranches and then "went on mountain and saw all 3 sheep herds."

After a short trip home, he returned, but this time with Jesse Knight, Lester Mangum, and a Dr. Boland. They "separated & counted 1 herd of Weathers [wethers] 2744 head." His guests departed, but E. P. stayed to help separate ewes and lambs. On August 22, he noted, they "got 1st herd in Home Ranch field." The next day the hands collected three herds in the field—ewes, lambs, and 1 herd of "meartius Mixed"—and began moving them along, the wethers to Buffalo Ranch and the rest to the

Home Ranch. E. P. stayed until the last flocks arrived at Buffalo Ranch, and then he took the train home to Layton.

During the rest of 1913, E. P.'s labors at the ranches included loading sheep in Winnemucca and in Salt Lake City, judging and selling livestock, measuring hay, selecting and weighing beef, appearing in court at Winnemucca for an unspecified reason, selling nearly 900 ewes for $2.50 and $2.25 each,[26] and having an old house torn down and a foundation for a new one constructed at Home Ranch. At the end of November, while outdoors counting and dividing sheep during heavy snowfalls and subzero weather, he came down with "cold, chills, and fever," suffering "a very bad night, the hardest chill of my life."[27]

During ranch visits in March and April 1914, E. P. counted cattle, moved, weighed, and sold beef cattle, and helped shear, load wool, and dip sheep. On April 26 he helped the crew finish shearing sheep and then paid the men. The next day his crews "finished loading wool amounting to $25,439.34." A day later he mentioned in his daybook, as though he had sold them, 3,932 sheep valued at three dollars per head. Late in April he looked through the sheep "up Willow Creek" and attended a directors meeting of Winnemucca Bank. After that, he went to Oregon and bought 3691 sheep, paid for by check.

Ellison Ranching added more land and livestock. At the board's July 30, 1914, meeting, E. P. was authorized to buy 2000 more acres of mountain land, this time from the Hardin Company. The board ordered him to open a reserve account and set aside $100,000 in it. E. P. was given the go-ahead to buy additional cattle to stock the ranch, "provided the price is not exorbitant." Stockholders reelected the board, and the board retained the company's same executives: Jesse Knight, E. P., J. H. Wilcox, and L. E. Ellison.[28]

That summer, E. P. did more cattle buying. On July 16, he wrote to R. E. Allen: "I go to the sheep ranches this evening and then to Oregon to look at those cows. I have succeeded in getting a reduction of $2.00 per head and if they are as good as they claim I may be able to close the deal."[29] By summer's end, he was at the Nelson Ranch dividing sheep and at Winnemucca loading them. (His daybook spelling indicates that he sometimes pronounced the city's name "Winnemuccy.") He returned home and spent a day loading sheep at Ogden.[30] That October he went

again to Oregon and looked through cattle at "Jas Maham's and C R Petersons" and helped them brand 872 head. Then he returned to Nevada to brand colts, measure hay, and inspect sheep.

During October 1914, Ellison Ranching's two-year loan note for $55,000, held by Zions Savings Bank, was due and payable. However, the bank agreed to extend it past the maturity date if the rate of interest were increased to 8 percent, and if Knight Investment Company would co-sign the note with Ellison Ranching.[31] This prompted Knight Investment Company to ask Ellison Ranching for a statement of resources and liability. For E. P., Morris Ellison answered the inquiry. He reported that the ranch had resources worth $798,828.23, which amounted to $32,600 more than their debts and obligations totalled. "We should have I think 15,000 lambs in addition," he added. Morris admitted he had put conservative prices on cattle, sheep, wool, and hay without consulting with E. P. because E. P. had been so busy.[32]

During November 1914, E. P. again visited the ranches and spent several days separating sheep and cattle.

Fatal Blizzard

In 1915, unstable spring weather dealt a serious blow to the company's sheep. E. P. was at the ranches shearing sheep when disaster struck. During daylight on April 29 he divided yearlings, and that night a blizzard blew in. The next day was "fearful," E. P. noted, except for a three-hour break. "Loss of sheep heavy," he wrote. On May 1 he informed Morris of the disaster:[33]

> The storm here has been a fright. We finished shearing lambs Wednesday afternoon, separated ewes from weathers and about 8:00 P.M. a blizard commenced and continued for twenty-eight hours, except for a slite absence of three hours.
>
> We checked up today and our loss on the 4,000 weathers is 1,000 head, presume it will be about the same on the ewe lambs.
>
> Not much snow at Squaw Valley, and I phoned to Prameaux at Tuscarora and not over two or three inches there. Eight inches at Home Ranch and not so much at King River. I go there in the morning if I can get there. No mail from McDermit since Thursday, so I may not get out there and if not I will remain at Stonehouse for the day and back here tomorrow night.

I am to near give out to night to write.
Love to All,

From E. P. Ellison

Despite the blizzard's arrival during the peak of wool selling season, the ranch closed a deal that week to ship an estimated 171,750 pounds of wool to the B. Harris Wool Company—wool that was on foot at Kings River, to be sheared later. The Harris Company had sixty days within which to pay the purchase price of $33,373.47.[34] Ellison Ranching did not sell direct but jobbed the wool through a broker named W. C. Donald, whose advertisings claimed he was very successful in selling Nevada wool.[35] On May 9, E. P. was at the Nelson Ranch loading wool. During the next few days he inspected several "herds" of sheep and cattle at Golconda Ranch, Rebel Creek, and Kings River Ranch. His May 16 note says "Indians sheared 1,090 sheep."

Quarter-Million in Livestock

As of May 31, 1915, the Quinn and Kings River ranches held 4,402 of the company's 4,773 head of cattle. An inventory of cattle and their per-head worth, showed a total value of $159,987 for the herds:

Cattle	Number	Value Each
yearling heifers	785	$29.50
2 yr old heifers	320	28.00
Same, Oregon	76	37.50
Cows	1376	34.00
Same, Oregon	510	58.00
Yearling steers	786	27.00
2 yr old steers	400	35.00
3 yr old steers	50	40.00
Reg. bulls	18	75.00
Oregon Bulls	10	63.00
Bulls	72	50.00

The sheep inventory, valued at $97,186, included these types and per-animal values:

Blackfaced Rams	80	$10.00
Cotswool [Cotswold] Rams	8	25.00
Rambouillet Rams	7	30.00
Same	135	15.00
Same	65	10.00
Merinos	141	6.00
Old ewes	1,000	1.50
Wethers	2,984	3.00
Ewes	20,321	3.00
Blackfaced & Cotswool [Cotswold] lambs	1,903	2.00
Lambs	9,848	1.75

E. P. estimated that the ranches' cattle, sheep, and horses were worth over a quarter-million dollars—$294,726.

At the directors' meeting at Layton on June 29, 1915, E. P. was authorized to build a barn at the Nelson Ranch and to insure most buildings at the several ranches. The board voted a 6 percent dividend for the stockholders, to be paid quarterly. E. P. was asked to find out if Parl Ellison "is intending to quit working for the Company this Fall; and if he means to quit, that another person be found at once, and put in training for the position of Manager." The board agreed that directors would receive ten dollars for each directors' meeting attended. That day, another of E. P.'s sons joined him on the board. The stockholders elected James Ellison to replace H. T. Dyer as a company director.

E. P. and his associates' careful business decisions and hard work were producing good results. On the eve of World War I, Ellison Ranching Company was off to an aggressive start on its way to becoming a major Nevada cattle and sheep operation. Between 1912, when the ranch company had barely started, and 1915, it had increased its horse inventory from 298 to 493 (up 195), its cattle count from 3,246 to 4773 (up 1527), and its sheep from hardly any to 36,509. E. P. seemed to enjoy the challenges of the ranching business and, as the next fifteen years would demonstrate, looked for and capitalized on ways to expand and improve the company's land, livestock, and profits.

NOTES

1. He had operated sheep in eastern Nevada and from southern Utah to southern Idaho, according to a written statement of Cleone Whitman, a granddaughter, in Ellison Ranching file, EFA.

2. The comet is mentioned in the *Weekly Reflex*, May 21, 1910, as having appeared the night before, like a bright star in a fog with not much tail visible.
3. Ellison Ranching Company, Minutes, May 25, 1910 to Oct. 31, 1952, located in Spanish Ranch vault in Nevada.
4. E. P. Ellison Daybook, 1904.
5. E. P. Ellison biographical sketch in *The Weekly Reflex,* Dec. 20, 1923.
6. E. P. Ellison Daybook, June 19-July 4, 1910.
7. Knight Investment Company Papers, Brigham Young University Special Collections, Provo, Utah. Cited hereafter as KIC Papers.
8. Laurence Ellison to Knight Investment Company, Oct. 11, 1910, KIC Papers.
9. E. P. to Lester Mangum, Oct. 20, 1910, KIC Papers.
10. E. P. Ellison Daybook.
11. Ellison Ranching, Annual Financial Statement, June 1, 1911, in Spanish Ranch vault. Kane, *A Special Place, A Special Work! History of the Ellison Ranching Company*, 21.
12. Patterson, Ulph, and Victor Goodwin, *Nevada's Northeast Frontier*, 196.
13. *Nevada, The Silver State*, Vol. 2, 727.
14. E. P. Ellison to Jesse Knight, September, 1911 and KIC to E. P., Oct. 4, 1911.
15. Financial statement of Ellison Ranching, May 31, 1912, in Spanish Ranch vault.
16. See also Morris H. Ellison to O. C. Beebe, Jan. 29, 1913, KIC Papers, wherein Morris says the Nelson property was some 22,000 acres "on and adjoining the Humboldt River between Golconda and Battle Mountain."
17. Morris H. Ellison to KIC, Oct. 17 and 18, 1912, KIC Papers.
18. KIC to Morris E. Ellison, Nov. 16, 1912.
19. Morris H. Ellison to O. C. Beebe, Jan. 29, 1913. KIC Papers.
20. U.S. Census data for Nevada for 1910 shows a tally of 449,081 cattle and 1,154,795 sheep, as cited in Adams, *Taxation in Nevada: A History*.
21. The Carey Act, passed by Congress in 1894, provided for the granting of 1 million acres of public lands, to be transferred to private companies for improvement by irrigation.
22. J. H. Wilcox to W. L. Mangum, April 8, 1913, KIC.
23. Ellison Ranching, Annual Financial Statement, June 1, 1913, in Spanish Ranch vault.
24. *Weekly Reflex*, May 15, 1913.
25. Ellison Ranching Company, Minutes, June 24, 1913.
26. E. P. Ellison Daybooks.
27. E. P. Ellison Daybook, 1913, August through December.
28. Ellison Ranching Company Minutes, 1914.
29. E. P. Ellison to R. E. Allen, July 16, 1914, KIC Papers.
30. E. P. Ellison Daybook, 1914, June and July entries.
31. KIC to E. P. Ellison, Oct. 12, 1914, KIC Papers.
32. Morris H. Ellison to Jesse Knight, April 26, 1915.

33. E. P. Ellison to Morris Ellison, May 1, 1915, KIC Papers.
34. KIC to B. Harris, May 5, 1915.
35. W. C. Donald to E. P. Ellison, May 5, 1915, KIC Papers.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

REMODELED STORE, REBUILT DAM

From the turn of the century until World War I, despite his concerns for the Canadian sugar factory and the Nevada ranches, E. P. expended much time and energy on two enterprises close to home—the Farmers Union general store and the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company. During this period the store continued to be a successful enterprise, and it modernized modestly. Meanwhile, the canal company enlarged its dam, improved its canal system, vastly increased the amount of water it delivered each water year, and built an electric power plant.

Farmers Union, 1901–1915

During the new century's first fifteen years, the Farmers Union did its usual steady business in groceries, dry goods, notions, clothing, shoes, furniture, carpets, rugs, lumber, doors, sash, cement, plaster, farm implements, wagons, and buggies.[1] E. P. had his personal business office in the back of the store. His children worked at the store—sons Jim and then Morris supervised it, and daughter Annette (Nettie) helped with clerking and bookkeeping.

Farmers Union prospered modestly, such that its net worth nearly doubled in fifteen years. It suffered no major reverses, but it did not see any sudden increases in profits. In 1901 the store was capitalized at $20,930, and stayed near that amount until it increased by $8,000 in 1910. Two years later, store capitalization reached $35,480 and seemed to plateau at that level. Stockholders usually received a 10 or 12 percent dividend each year.

E. P. started the store's 1906 business year by calling a board meeting "to see if we can put our business on a Cash Basis or its equivalent." In response, the board gave him power to see what could be done. He conferred with other merchants of Layton and Kaysville on the matter, but the outcome is not recorded.[2]

Expenses listed for the previous year show several realities about its operations. Bookkeeping records tell us that James E. Ellison and David E. Layton were the main store employees, that the store burned coal for heat, and that its operations required a fair amount of paper bags, wrapping paper, and twine.[3] Store profits ranged between $2,000 and $3,000 a year. In 1907 John W. Thornley continued as president, John Gailey as vice-president, Morris H. Ellison as secretary, and E. P. Ellison, superintendent.[4] In 1907, while James was in California, Morris was the main employee, and James W. Day also worked there.

On February 11, 1909, E. P. told board members that "we had outlived the life of our corporation and we must form a new one" due to changes in Utah's business laws. He presented a new set of Articles of Incorporation, which the board adopted. On March 1 stockholders agreed to the change and received one share of new stock for each share of old.[5] According to the new incorporation papers, the Farmers Union of Layton had as its purposes

> To carry on a general mercantile and manufacturing business; and in the prosecution thereof to buy, own, sell, manufacture, and dispose of all kinds of merchandise, both at retail and wholesale, including the manufacturing, buying and selling of farm implements and machinery, vehicles, harness, hardware, lumber and such other auxilliary lines as are usually handled and sold in connection therewith; also to own and conduct meat markets and a general butcher business, and to buy, own and sell all kinds of live stock, farm produce and mill stuff; and with power in connection with such business pursuits to buy, own, hold, control and sell shares of capital stock, bonds, mortgages and other security of other corporations.

Hand in hand with this new incorporation, E. P. wanted to enlarge and expand the store, for which purpose the board approved the sale of 1,407 shares of stock at twelve dollars each.[6] Of stock owned by board members, E. P. held more than 75 percent:

Board Member	Shares	Value
E. P. Ellison	1,791	$17,910
David E. Layton	15	150
Jn. W. Thornley	60	600
Jn. W. Gailey	127	1,270
Alex. Dawson	100	1,000

Farmers Union Store, Layton, 1912. Standing are l. to r., Samuel Layton, Bessie Day, Nettie Stevenson and Julia Layton

According to itemized expense, between February 1909 and February 1910 the store made payments for electric lights, wiring upstairs for electricity, glass for a showcase, printing of some paper "for sale" signs, and blacksmith services. During the next year the store paid for an adding machine, pencil sharpener, refrigerator, lace cabinet, glass for show cases and door, labor on a lumber rack, paint for the old part of brick store, a gun, gravel, installation of street lights, paper bags, twine, telephone rent and tolls, hauling and unloading cars, ice, coal, electric lights, advertising, and $120 for the night watchman. Employees with annual salaries ranging from $90 to $110 were Morris Ellison, James W. Day, Nettie Stevenson, Julia Layton, Bessie Day, Leah Jefferies, Samuel J. Layton, and Howard Cook.[7]

In 1911, Farmers Union carried a $25,000 inventory of merchandise on hand, and listed its resources at $59,343.20. Stockholders received their dividends not in cash but in merchandise. Two years later, customer interest was stirred at the Farmers Union and at Adams and Sons by exhibits of new electrical appliances. One popular exhibit was a "Copeman Automatic Electric Cook Stove."[8]

In 1915 the store's profits amounted to $5,673.65, of which $4,257.60 went to stockholders in the form of a 12 percent dividend. E. P.'s family, as a result, received a sizeable store credit in 1915.[9] Not recorded in the ledger books is the fact that E. P. quietly and personally helped many widows and needy people who had financial problems.[10]

Some farmers' wives brought homemade butter into the store to barter for groceries. One day E. P. saw a local woman bring in some butter. He walked over and said to her, "Sister _____, I'm sorry but we can't handle your butter. We've had complaints about finding flies in it."

"Mr Ellison," she replied, "I know that's a damn lie. My little boy picks out the flies before I finish churning it!"[11]

Many community events took place in the hall above the store, often called the Union Hall. One unusual use of the hall occurred in March 1901, when a medicine man named "Dutchy the Healer" gave exhibitions there for three or four nights. He sold considerable medicine and was said to have treated upwards of fifty patients during his stay. His family was with him. They traveled by horse team and lived in tents. In September 1902, a "Hard Times Ball" attracted a crowd to the upstairs hall. Reports note that a fight erupted at the Sunday School's annual Christmas party on December 20, 1903. As a result, John King pleaded guilty to assault and battery, on the basis of E. P.'s sworn statement of complaint.[12]

In 1913 the Layton LDS youth held their annual Mutual fall opening social above the Farmers Union. Their evening of dancing, amusements, and refreshments took place amid "strikingly beautiful" decorations of autumn leaves.[13] A year later the Layton Amusement Hall opened, which subsequently drew some of the town's social functions away from the Union Hall.[14] Early in 1915, when news came that a sugar factory would be built in Layton, the town's Commercial Club celebrated in the Union Hall. They held a four-course banquet for 150 leading citizens in a "lavish" setting. Later that year when the new factory opened, it located its offices temporarily in the Union Hall until an addition on the east side of the bank building provided space for the sugar company offices.[15]

Dam and Canal Improvements

The Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company started the twentieth century in sound shape. Thirsty acres in north Davis County

depended on the firm's system of canals and ditches. Early in 1902, founding father Louis B. Adams died, so John R. Barnes became E. P.'s right hand man as vice-president and George V. Stevenson joined the board of directors.[16]

After the 1902 summer season, E. P. and the board explored ways to repair a warped steel plate in the East Canyon Dam and, after reviewing the engineers' reports, agreed to raise the dam. Samuel Fortier, who had helped design the dam, told the board that the dam had a reputation at home and abroad for "being one of the largest enterprises of the kind in the west." He felt the company could not afford to make temporary repairs, but instead, should raise the dam fifteen feet, to the hundred-foot level.[17]

Work began immediately on raising the dam. But when E. P. and other board members who were practicing Mormons learned that work crews were laboring on Sundays, they became bothered, especially when a local stake president complained. So E. P. worked to solve the problem:

> President Ellison read a communication from [Stake] President D. Heiner of Morgan calling attention to the fact that the men employed on Reservoir Dam were working Sundays and were often sent down to Morgan on Sunday for material and supplies much to the annoyance of the citizens of Morgan. He also read his reply to same in which he assured President Heiner of his disapproval of working on Sunday and suggesting as a remedy in part that the business men of Morgan keep their places of business closed on Sunday when supplies could not be had. He also stated that he had written to Supt. Child in charge of the work on dam, recommending that no more work be done on Sunday that was found not absolutely necessary.[18]

By December, slow work and a shortage of steel caused delays which forced the board to abandon temporarily the attempt to add fifteen feet to the dam.[19]

Water flowed well through the company's system during the spring of 1903, until a canal break occurred on May 6, causing "much damage" to nearby landowners. Immediately, the board arranged for the canal to be repaired and sent teams with scrapers to remove clay and gravel spread by the floodwaters. They faced several claims for damages. One claimant, not in good humor, said his damages amounted to $1,000 but he would accept $700, a figure the board felt was unreasonable. Another, who suffered little damage, was "very unreasonable and asked for $300. An arbitrator awarded him $100."[20]

By August 1903, E. P. and the board decided to push ahead with a plan to raise the dam to one-hundred feet in order to increase the reservoir capacity by 44 percent. To fund the project, they voted to issue 1,000 shares of secondary stock at twenty-five dollars per share. They also decided to have the company do the construction work itself, with board member James G. Wood supervising it.[21]

On August 10, 1903, the board appointed E. P. and John R. Barnes to be delegates to a national irrigation congress, which they attended.

By November, all of the company's secondary stock was sold, and money thus raised was funding construction. Work on the dam was progressing—the valve chamber had been properly protected, the tunnel lined with cement, drilling done, rock down and ready for the steel, and supplies necessary to complete the work on the site.[22] E. P. missed the company's November meetings, including the stockholders meeting, at which attenders questioned the costs incurred in 1902 and 1903, exceeding $25,000, to repair the dam.

Like most major construction efforts, this one was not without problems. One difficulty involved job bosses. James G. Wood, who had recently replaced John C. Child as supervisor in order to move the project along faster, criticized Child's expenses, whereupon a defensive Child questioned Wood's competence. Wood countered that materials which should have been ordered in the fall had not been, so he had to pay higher for the items after ground had frozen and snow had fallen. He had reduced expenses by cutting wages, firing one foreman, buying supplies wholesale, and operating a boarding house which profited the company by some $200 per month. He called for an investigation of Child's charges. The two men's remarks became "quite animated" and "personal." Over an objection raised by James Ellison, stockholders created a committee to investigate how well the dam project was being managed.[23]

During December 1903, E. P. and director Stevenson visited the dam and "found work on the same progressing nicely, had 60 to 70 men working, had commenced placing steel and masonry work."[24] Because of friction between Wood and Child, the board replaced Child with M. M. Whitesides, one of E. P.'s relatives. Then E. P. went with Child and

Whitesides on an inspection trip from the terminus of the canal to the head gate in Weber Canyon, "finding the condition of the canal to be fairly good with some few exceptions and offered some recommendations in regard to repairs on same."[25]

Early in 1904 the heightened East Canyon Dam was finished. At the March 30, 1904, board meeting, E. P. read a report from Mr. Wood that the work of raising the dam from eighty-three feet to the nearly one-hundred foot level "was completed," and in fact the dam stood eighteen inches above the hundred foot mark. When the reservoir rose to its higher level allowed by the taller dam, it contained some 11,600 acre feet of water.

E. P. then presented the board with the findings of the committee investigating dam repairs during the 1902–3 winter. Board members agreed that the report failed to provide information requested by the stockholders, who "severely criticised and condemned the work done as well as the business methods of the Board of Directors and officers of the company." The criticized men felt that the report demanded an answer. "Pres. Ellison stated that in due time he would answer committee's report." Therefore, when stockholders met in November, 1904, the critical report was read, followed by E. P.'s reply to its charges. He included engineers' reports evaluating the quality of the work performed and providing cost comparisons "showing the cost to be less to the company than contract work, and the dam in first class condition."[26] That seemed to settle the issue.

By 1905, T. U. Butters was employed by the company to supervise the reservoir and to keep it repaired and maintained.[27]

When E. P. could not attend a canal company stockholders' meeting, he sent one of his sons in his place. One such instance happened on November 16, 1907, when Morris represented him and served as president pro-tem of the meeting.

Late in 1909, E. P. and the board received an offer too good to refuse—one that would let them increase the canal's capacity at a very low cost. Railroad developer Simon Bamberger, a friend of E. P., asked the company to enlarge its canal and to build a power plant. Electric power was first used in Utah in 1881, and the first industries to convert to its use in Utah were the railroads and the mines. Bamberger was electrifying

his railroad in the Ogden area and needed a power source to own or to contract with. Liking the idea, the water company took immediate steps to increase the capacity of the canal, the main effort being to line stretches of the canal with concrete.[28]

Mr. Bamberger wanted the power station built at or near the canal's west spillway near Riverdale. He agreed to transfer rights to Weber River water that he owned to enable construction of a 2,000 horsepower plant. He agreed to build his own transmission lines from the power plant to his railroad and to pay $2.00 to $2.50 per horsepower per month, or about $4,000 to $5,000 per month. The company's engineer felt that a plant with a capacity up to 5,000 horsepower would cost about $250,000. Proposed concreting of the canal would cost about $220,000. E. P. worked with Mr. Agee, the company's attorney, to refine the proposition.[29]

During the next weeks the board voted to issue 4,000 shares of secondary stock at fifty dollars per share to raise $200,000 for the concrete work. E. P. then advertised for bids to concrete two miles of canal. The board hired William M. Bostaph at $300 per month to be the company's chief engineer and to superintend the work of enlarging and improving the canal.[30] They received two cost estimates for building the power plant, one from the Westinghouse Company for $265,000 and another from G. T. Ingersoll Machinery Company for $232,000.

On November 20, 1909, E. P. presented to stockholders his proposal that the company enlarge and concrete the canal, erect the power plant, and raise funds for the project by issuing secondary stock and bonds. Stockholders, who would receive two or three times their present water quota if the canal were enlarged, approved the plan unanimously. Then they elected the following directors for the next year, to oversee the new venture:

E. P. Ellison	James G. Wood	Joseph H. Allen
John R. Barnes	A. W. Agee	T. J. Steed
C. A. Rundquist		

E. P. contracted with William Doyle to concrete two miles of the canal and arranged to pay the Union Cement Company for the cement Mr. Doyle would use.[31] By late December, the canal company had sold all but 200 of the 2,000 shares of secondary stock.[32]

Extending the canal in the Roy area, 1910

To enlarge the canal channel, the company purchased a steam shovel from Salt Lake Hardware Company, installed it in the canal, and it worked "fairly satisfactorily." The next spring, 1910, final cement finishing delayed the turning of water into the canal. Contractor Doyle needed four extra days to complete the final segment of the ditch, two days to move his tools and machinery, and five days before cement was cured enough to handle the stream of water.[33]

Operation of the dam and improved canals in 1910 provided water to some 12,000 acres of farm land in Davis County, and additional water to Weber County. Engineers Samuel Fortier, William M. Bostaph, and A. F. Parker conducted studies for the company of needs for further improvements and of feasibilities for increasing the reservoir capacity. Their findings influenced the company to do further cementing of the main channel and to go ahead with construction of a hydroelectric power plant on the Weber River.[34]

Once an increased flow of water was successfully passing down the new concrete section of the canal, the board agreed to build a power station "of modern design" that could generate and deliver 5,000 horsepower of electricity. The plant would be finished and functioning within three years. It would take water from the main canal at a point eight miles from the headgate, from which point the water would flow to the plant in two 1600-foot pipes.[35] E. P. met with Salt Lake and Ogden Railway Company agents to refine the contract for the plant. To finance

the plant, the board approved the issuing of $500,000 in bonds, secured by a first mortgage.[36] They voted to have more segments of the canal cemented, in half-mile increments. In midsummer 1910, the board gave E. P. "power to act" to obtain construction bids.[37]

The company's need to "turn water out"—drain the canals—as early as possible so that canal remodeling could begin conflicted with needs of some water users. On August 6, W. J. Parker, manager of Wasatch, Riverdale and Star Canning Factories, stated that he had heard that the water was to be turned out and the canals emptied on August 15. "If this was done, it would be very disastrous to tomato raisers, as well as the factories, as not one-fourth of the crop could be secured under such condition," he complained. He urged that the waters flow until September 25th, as a $40,000 to $50,000 crop was threatened. J. E. Wright of the Wright Whitear Canning factory said its tomato crop and late peaches would be seriously hurt if water were turned out before September 1st. H. H. Thompson registered a similar complaint.[38] In response,

> Pres. Ellison stated in behalf of the Board that this question of turning out the water had been only considered by every member of the Board that they did not desire to injure anyone, but wanted to do what would be for the best interest of the greatest number of the stockholders, that unless the canal could be enlarged before another year those who had purchased $400,000 worth of secondary stock would get nothing for the use of their money next year, and they expected to ask the stockholders to buy another $100,000 of treasury stock, and it was the Board's desire to furnish water for this new stock year.

E. P. noted that the work could not be done while water was in the canal, nor in the dead of winter,

> And it was necessary to begin the work at the earliest possible moment in order that it might be completed before the irrigation season next year. That the enlargement of the canal meant that 2 1/2 times as much water could be delivered as at the present time which would be a very great benefit to every stockholder, and he thought that every stockholder should be willing to make some sacrifices to accomplish this end.

Board members were water users themselves, so they would suffer in common with all others from any reductions of water. They wanted

to do what was right for stockholders and at the same time do their duty as members of the board. As a compromise, the board decided to close the gates on September 5—a three-week extension.

Building a power plant near the mouth of Weber Canyon provided E. P. and the board a new, big, and potentially profitable venture, but one entangled with legal, financial, and construction challenges—such as obtaining official permissions, filing forms and paperwork, raising funds, hiring contractors and workmen, designing the plant and inflow and discharge systems, buying and installing machinery, finding proper water flows, and adjusting company bookkeeping for increased use of the company's water. When capital was obtained, they would enlarge and concrete their canal, erect a power plant, increase the capacity of their reservoir, and pay off mortgage bonds outstanding. German American Trust Company of Denver, Colorado bought the $500,000 in bonds, and Commercial National Bank of Ogden marketed them. As collateral for the bonds, the board basically mortgaged the entire water system—9.5 miles of main canal, the north branch canal that ran northerly four miles through Weber County, the south branch which ran southerly and southwesterly about eleven miles into Weber and Davis Counties, "any and all branch, lateral and distributing canals and ditches connected with and leading from said many canals," the "storage reservoir" in Morgan county, all water rights, and gates, flumes, embankments, and other structures belonging to the company.[39] In July 1911, E. P. directed the first $200,000 from German American Trust Company to liquidate company debts.

Engineer H. A. Strauss presented six sets of complete plans and specifications for the power plant to company executives to consider. They advertised for bids for constructing the proposed power plant. That month, too, E. P. paid Mr. Josiah Goodale $4,875 for a right of way for the powerhouse and a pipeline. The board accepted the bid of William Doyle of Ogden to build a concrete diversion dam across the Weber River at the headgate of the company's canal with the provision "the contractor use Red Devil brand of cement in the work," cement either of higher quality or produced by a company some board member had invested in. They chose Lynch-Cannon Engineering Company to construct the power plant but employed H. A. Strauss as consulting engineer. They employed

engineer A. F. Parker as inspector of the power plant project, paying him $150 per month and expenses "while in camp."[40]

That December, consulting engineer Strauss feuded with canal company board member Agee, which caused Lynch-Cannon to protest against working with Strauss. Disputants met at a board hearing which "at times became quite animated." The board convinced Strauss not to resign, gave him a vote of confidence, but refused to drop Mr. Agee from the project's executive committee.[41]

On May 18, 1912, the main canal suffered a major break, causing extensive damage to nearby properties. Two weeks later E. P. reported he had settled with parties who were damaged, paying $3,628, but still needed to pay claims by two railroad companies whose damage was, in E. P.'s assessment, "minimal."[42]

Apparently Davis County was responsible for the canal breaking. It had placed a pipe in the bank of the canal to drain water to use for sprinkling dusty roads. Therefore, E. P. and the board voted that the county should pay for all damages. It required a year, but finally the state and Davis County each agreed to pay $2,000 for the damages.[43]

On July 6, 1912, stockholders met in special session and approved an amendment to the company's articles of incorporation, which empowered the company to build and operate a power plant. Shareholders who voted and the number of their shares were

Jn. R. Barnes Co.	209	Jane Eldredge	161
E. P. Ellison	169	Harness Dix & Co.	107
Kaysville Irrig. Co.	110	Steed Operating Co	50
Thomas J. Steed	40	John H. Whitesides	2
F. L. Whitesides	2	James G. Wood	74
Eliza M. Stevenson	64	Weber County	80
W. W. Steed	68	Clearfield Orchard	65
E. E. Ellison Estate	60	James E. Ellison	28
Davis County	6	John Flint	45
M. M. Whitesides	20		

By early August, the board agreed to accept an offer from Mr. F. L. Dame of Salt Lake City, on behalf of Utah Power and Light, to buy the power plant, due for completion by October 15th, for $525,000. Utah Power and Light, newly formed in 1912, was consolidating many large and small power companies in Utah and nearby states.[44] Meeting with

stockholders again on August 10, E. P. and John R. Barnes offered several reasons why the sale should be made. Mainly, they said, other power plants, which would be the company's source of extra power when the river ran low, were being sold. Also, several power plants in the vicinity had been bought up by large corporations with which it would be hard to compete. Finally, to provide the amount of power they promised, the company might have to build an auxiliary plant "for which money would not be well obtained." Stockholders felt the proposed buying price was too low, so they called for a month's examination of previous projections.[45] When the committee reported that the plant would earn about $78,000 yearly, the vote went 2,839 for the sale and 1,963 against, so the resolution to sell passed.[46]

The completed plant was sometimes called the Bostaph Electric Plant, in honor of engineer William M. Bostaph, who proposed it.[47] DWCCC received enough from the sale of the plant to practically defray the cost of the concrete lining of the canal.[48]

Late in 1912, directors again considered increasing the East Canyon Reservoir's capacity, this time by building a replacement dam some forty feet higher than the existing one. Also, they voted to line the canal with concrete two inches thick where seepage was occurring near Mr. Mortensen and Mr. Jacob Jensen's farms. William Doyle was again hired to line the canal.[49]

Early in 1913 the main canal broke near the power plant, damaging nearby property and cutting off water to the plant. The board hired Lynch-Cannon to concrete the canal at the break and to construct a wasteway there. In the aftermath of the break, officers spent much time during 1913 dealing with claims against the company. The Riverdale Bench and Canal Company said the break put considerable dirt and gravel into its canal, so the Davis and Weber Canal Company agreed to clean it out. When the Goodale brothers refused the Davis and Weber offers of $475 and $300 for damages, through arbitration they obtained $500 and $660.[50] A Weber club said its road in Weber Canyon near the break "last winter" needed repairs and wanted Davis and Weber to help them. Utah Power and Light officials billed Davis and Weber $12,287.20 for revenues lost due to the outage of their Riverdale plant from January 9 to May 27, 1913, and $4,471.86 for other costs. Davis and

The company began lining its canals with concrete around 1910

Weber countered that the canyon break was caused by Utah Power and Light's own negligence.[51] By November an undisclosed settlement agreement between the canal company and Utah Power was reached.[52]

The next water year, 1914, was a good one. The reservoir was tapped when it began running over on July 19, and the water level had fallen eight feet by early August, with "about 100 second feet being drawn at

Digging the canal in South Weber, ca. 1915

the present time." That summer, superintendent J. C. Child repaired, painted, and numbered all bridges over the main canal, painted headgates, and installed life-saving devices—wiring and manholes—on the canal side.

Directors knew they could increase business and hence company income if they could provide more water to existing and to new customers. A higher East Canyon Dam would create a larger reservoir of water for the company to control-feed down East Canyon Creek into the Weber River and through its canal system. By late 1914 E. P. and the board decided to construct a new and higher dam a few feet downstream from the existing one, the new one to be 120 feet high. Such a dam would double the reservoir's storage capacity.[53] The company held rights to 215 second-feet of Weber River water but had not used much more than 75 to 100 feet, and this quota was above and beyond an original 210 second-feet previously granted. They could not use all the water allowable because the lateral and branch canals below the Main Canal were not large enough to hold a greater amount of water.[54] Dam plans were drawn up that winter.[55]

The consulting engineer, A. F. Parker, drew up specifications for the 120 feet high, concrete-arch reservoir-dam and submitted them in April

1915. DWCCC filed the plans and specifications for the new reservoir with the state engineer. Higher water levels in the reservoir meant that the company must negotiate for more land rights along the existing shorelines. E. P. worked with Mr. J. S. Ostler of Nephi to trade him outlying lands for lands the higher reservoir would inundate. Again, the company determined it could sell bonds to raise money for the new, higher dam. The board decided to issue $150,000 worth of 6 percent serial bonds maturing at various times up to twenty years. German American Trust Company agreed to sell the bonds.[56]

Early in 1915, the board opened four bids for the new dam, which ranged from $110,000 to $171,000. DWCCC awarded the construction contract to the Ogden-based Utah Construction Company, of which William H. Wattis was president. Work must be done, the contract said, during 1915.[57] The contract contained one provision to insure that workmen adhered to Utah's liquor-prohibition statutes: no spirituous liquors could be kept, sold, or used at the project or on any lands belonging to the canal company. If a worker used liquor or was intoxicated on the job, he could be fired.[58]

Somehow E. P., a very busy executive, handled canal business in between his involvements with sugar factories, ranches, the store, the bank, the flour mill, and businesses for which he was a director. His responsibilities often put him in personal contact with other businessmen and various Utah firms.

At a board meeting on July 2, 1915, E. P. reported that he had received a freight rate quote from the railroad on cement from the factory at Devil's Slide to Morgan of four cents per hundred. This rate "he considered too high and he had so advised the General Agent, Mr. Chevers, and made an offer to pay a rate of 2 1/2c per hundred pounds only." When Utah Power and Light billed the canal company for a share of costs to install lights "at the headworks," E. P. took the matter up with the power company, "calling their attention to several errors in their bill and requesting the same to be corrected."

At that meeting, the board received two updatings regarding the dam. First, E. P. reported that he had negotiated to obtain lands needed for the reservoir from Steed Operating Company for $3,460. Then he and the board listened to a construction report. Very little work had been

done the first two weeks, and a large part of work done to date was on road construction. Two tunnels were about two-thirds done and would be finished in about two weeks.

A month later, E. P. reported that he had obtained a freight rate on cement of three cents, saving one cent per hundred weight from the previous rate.[59] Late in August 1915, President Ellison and Vice-president John G. M. Barnes spent several hours inspecting the construction site and were disappointed by what they saw. "We found that there had been but little done so far on the job itself," E. P. complained to Utah Construction Company President Wattis. "You have excavated the outlet tunnel but practically nothing done on the shaft." E. P. was also bothered because only 1,925 barrels of cement out of 14,000 were on the site. "You have about 130 men on the job," he said, but during three-and-one-half months this crew had made "but very little head way," yet the season was "far advanced."[60]

On September 3, 1915, E. P. made a similar report to the board:

> Mr. Ellison stated that in company with Mr. Barnes he had made a trip to the reservoir site on Saturday, August 28th. He stated that they found the work progressing slowly, very little work having been done in the way of excavating due partly to the trouble with the water. The outlet tunnel he stated had been completed but practically nothing done on the shaft.
>
> Mr. Ellison called attention to a copy of a letter which he had written to Mr. W. H. Wattis of the Utah Construction Company under the date of August 30th, calling attention to the very unsatisfactory progress made and advising him that the Canal Company was becoming very anxious to have the work pushed to completion just as rapidly as it could possibly be done.

A few weeks later, Vice-president Barnes and consulting engineer Samuel Fortier visited the construction site. Fortier, too, was surprised by the slowness of the work. Bedrock had not been reached. Reservoir gates closed on October 22.[61] It would be another two years before the new dam would be finished and operational.

E. P., linking one of his ventures with another, arranged for the soon-to-open Layton Sugar Company to contract with DWCCC for winter water.[62] Manufacturing sugar required much water. From September 1, 1915, until February 10, 1916, not earlier and not later, the factory could use "all such water as may be necessary," the agreement read. Water

would be diverted from the Weber River.[63] The sugar company was allowed to use and operate the diversion dam and main canal leading from it, and such branches and laterals as needed. But only available water could be used; the canal company had no obligation to release water from East Canyon Reservoir for the purpose.

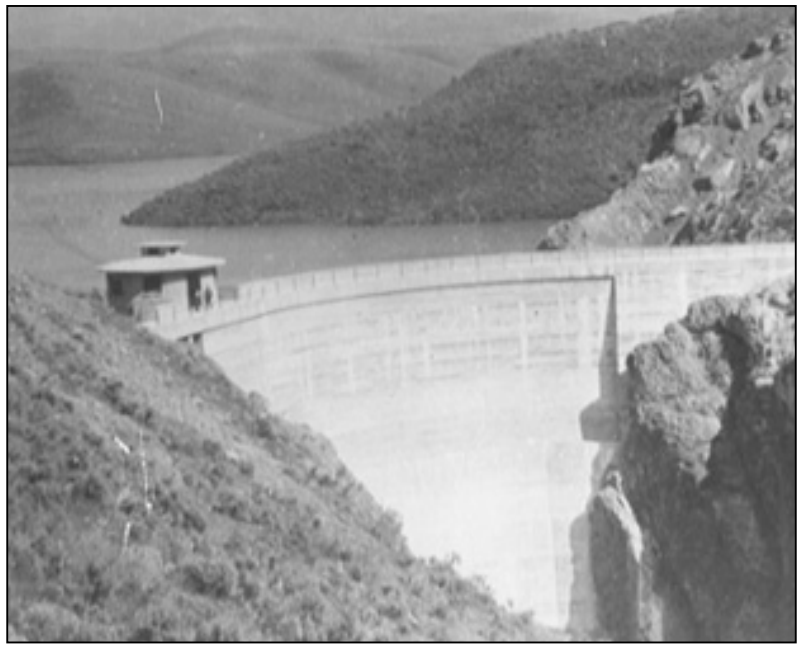
If the sugar company needed canal company personnel to run the water, it had to pay salaries and expenses. At the end of the sugar manufacturing season the company had to leave the dam, canals, and laterals in as good condition and order as they were at the beginning of the season. Also, Utah Power and Light's rights to Weber River water and to canal water must be honored. Vice-president John G. M. Barnes signed the agreement for DWCCC.

At the DWCCC stockholders meeting in December 1915, attenders reelected E. P. president, Barnes vice-president, and J. C. Nye secretary. Other members of the board at that time were W. J. Parker, Richard Stringham, A. P. Bigelow, Charles A. Rundquist, and W.W. Steed.[64] Board members discussed the fact that their original contract with Utah Construction Company had called for completion of the East Canyon Creek dam to the 120 foot level by January 1. Because the firm was behind schedule, the board authorized E. P. to remind Utah Construction of its contract's terms regarding forfeiture and additional expenses for noncompliance.

To deflect that criticism, Utah Construction's president wrote to E. P. on December 22, 1915, complaining that "the actions of your Company have made it physically impossible" to keep on schedule. Apparently water release problems in late summer or fall interfered with construction work. To December 31, the canal company had paid Utah Construction $55,773.61. That December, the board rehired John C. Child, this time to be canal superintendent for the 1916 season.[65]

On January 12, 1916, E. P. and John Barnes met with two owners of some perimeter lands around the existing reservoir and bought small parcels at $2.15 per acre. In return, they sold to the two sellers some canal lands not being used, at the same per acre price. By March, E. P. estimated the company needed $50,000 to finish the dam, so the board authorized him, Barnes, and Nye to borrow up to $60,000.[66]

Utah Construction crews worked through the winter. In December,

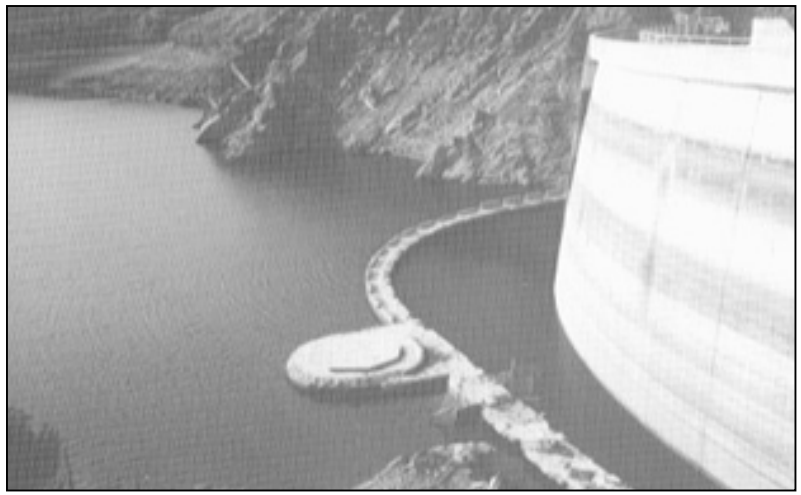


East Canyon Dam at its completion in 1915

January, and February they poured 600 loads of concrete. That amounted to 15,888 cubic yards of concrete at a cost of $5.25 per yard or $83,414. They also billed DWCCC $16,733.75 for hauling the concrete.[67]

Opening the Higher Dam

On April 7, 1916, with a new water season about to open, the board decided what to do about providing customers with water from East Canyon Dam. They decided to find out from consulting engineer Fortier, state engineer W. D. Beers, and engineer A. F. Parker the completion date for the dam to reach the 110 foot level, and then solicit their opinions regarding the advisability and safety of filling the reservoir to the 105 foot level.[68] On June 2, E. P. and A. P. Bigelow went with Fortier, Parker, and assistant state engineer C. J. Ulrich to the dam site. They found that all concrete forms had been stripped away from the structure and saw reservoir water within six feet of the top of the old dam, with a big stream running through its tunnel.



Present East Canyon Dam at it appeared in 1990 with the top of the 1915 dam exposed by low water

Fortier was concerned. He feared that a sudden water release might choke the tunnel to the new dam, causing a sudden rise in water above it. Any sudden strain on the new dam must be avoided:

> Mr. Fortier's impression of the dam was that it was a splendid job of construction and that while the structure was light in appearance, the more he considered it, the better he seemed to like it; that while the graceful design gives it a trim and relatively light appearance, the Engineer stated that its estimated final strength gave a factor of safety of 10 to 1. Mr. Fortier finally said it was a splendid structure and that Mr. A. F. Parker is entitled to the credit for it. He examined the outer surface on the concrete and said the quality was particularly tough and that he was well pleased with it. He strongly recommended that the concrete be given plenty of time to season, explaining that it had not seasoned as fast, being built in the winter, but that it would continue to increase in strength for the next six or eight months after which time it would be fully 25% stronger than it is at present.

Engineer Fortier recommended that the water be allowed to build up slowly, then drained, then filled up a little higher, then drained, going up ten to fifteen feet higher each time. He advised against storing water in the new dam during the 1916 season.[69]

A higher East Canyon Dam began holding water, as part of its seasoning process, in 1916. The new dam was a double-curvature, thin-arch,

Picture taken at the top of East Canyon Dam at its completion. Back row, *Joe Stevenson holding an unknown baby, E. P. Ellison holding Helene Adams,* next row, *Harold Ellison, Stanley Ellison, Ruth Skeen, Reed Ellison in front of Harold, Paul Skeen next to Reed, David Ellison, Isabel Ellison*

concrete structure spanning 440 feet at its crest, which rose 260 feet above the lowest point of the foundation. A nine-foot-wide roadway along the crest was protected on the stream side by a parapet wall and on the downstream side by a pipe handrail. When the reservoir filled behind the higher dam, it would impound 26,000 to 28,000 acre feet, compared to the old reservoir's 11,600 acre feet capacity.[70]

By summer's end, the canal company's board calculated the cost of the new dam to be $175,054.74. To raise needed funds, they authorized a three dollar assessment against each share of primary stock. Then, two months later, they approved an issue of primary stock in lieu of all outstanding secondary stock, based on their doubling of the reservoir's capacity and enlargings of the main canal and branches to handle the reservoir's increased capacity. Apparently, this stock issue totalled $150,000. When E. P. gave stockholders his annual report, he "expressed his satisfaction with the completed structure."[71]

A historian of Utah irrigation, describing the East Canyon Dam, wrote:

> The combination of fertile soil, ease of working it in early spring, proximity to both Salt Lake City and Ogden, plus abundant full season water, gave farmers served by the Davis and Weber Canal Company advantages that were not enjoyed in other parts of Utah in the early part of this century. Consequently, the Company's business expanded, more land was brought under the ditch, and in May of 1915, construction began on a new, all concrete dam to replace the old earth one. It was completed in 1916, at a cost of $175,055. Its storage capacity of 28,000 feet was double that of the old one. To this point East Canyon Dam was strictly a profitable private enterprise undertaken with no assistance from state or federal governments.[72]

NOTES

1. Advertising on Farmers Union letterhead, ca. 1915, copies in EFA.
2. Farmers Union Board Minutes Jan. 2, 1906.
3. "Itemized Expense Account of Farmers Union from Feby. 1st, 1905 to Feby 1st, 1906," Mimeographed, in Farmers Union Board Minutes, 1906.
4. Farmers Union Board Minutes, March 11, 1907.
5. Farmers Union Stockholders Minutes, filed with board minutes.
6. Farmers Union Board Minutes, March 30, 1909.
7. Included with Farmers Union Board Minutes, Feb. 1911.
8. Davis County *Weekly Reflex*, May 29, 1913. Between 1912 and 1922, Utah Power and Light, in business to sell electricity, pushed the introduction and use of electric appliances, including washing machines, ranges, refrigerators, and indoor and outdoor lighting. By the 1920s the age of electricity was firmly established in Utah. See John S. McCormick, "The Beginning of Modern Electric Power Service in Utah, 1912–1922," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56 (Winter 1988), 13.
9. Farmers Union Board Minutes, March 1915.
10. Several of E. P.'s grandchildren told the author about his helping the needy.
11. Oma Wilcox conversation with the author.
12. *Weekly Clipper*, March 29, 1901, Sept. 19, 1902, and Jan. 9, 1903.
13. *Weekly Clipper*, Oct. 16, 1913.
14. *Weekly Clipper*, March 12, 1914.
15. *Weekly Clipper*, Sept. 9, 1915.
16. DWCCC Minutes, March 26, 1902.
17. DWCCC Minutes, Oct. 10, 1902.
18. Ibid., Oct 22, 1902.
19. Ibid., Dec. 30, 1902.
20. Ibid., May 26, 1903.

21. Ibid., Aug. 10, 1903.
22. Ibid., Nov. 2, 1903.
23. Ibid., Nov. 2, 1903.
24. Ibid., Dec. 12, 1903.
25. Ibid., March 30, 1904.
26. Ibid., Nov. 19, 1904.
27. Ibid., Sept. 12, 1905, March 29, 1906.
28. Ibid., Sept.9, 1909. McCormick, "Modern Electric Power Service in Utah," 4–22.
29. Ibid., Sept. 17, 1909.
30. Ibid., Sept. 27 and October 9, 1909.
31. Ibid., Nov. 20, 1909.
32. Ibid., Dec. 22, 1909.
33. Ibid., April 25, 1910.
34. Sadler and Roberts, *The Weber River Basin*, 120.
35. Ibid.
36. DWCCC Minutes, June 17, 1910.
37. Ibid., July 8, 1910.
38. Ibid., Oct. 6, 1910.
39. Ibid., May 31, 1911.
40. Ibid., Aug. 31, Sept. 5, and Oct. 9, 1911.
41. Ibid., Dec. 6, 1911.
42. Ibid., May 5, and June 1, 1912.
43. Ibid., June 1, 1912 and April 5. 1913.
44. McCormick, "Modern Electric Power Service in Utah," 7–9.
45. Ibid., Aug. 10, 1912.
46. Ibid., Aug. 24, 1912.
47. Sadler and Roberts, *The Weber River Basin*, 120.
48. E. P. Ellison sketch, *Weekly Reflex,* Dec. 20, 1923.
49. DWCCC Minutes, Sept. 7, 1912, Oct. 16 and 24, 1912.
50. Ibid., April 5 and 26, 1913.
51. Ibid., Sept. 6, 1913.
52. Ibid., Oct. 13 and Nov. 10, 1913.
53. Keith D. Wilde, "Defining Efficient Water Storage in the Weber Drainage Area," Ph.D. dissertation, Utah State University, 1976, 24.
54. Nye to Richard W. Young, Nov. 7, 1914, Young, Snow, and Ashton Correspondence File, DWCCC Storage Building, South Ogden, Utah.
55. Canal Company Minutes, Aug. 7, 1914.
56. Ibid., Jan. 22, March 5, 20,and 23, 1915.
57. Ibid., April 24, 1915.
58. Reservoir Dam File, 1915–1916, DWCCC Storage.

59. DWCCC Minutes, Aug. 6, 1915.
60. E. P. Ellison to W. H. Wattis, August 30, 1915, Reservoir Dam File, 1915–1916.
61. DWCCC Minutes, Nov. 5, 1915.
62. Filed in DWCCC Minutes, after Nov. 5, 1915 entry.
63. The diversion point was located in Sec. 30, Township 5N, Range 1W.
64. DWCCC Minutes, Dec. 17, 1915.
65. Reservoir Dam File, 1915–1916; Minutes, Jan. 12, 1916.
66. DWCCC Minutes, March 3, 1916.
67. "Statement of Cost of New Reservoir," Reservoir Dam File, 1915–1916, and Unsigned Report to State Engineer W. D. Beers, April 29, 1916, Reservoir Dam File, 1915–1916.
68. DWCCC, April 7, 1916.
69. DWCCC, June 2, 1916.
70. United States Department of Interior, *East Canyon Dam: Standing Operations Procedure* (Salt Lake City, UT: Department of Interior Region 4, 1969), 28–29.
71. DWCCC Minutes, Sept. 12, Nov. 3, and 18, 1916, Nov. 15, 1918.
72. Wilde, Water Resource Management in the Weber Drainage Basin, Utah Ph.D. dissertation, USU, 1976, 24.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

ELIZABETH'S FINAL YEARS, 1902–1916

A horse-drawn sleigh waited in the snow near the Ellisons' front door. When the door opened, men carried Elizabeth Ellison, crippled by arthritis, in her rocking chair and placed it with her still in it into the sleigh. Within minutes the sleigh reached the Oregon Short Line Railroad's depot, where willing hands lifted Elizabeth from the chair up into the train. Into the train went her featherbed, too. Within two days, on twin steel rails, a smoke-belching, clickety-clattering passenger train pulled into Los Angeles. There, Elizabeth lodged at an apartment in the Venice area to relax and soak up sunshine for several winter weeks in the warm, refreshing southern California weather.

Suffering Elizabeth spent at least four winter seasons this way. By 1907, perhaps earlier, rheumatoid arthritis crippled her and kept her from being able to do much. Expert medical care and California winters helped slightly, but Elizabeth's last decade, before she died in July 1916, was one of endurance, pain, and frustration.

That her imprint as wife and mother upon E. P. and the nine Ellison offspring was large is indisputable. Her grandchildren, many of whom never met her, universally received from her children a sense of genuine respect and affection for Grandmother Ellison, known by her friends and relatives as "Tibby" or "Tib."

Elizabeth Whitesides Ellison's life spanned sixty-five years. She lived to see all her children reach adulthood, four of her five sons fill LDS Church missions, and six of her nine children marry. She spent her last two decades living in a stately, comfortable home. Family prosperity, produced by E. P.'s businesses and investments, allowed Elizabeth and the children to have the necessities of life and some luxuries. She was of a

kind and gentle nature, very quiet and unassuming, and known for an eagerness to help anyone in need.[1]

Life at Home

The 1902–1916 period coincides with the years when E. P. was deeply involved in starting the Canadian sugar and flour mills, developing ranches in Nevada, helping direct a bank, upgrading East Canyon Dam and enlarging a canal system, and planning a sugar factory for Layton. He was constantly leaving home for periods of a week, two weeks, and sometimes a month. He also made trips to Europe and Southern California while Elizabeth stayed in Layton. She learned to rely on her older sons and daughters, and some outside help, to assist with the management of the home and the unmarried children.

Eldest daughter Nettie's husband, Warren Stevenson, died in January 1906 from nephritis. The Stevenson home was on Gentile Street in West Layton. The parents suggested that Nettie's brother Laurence and his bride Katie, who were married in 1907, move in with Nettie and her young son to keep them company. The couple lived with Nettie until after their son Harris was born in 1908. Then Laurence moved his family into a new two-room house of their own farther east on Gentile. Nettie and her son Joe moved back to her parents' home, where her help was vital when Elizabeth's arthritis worsened and the big house needed a housekeeper.[2]

By 1908, Elizabeth and E. P.'s children who still lived at home were not youngsters: Parl was twenty-two, Alice nineteen, Evan seventeen, and Marion fifteen. The youngest two, Evan and Marion, with E. P. gone a lot and Elizabeth not well, received less discipline and more pampering than the others. Evan's daughter Lucille, citing family stories she heard, judged that her father and Marion "got away with murder."[3]

Marion went to high school in Ogden, starting about 1910. She stayed at her sister Jean's and came home only on the weekends. She did not finish high school. She said that while she was growing up, E. P. was "always too busy to be home much of the time." Sometimes she and Elizabeth went with him to Canada. Marion said she would get homesick on such trips. In Canada, she said, they stayed at Mrs. O'Brien's, a

close relative of James Ellison's wife, Jane. Marion went with Elizabeth a time or two to Southern California. "We took turns" doing that, she said, referring to her sisters Nettie and Alice.[4]

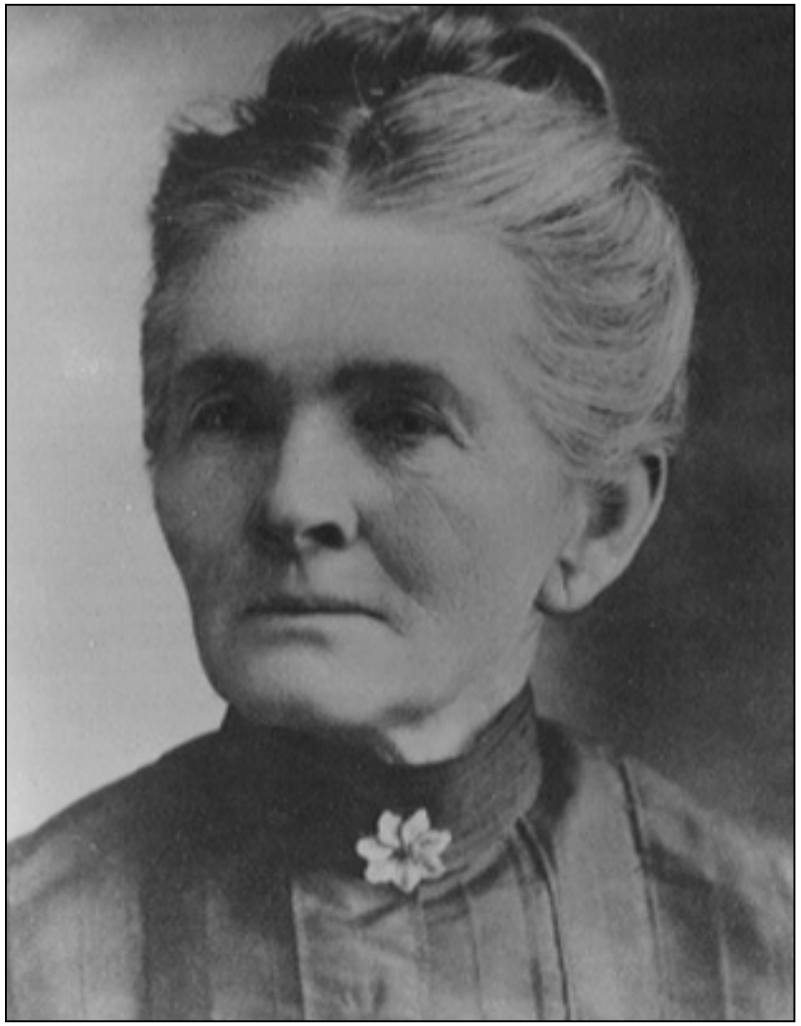
When James and Jane's son, Harold Ellison, was eight or nine, he left Canada to spend a winter with his Ellison grandparents. He came to help Elizabeth during a period when she did not have anyone helping her. Even though it was hard for her to lift a pan off the stove, he recalled, she still cooked. She was never one to complain, at least in his presence. "She would say, 'I wish I could get around a little better,' but she would not expect you to wait on her. She was quite a self-sufficient person."[5]

A favorite memory for several grandchildren was Elizabeth's good cooking. Harold especially liked her apricot preserves. James's daughter Elizabeth, named after her grandmother, said Grandmother Ellison "knew I liked pumpkin pie, and every time I'd go she had a pumpkin pie just for me."[6] Laurence's daughter, Oma, loved Grandmother Ellison's cherry pies, even though Elizabeth baked them with unpitted cherries which arthritic fingers could not pit.[7]

While the large brood of Ellison children grew up, they saw constant visiting back and forth of uncles and aunts. Some stayed all day when they came. Elizabeth's brothers and sisters had a very close relationship, maintained throughout their lives. One grandchild said she enjoyed the visits and considered these relatives to be like her own aunts and uncles, not "great" aunts or uncles.[8]

Grandson Harold felt Elizabeth was a "lovable person" with a "great personality." She was thoughtful toward him, and "anything she thought I liked, she would have it there for me."[9] Harold liked it when his grandmother told him pioneer stories. Youngest daughter Marion's memories of Elizabeth include her generous nature. When tramps came along, Marion said, Elizabeth would give them something to eat. Elizabeth furnished a silver sacrament set for the Layton Ward—two silver pitchers and several two-handled silver sacrament cups.[10] Elizabeth Green thought her grandmother was "very gracious, very warm, affectionate, very loving." Although too crippled to sew or craft nice things for her grandchildren, she "made yarn balls for us to play with; [she would] wind it very tight, and then stitch it so it would not come apart."[11]

Music was part of the Ellison home life. Marion recalled that when



Elizabeth Whitesides Ellison as she looked in her final years

she was a girl, they had a piano. She finished the eighth grade about 1906 or 1907. For the graduation ceremonies in Farmington, Marion's sister Jean played the piano. Marion herself, relatives affirm, sang in church as an adult and had a beautiful singing voice.[12]

Elizabeth's family had family prayer on their knees by the kitchen table each morning, but, Marion said, the Gospel was not discussed much.[13] On one occasion when E. P. was asking the blessing on the food at dinner, his business practices slipped into his petition and he closed his prayer with "Sincerely yours, E. P. Ellison."[14]

Elizabeth's widowed mother, Susannah Perkins Whitesides, lived with Elizabeth's brother Will and his wife Alice (Aunt Lall) in a frame house about a block east of the Ellisons. Susannah had suffered a stroke that handicapped her, so Elizabeth had arranged with her three younger brothers to care for their mother. Elizabeth visited her widowed mother often, and sometimes Susannah came to see Elizabeth. When Grandma Whitesides had visitors, they would sometimes say, "Let's go down to Tibby's to see if she can be caught in a mess." But daughter Marion said, "They could never find her in a mess. She always had her home in order."

In the fall of 1913, E. P. and Elizabeth entertained his aunt Eleanor Ellison from Independence, Missouri. She was sightseeing in the West and visited in Utah for ten days.[15]

E. P. took his seven-year-old grandson Harris to the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco in July 1915. After eating lunch at the Palace Hotel, where Harris ate an enormously long wedge of watermelon, they hurried outside to see former President Theodore Roosevelt—who was in town to speak at the Exposition—pass by. E. P. was a Republican and liked Teddy Roosevelt. The crowd was dense. Harris, feeling the effects of so much watermelon, needed to go to the bathroom but could not get through the crowd. Finally he wet his pants. Later in the day, E. P. took Harris along when he called on Mr. Roosevelt at his temporary office in the city. They visited for fifteen or twenty minutes, and Harris was surprised that his grandfather was called "E. P.," not "Mr. Ellison," by the famous man. During their chat, E. P. told the ex-president that when his grandson saw him pass by he wet his pants. Harris was so embarrassed he wished he could disappear into a mouse hole. But Mr. Roosevelt alertly responded that Harris's predicament was one of the greatest

compliments anyone had ever paid him. When E. P. and Harris were leaving, Mr. Roosevelt shook Harris's hand a long time and said, "Young man, always remember this: 'Hitch your wagon to the highest star, and if you miss, at least you'll hit the moon.'"[16]

Grandson Harold Ellison was impressed that grandfather E. P. always walked from home to the Farmers Union along the Bamberger Railroad tracks. Sometimes when a train came along, trainmen would stop it and invite him to get aboard because he was a close friend of the railroad's owner, Simon Bamberger. E. P. usually declined. Because he walked to work for exercise, he avoided walking along a road, because people inevitably would stop and offer him a ride.[17] E. P. bought his first car in 1911, an Evritt, sending Evan to Ogden to pick it up. Evan stayed at his sister Jean's while Arch Browning, the dealer, took him out every day to teach him to drive. The car had crystal lights, lighted with a match. Each tire held between fifty and one-hundred pounds pressure of air—rough to ride on. While Evan was returning from Ogden, one of the tires punctured.

In mid–1913, according to the local newspaper, E. P. traded his Evritt for a 1913 Hudson.[18] (His third automobile was a dark Cadillac with jump seats, which was later painted yellow, a vehicle his grandchildren remember well.)

Family Deaths

On September 9, 1903, E. P.'s father, John Ellison, died at age eighty-five. John had been a pillar in his community, local businesses, and church. He had served in stake positions in the Sunday School and as a high councilman. In old age he was ordained a patriarch on September 22, 1897, at Kaysville by Apostle George Teasdale.[19] Apparently this was an honorary position and John did not bestow any patriarchal blessings upon Davis Stake members. He received a patriarchal blessing of his own, however, on November 16, 1899. It promised him "Thou shalt live till thou are satisfied with life." It also told him, "Thy name shall go down from generation to generation and shall not be taken from the earth." He was promised that he would die peacefully, without suffering the stings of death.[20]

John's plural wife, Grace Crawford, took care of him in the Kaysville home during his last years. After his death, Grace remarried and her surname became Stewart. John was strictly honest, temperate, and loved the Gospel. He never used tea, coffee, tobacco, or liquor. His motto was "Hue to the line and let the chips fall where they will." After being a member of the LDS Church for sixty-two years, he forthrightly stated his conviction that "I have not had my faith shaken in the work; I do know that Joseph Smith was a prophet of the Lord, and was an instrument in the hands of the Lord in bringing about this gospel."

A Utah biography of John, published in 1902, noted that he "has had a very successful career since coming to Utah, his success being entirely due to his own indomitable energy and to the fact that he has always persevered in every undertaking." John "has been an upright, honorable man at all times and is today one of the substantial men of this county. He has been prominently interested in cattle and sheep and has assisted his sons in getting a start, and they are among the large cattle owners of Davis county at this time."[21] John, who suffered from hearing loss, died of "general debility."[22] A granddaughter's tribute says of John that "he was always interested in building a better farm, home, and city and state. He was pleased that his children had become good LDS homemakers and loved the faith he had first embraced in England. He was buried in the Kaysville-Layton Cemetery. Four sons and three daughters survived him.[23]

Within a month of father John's death, E. P.'s brother, Elijah E. Ellison, died of typhoid fever. Elijah, only forty-six years old, died in early October 1903, the third fatal typhoid case in Utah in six weeks. His obituary indicates he had worked with many of E. P.'s endeavors. Elijah was a prosperous stock raiser and farmer, it noted. He was well known as an importer and breeder of Poland China hogs and of shorthorn cattle and Cotswold sheep, which won prizes at several Utah State Fairs. He owned shares in the Knight Sugar Company and considerable acreage in Canada. He was part owner, perhaps with E. P., of the North Eden Ranch in Bear Lake Valley. He was a director of the Layton Milling and Elevator Company, the Farmers Union, and the Utah Cotswold Association. He had served as a school trustee and was a Republican. At the time of his death, he was the second counselor to Bishop David E. Layton in the West Layton Ward. Typhoid, his obituary concluded, "is still epidemic and there is no telling the exact cause of it." Although Elijah did not survive the typhoid attack, his three children who also fell victim to it did.[24] After Elijah's death, widow Harriet Morgan Ellison and children continued to operate the family's farm. She lived until 1939, the year E. P. died.

In the summer of 1903, during the typhoid epidemic, William A. Dawson, a highly respected man in the community and the husband of Ella R. Dawson, became seriously ill with the disease. The Dawsons lived on Gentile Street, which at the time was a rough, dirt road. Traffic created noise and a lot of dust, some of which blew into the neighboring houses. E. P., concerned about this unhealthful effect, arranged for straw to be placed on the street in front of the Dawson house. However, Mr. Dawson died, turning Ella into a widow with two sons and another son, William Adams Dawson, soon to be born.[25]

Elizabeth Ellison's mother, Susannah Perkins Whitesides, died on July 9, 1913, at age eighty-three. She had suffered for seven years following a paralytic stroke in 1906. A local newspaper once reported that Susannah possessed a piece of a red bandanna handkerchief given to Wilford Woodruff by Joseph Smith which, tradition said, Woodruff had used to heal the sick during an epidemic and "Day of Healing" in Nauvoo.[26] Elizabeth, because she had arranged for her three younger brothers to care for Susannah, relinquished to them all claim to property owned by her mother. After Susannah's death, Elizabeth would occasionally go over to her mother's home to help take care of it.

Marriages

Elizabeth and E. P.'s nine children all married. E. P. and Elizabeth typically gave the newlyweds land, a house, or animal stock as wedding presents. The children's first marriage dates and their spouses names are

James Edward	Feb. 17, 1897	Jane Watt
Mary Annette	Feb. 02, 1898	Warren Samuel Stevenson
Laurence Ephraim	June 12, 1907	Catherine Maria Adams
Morris Heber	Mar. 22, 1905	Margaret Jane Cowley
Jean Elizabeth	Dec. 21, 1905	William Riley Skeen
John Parley	Jan. 03, 1920	Elizabeth Chloe Larkins
Alice Louise	June 01, 1911	Jabez Samuel Adams
Evan Lewis	Sep. 19, 1917	Afton Bourne
Marion Whitesides	Sep. 19, 1917	Murray Waldamer Cowley

Soon after they married, Morris and Margaret (Maggie) moved to Raymond, Alberta, where Morris worked with the flour and sugar businesses. Jean, while attending the University of Utah about 1903, made a passing acquaintance of William Riley Skeen. He prepared to teach and then took a school job at Layton. There he courted Jean and they married at the end of 1905. He then completed his college work at the University of Utah and left in the spring of 1909 for the University of Chicago to earn his law degree. Jean stayed at the family home while he was gone, where she cared for her daughter, Ruth, and "loyally and devotedly assisted in the care of her afflicted mother." For a short time the Skeens lived on West Gentile Street in Layton, across from Laurence and Katie's home. They were living there in 1910, but moved that year to Ogden, where Riley established his law practice and built a new home at 2436 Jackson Ave.[27]

By the time Elizabeth died, she had three children not yet married—Parl, twenty-nine, Evan, twenty-five, and Marion, twenty-two.

Missionary Sons

James was the first Ellison son to serve an LDS proselyting mission.[28] At age thirty-two, married and with children, he was called to the California Mission, where he labored from February 8, 1906 to February 18, 1908. Assigned first to San Francisco, James was staying with Morris Rosenbaum on the fourth floor of the Colorado Hotel at 111 O'Farrell Street when the famous 1906 San Francisco Earthquake struck. In a retrospective diary entry for April 18, he wrote:

> At 5:15 A.M. was awakened by an Earthquake, causing the plaster etc. to fall upon us, we being in darkness caused a great many strange and peculiar feelings to run through our minds in a few seconds of time. Partly dressed, arm in arm we wound our way down the stairway, climbing over plaster, bricks, etc. that had fallen, and upon reaching the street found things in a dilapidated condition, buildings wrecked, telephone poles down, wires of every description laying in the streets, people coming out of buildings partly dressed, some with their night gowns on.

James picked his way through rubble to the mission home at 609 Franklin Street. By then, he said, "fires were burning in several parts of the town and soon there was some of the largest blazes that I ever saw, and the flames were spreading very rapidly and it soon looked like the city was doomed for destruction." By afternoon, missionaries and Church members deserted the mission home just before firemen dynamited it while creating a fire break. That night, camped in Jefferson Park, James and other missionaries spent most of the night watching fires destroy block after block of the city. The next day James crossed San Francisco Bay by boat to Oakland, where he sent a telegram to his brother Laurence and three for Mission President Joseph Robinson, including one notifying LDS Church President Joseph F. Smith that all missionaries and members were safe. He wrote a message to his parents on a piece of bark and mailed it without a stamp, and it was delivered. During the next several days, James managed to find a way back to San Francisco, accepted lodging at a member's home, and roamed the city checking on the welfare of LDS members. President Robinson decided to relocate the mission's headquarters to Los Angeles, so he pulled all the missionaries out of the city except for James and Elder Arthur T. McCarty. James found out what it was like to stand in bread lines for food.[29]

James soon received an assignment to be the mission secretary, so he moved to Los Angeles by May 9, 1906. One of his duties was to arrange transportation for missionaries and for Saints leaving Los Angeles. He helped chauffeur visitors to the mission home and around Los Angeles. He shipped proselyting tracts to missionaries, did some bookkeeping, and made bank transactions for the mission. He spent some afternoons tracting and several evenings conducting street meetings downtown.

Because James suffered from head pains, he started treatments that fall in Pasadena from a Doctor Tracy, who determined that he was suffering from neuralgia. While on his mission, James was the one who helped to initiate his mother's winter visits to Southern California for health reasons.

Fourth son Parl was the family's second missionary. Single and twenty-two, he accepted a call and went to the Western States Mission, serving between January 14, 1908 and October 8, 1909. He worked in Nebraska and in the Denver area. Elders in his mission walked between

The Whitesides family, ca. 1913, standing, l to r., *Mary Susan (Wiggill), John Absalom, Edward Morris, Nancy Penninah (Freer),* seated l. to r., *Marion Mark, Elizabeth (Ellison), Susannah Perkins Whitesides, William Wilford, Ann Deseret (Harris)*

scattered farms and labored without purse or scrip, which meant they had to rely on local people to provide them food and lodging. Parl sometimes would offer to milk cows in return for his supper. Due to ulcers, Parl came home early from his mission and did not return. Ulcers continued to be a problem. Four years later, according to one local newspaper report, he went to Rochester, Minnesota for treatment of ulcers.[30]

Evan was the family's next missionary. Twenty-two and single in 1913, he also went to California. He left on February 28, served in Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, Fallon (Nevada), and Sacramento, and was released on May 11, 1915. His son Richard learned from his father that Evan "enjoyed parts of his mission but would have enjoyed it more if he had not been forced to go." An oft-told story in Evan's family is about the time when Mission President Joseph Robinson sent Evan and his companion, Clyde Cummings, to Carson City, Nevada. By train and on foot they reached the farm where they were to live with a Mormon family. Evan had been raised in an immaculate home. So when this lady came in from spreading manure and, without washing her hands, kneaded dough and baked them bread, the elders excused themselves.

They went to the nearest Western Union office and telegraphed to President Robinson to transfer them immediately or they would board a train to Utah. Apparently they were transferred.[31]

Morris, the family's fourth missionary, entered the mission field in November 1915. He was thirty-four years old and left behind a family and a career. He worked in San Diego, Los Angeles, and in Arizona. When mother Elizabeth died in mid–1916, he came home for the funeral, then returned to his proselyting labors. He was released on December 23, 1917, and earned this compliment from President Robinson: "He has been untiring in his efforts and has gained the love and confidence of the Saints of this conference and of all the missionaries over whom he has presided."[32]

Children in the Family Businesses

All five of E. P.'s sons worked for him in the family's businesses. James began his business career in the Farmers Union, candling eggs for his father. He helped manage the store until his mission call in 1906. Upon James's return, E. P. sent him to Canada to manage the sugar and flour operations. In Raymond, he served in several church positions and became the bishop for a few months before the sugar factory closed. James and his family returned to Layton in May 1915, so James could help organize and manage the new Layton Sugar Company factory. E. P. met their train. After family greetings, the group walked up to the Farmers Union store. E. P., noticing little David, age four, was a bit chubby, "put me on the scale where they weighed nails."[33] Two of James and Jane's children were born in Canada: Isabel in 1909 and David in 1911. James's family moved temporarily into their small former house on Gentile Street until their new, large home was completed a few months later.[34] The new house contained five bedrooms upstairs and two down, had a large dining room, living room, and kitchen, and a full basement. By then James E., Laurence, and Morris lived fairly close to each other on Gentile Street, and were later joined there by Evan.

James had been in the Layton Ward but a few months when he was called to be the bishop, a position he held for about nineteen years. E. P., then a stake high councilman, felt reluctant to see his son become the

bishop because it might look like family favoritism influenced the choice, "but felt to endorse him if he is the people's choice."[35] James became involved in several enterprises and served on various business boards.

After Laurence graduated from the University of Utah, prepared to teach school, he became the principal in the Kaysville-Layton schools and taught grades seven and eight in the Kaysville Central School. E. P. did not think much of teaching—it was not a man's job in his eyes. So he convinced Laurence to work for the Farmers Union and Layton Milling and Elevator as a bookkeeper and manager. Then, when the First National Bank of Layton was organized, Laurence became the assistant cashier. His brother James was the head cashier but never really worked there. Laurence managed the bank and became Layton's main banker for six decades.[36]

Morris, by the time he was an adult, knew how to herd sheep, farm, care for cattle, clerk at the Farmers Union, and keep the store's account books. When the Canadian mills opened, E. P. put Morris in charge of the office up there and had him assist in managing the Knight Sugar Company operations. Morris came home and married, then took his bride back to Canada, where they lived in a small room in back of the sugar factory office. When brother James left on a mission early in 1906, E. P. called Morris home to manage the Farmers Union, which position he held for nearly thirty years. When E. P. organized Ellison Ranching, he made Morris an assistant secretary to J. H. Wilcox, and much later Morris became a vital executive in the company.[37]

Son Parl learned ranching on the Knight cattle ranges in Canada. When Ellison Ranching Company was starting in 1910, E. P. sent Parl to Nevada to manage several of the ranches. He spent his life making Ellison Ranching a successful enterprise.[38]

Sons Evan and Parl did not get along together as boys, although they had to work on the family's farm together. From Parl's point of view, Evan liked to go to ball games, while Parl had to stay and work.[39] Once, Parl almost drowned Evan in a stream, at a place Evan years later showed his son Richard.[40] So E. P. sent Evan up to Canada to work at the Knight Sugar factory. Then, when Ellison Ranching Company started in Nevada, E. P. sent Parl out there and brought Evan home. After his mission, Evan worked for the Layton sugar factory and served as superintendent. But as

is the case with sons born later in the family, Evan found that his older brothers held the management positions of his father's companies. Being the youngest, he was not as badly needed in the companies as were the older boys, who entered the firms ahead of him.[41]

Daughters in their teens and twenties occasionally worked in the Farmers Union, but they were expected to marry and raise families, not to work. Daughter Nettie, however, because she was widowed while young, helped care for Elizabeth and run the household until and after mother Elizabeth's death. After that, she soon became a career woman, working full time in the Farmers Union. She was secretary-treasurer for forty-five years, and also an accountant and a buyer for the store.[42]

Family and Church

Elizabeth, as a member of the Layton Ward's Relief Society, attended meetings and made donations to its causes. Because of her arthritis, she found it difficult to get around, but she attended meetings whenever she could, and always helped others with food, clothing, or whatever other donations were needed.[43]

Elizabeth's adult children began to be called to positions of ward leadership. Before going to Canada, James served for awhile as the ward clerk. Nettie was the stake's Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association secretary for many years. In 1903 Jean Elizabeth became second counselor in the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association. In 1904 Laurence functioned as president of the Young Men's Mutual. Alice served in the ward's Young Ladies' Mutual presidency and sang in the choir. Parl was a member of the bishopric briefly after his mission and before going to the Nevada ranches.[44]

In 1908, a new Layton Ward meetinghouse was dedicated by President Joseph F. Smith. It cost nearly $12,000, and E. P. donated generously to its construction.[45] A favorite family story about E. P. and donations for church buildings involves an LDS chapel being built in Los Angeles during the time Elizabeth went down there for health, and while son Evan was a missionary there. E. P. and business associate Jesse Knight, while visiting, attended church in a ward that was building a new chapel and they offered to contribute to the project. Help was

needed to pay for the carpeting and for stained-glass windows. E. P. asked Jesse to pay for one of these expensive furnishings and he would pay for the other. Jesse chose the windows, thinking they would cost less than the carpet, but was shocked when he learned that they cost much more.[46]

Stake Presidency Counselor

E. P., an alternate high councilman since 1897, became a high councilman on April 2, 1906, and was set apart by Anthon H. Lund, second counselor in the First Presidency. As a high councilman, he visited assigned wards, worked with priesthood quorum leaders, and encouraged tithe-paying. He expressed once to his fellow stake leaders that "he knew we would be amply paid for what we do for the work of the Lord."[47]

On June 20, 1915, a new North Davis Stake was created from part of the old Davis Stake. E. P. was chosen by new Stake President Henry H. Blood to be his first counselor. Francis H. Nalder was the other counselor. Included in the new stake were the Clearfield, Kaysville, Layton, Syracuse, West Layton, and West Point wards. Stake headquarters were at Kaysville.[48] During her final year of life, Elizabeth had the honor and responsibility of being the wife of a member of the stake presidency.

E. P. was a vital advisor and assistant to his friend, Henry Blood. Counselor Ellison began a schedule of weekly Sunday commitments, but his daybook indicates next to no stake labors during the other six days of the week. Many Sundays began for E. P. with a stake presidency meeting, followed by a high council meeting. Often he went to one of the wards for their Sunday meetings or to funerals. He participated in an occasional stake Sunday School, Relief Society, or Mutual meeting. Quarterly, the presidency conducted stake conference meetings. Once a year each ward had a ward conference, which the stake presidency attended. Apparently Elizabeth, because of her arthritis, rarely if ever accompanied E. P. on his visits to other wards.

Elizabeth's 1907 California Trip

When Elizabeth's arthritis worsened, she suffered severely and lost much arm and leg movement. She was confined to bed or a wheelchair much of the time. She could walk only by shuffling along at a very slow pace. An Ogden doctor by the name of Terrill, a cross between an osteopath and a chiropractor but much more versatile and knowledgeable than either, gave her a great deal of relief up to the time of her death.[49]

She went to Southern California during the winter months at least four times to enjoy the mild climate. Someone in the family always accompanied her to care for her needs, for she was unable even to bathe or dress herself. By special arrangement, the train stopped at the Layton Depot, where her feather bed was placed in the berth and taken to California for her comfort. Sometimes Dr. Ezra or Everett Rich of Ogden, who often cared for Ellison family members, would ride with Elizabeth at least to Salt Lake City.[50]

It appears that missionary son James's contact with doctors in Southern California prompted Elizabeth to go there for treatment at Pasadena. James's missionary diary and E. P.'s daybook provide a detailed story of Elizabeth's 1907 sojourn in Southern California. When the year began, Elizabeth was "very sick." On January 14, E. P., Elizabeth, Nettie, and Nettie's son Joe headed for Los Angeles, arriving the next night at midnight. James met their train. They stayed in rented rooms at 939 Olive Street. Apostle Heber J. Grant arrived about the same time, to visit Mrs. Grant, who was vacationing there.

During the first day, E. P. and Elizabeth stayed in their room all day. "Mrs. E. seems better," E. P. noted in his daybook. Apostle Grant visited them that day. Elder Ellison dined with his parents that evening. The next day, Elizabeth and Nettie stayed in the apartment while the others, with the Grants and the mission president's wife, Sister Robinson, visited Venice and Hollywood. The next day, while E. P. went to Catalina Island, James stayed with his mother in the afternoon and "took her out and she walked over 1 block." James dined with her, Nettie, and young Joe. For the next several days E. P. and Elizabeth stayed in their room. Then E. P. and James visited Dr. Tracy in Pasadena, and on January 24, E. P.'s daybook notes in his usual brevity, "Dr. came to see Mrs. E." She went to his office the next day. Two days later E. P. "took Mrs. E. for streetcar ride, 10 miles." They spent the next few days taking Elizabeth to "Garvanza," Venice, and to the doctor's office in Pasadena. E. P. and James attended a Thursday evening mission sacrament and testimony meeting on January 31.

In the evening of February 1, E. P. boarded a train for Utah. James, after taking his father to the depot, spent the night with his mother, Nettie, and Joe. Two days later, a Sunday, James had supper with the three. Then, after sacrament meeting, James and Elders McCarty, Shepherd, and Holt visited Elizabeth and gave her a priesthood blessing.

During February, James and sometimes Elder William C. Esplin took Elizabeth weekly to Pasadena to the doctor. On February 17, mission president Joseph Robinson, some of the elders, and a Brother Sharp gave her a priesthood blessing. That day was James's tenth wedding anniversary. During the next days Elizabeth received visits from a Brother and Sister Sharp of Salt Lake City and from Jesse and Amanda Knight. On Sunday, February 24, James baptized his nephew, Joseph Ellison Stevenson, and also Sarah Helen Allen at the Bimini Baths. Two days later, Elizabeth, Nettie, and Joe "had an automobile ride in the forenoon with Bro. & Sister Knight." On February 28, Elizabeth visited James in the mission home. On March 5, James and the Knights spent a pleasant afternoon with Elizabeth. "We had quite a sociable chat for two hours about different topics," James noted.

During March, Elizabeth's weekly visits to the doctor continued. Her visitors included Sam Best and Mrs. Hyrum Pingree of Ogden. On March 15, daughter Nettie was operated on by a Dr. Hibbard for ear trouble. Three days later, E. P. returned to Los Angeles, bringing James's daughter Beatrice with him, and James met their train at the Arcade Depot. In late March, rainy weather cancelled some of James's proselyting street meetings, so he spent time with his relatives. On March 26, all the local missionaries, President Robinson and his wife, Elizabeth and Nettie, and James and Beatrice went to "President Jacobsen's Restaurant" and dined with E. P. Then E. P. spent his last two days there touring the Los Alamitos Sugar Factory and relaxing at East Lake Park. James put E. P. on a train for San Francisco on March 28.

Elizabeth's next two weeks included more doctor visits and some sightseeing, including an ostrich farm. Then on April 11, James took Elizabeth to San Bernardino, where she visited for two days with Mrs. Sarah Brooks, the stepsister of Elizabeth's father, Lewis Whitesides.

April 18 was a day for farewells. James took Beatrice and Joe uptown and bought some items for his children, then talked to his mother and some elders. Elizabeth, Nettie, Joe, Beatrice, President and Sister Robinson, Elder Funk, and James went to President Jacobsen's Keystone Restaurant and had supper. Two elders then accompanied the relatives to the depot and put them aboard the 8:00 P.M. train for Utah. By telegraph, James notified Morris in Layton about the group's departure.

Not long after Elizabeth returned home, James's teenage sister Alice visited him in Southern California. She arrived on July 7, enjoyed many of the tourist sights, picked up medicine for Elizabeth, swam at Ocean Park, and then left for Utah on July 15.

California Visit, 1913

Elizabeth apparently did not return to southern California again until early in 1913. She was sick with pneumonia late in 1912, which perhaps prompted the family to send her south to the gentler climate. On February 1, 1913, E. P. and Elizabeth left for Los Angeles. Daughter Marion and Nettie's son Joe were already there and met the train. E. P. and Elizabeth lodged first in San Diego at the Redwood Apartments, a three-story unit, one block from Balboa Park, with a fine view of the ocean. The complex was completely equipped for housekeeping, had steam heat, and each of the twenty-four apartments contained a private bath and a private phone for local and long distance calls. It was modern and luxuriously furnished, and featured a marble entrance, beam ceilings, and a sun parlor.[51]

During their stay, E. P. and Elizabeth went to church at 841 Fifth Street. They went to see Coronado and Tijuana.[52] Alice Ellison Adams, during a visit to Southern California, sent her niece, Ruth Skeen, a postcard which depicted the Redwood Apartments. On it she wrote,

> Dear Ruth
>
> I haven't received your letter yet but I guess you are too busy to write. Helene has a new go cart. She is very proud of it. I have had her over in the Balboa Park, it is a very large one, it covers 1400 acres of land, we just live 1/2 block from it & grandma says she feels about the same as when she left home, last night, she had a better night. Dr. Rich calls [unreadable] afternoons. Wish you were here to enjoy the pretty scenery and lazy feelings of San Diego. So far I like it fine here. This card shows a picture of our home.

Elizabeth Ellison seated on her front porch, Layton, with Jean Ellison Skeen, standing, and Merrill and Paul Skeen

Be a good girl and kiss Paul and Merrill for me, guess Joe and his Ma are home by now.

Your Aunt Alice

E. P. subsequently moved the family to Los Angeles into the Baker Apartments at 10th and San Francisco Streets, which rented for sixty dollars per month. While there, he "Bought Ford Auto Pd 300.00, due $375." Soon after that, he left for San Francisco and then returned to Utah. On April 14th he was again in Los Angeles. That day Elizabeth wrote a note on a picture postcard and sent it to her granddaughter, Ruth Skeen, at 2436 Jackson Avenue in Ogden. The card, postmarked Los Angeles, depicted the Baker Apartment Hotel where Elizabeth was staying. Elizabeth wrote:

> Dear little granddaughter. We sent you a letter last week in with Nettie's letter, hope you got it O.K. Do hope you wont have the measles. Your Grandpa came this A.M. We were disappointed to think you didn't come. I guess we will be home before a great while and then I will come up and stay with you. Kiss Paul and Merrill for me and tell your Ma and Pa hello from your Grandma Ellison.

Front of postcard written by Alice Ellison Adams to Ruth Skeen, February 10, 1913, showing the Redwood Apartments in San Diego, California

On April 16, 1913, E. P. went to the doctor "with folks," and to Hollywood and Venice. He attended church on the 20th. On the 25th he donated $100 to the Mission home and then left for San Francisco. Before leaving he sold his car for $500. By the end of the month he was home again. Early in May, Elizabeth and those with her left Los Angeles and returned to Layton.[53]

As soon as they arrived home, Elizabeth went to Ogden for several days for treatment for rheumatism "under the care of Dr. Rich." By month's end she was "improving."[54]

Late in 1913, Elizabeth was guest of honor in her own home when her family and friends celebrated her sixty-second birthday. Thirty guests attended the "prettily appointed party." Carnations decorated the dining room and chrysanthemums the parlor. During the festivities, Elizabeth was presented with a set of diamond earrings by E. P. and her children.[55]

California Visit, 1913–1914

In early December 1913, Elizabeth, Annette, and Marion left for Southern California. Apparently they stayed in Ocean Park, with or near

son Evan, who was a missionary there.[56] Evan's family has a picture showing Elizabeth in a wheelchair, being pushed by a man dressed like a chauffeur.[57] Three pieces of her correspondence have been found in which she tells about her activities and thoughts while away. The first is a letter she sent to granddaughter Ruth Skeen, dated January 16, 1914, and postmarked Ocean Park. It reads:

> Dear Granddaughter
>
> Got your mother's letter to day glad to hear you was well. Yes, I got your nice letter and how glad I was to get it. Yes, it is your birthday Monday. I hope you will have a nice party. I wish I could be there. Eat a little for me and have a good time.
>
> It has been raining the last too days, is clearing up, so then I can get out again. I walked four blocks the other day to get some cards. I sent Elizabeth one, it is her birthday today. Did Paul get his card? Evan is having quite a time with ear and tooth ache.
>
> Well Ruth it's nice down here. I spend lots of time watching the big breakers come up. It's a pretty site. I wish you was here. Picture shows every day.
>
> Got the butter from home to day it was nice, glad to get it, Wish I had some of your mama's bread to eat with it. We have nice vegetables, they taste good. Had some dried apricot pie for dinner, it was good. Anything tastes good here.
>
> Your Nette has gone to town this afternoon. When Joe comes from school I will send him to the Postoffice with this.
>
> Tell me who you have to your party.
>
> Don't worry about me, I am enjoying my self watching other people having a good time. It's so nice and warm in here all nite and I sleep so good.
>
> I wanted to send you something for your birthday but it has been too stormy to get out to find something so please accept this little letter and card with best wishes.
>
> From grandma.

On February 1, 1914, E. P. arrived at Ocean Park and enjoyed the "quite warm" weather and some rain between then and his departure on February 24. One activity he enjoyed was the automobile races at Santa Monica. Cars reached "100 miles per hour," he noted in his daybook. He again left Elizabeth there to enjoy the warm weather.

Elizabeth wrote a letter to Ruth sometime between January and April, which survives but is damaged so that parts are illegible:

Front of postcard written by Elizabeth to granddaughter Ruth Skeen on April 14, 1913, showing the Baker Apartment Hotel in Los Angeles, California.

> I have been out on the porch but the sun is so hot it run me in. The door is wide open and oh how nice it is. I have a nice big porch on the south. When I get tired of setting I walk up and down the porch and count my steps, twenty. Joe has just come for his lunch. Nettie has been washing. Just got through. I wish you could see the wash house. it is on top of the roof where up there we can look so far out on the ocean it makes my head swim. The water man has just been, he brings the water in five gallon bottles, it costs ten cents a gallon. The water in the pipes is so full of mineral we don't like it to drink. Evan and Cumins has been tracting, they came along walk when they got home today. Evan said he was as hungry as a cow so you see the long walk gives them a good apetite.

After the missing top part, the back side says:

> appetite and can sleep good, dont . . . much pain. My muscles has begun to soften. I don't have that awful drawing since I come here. If I had you to walk with me it would be just fine. I guess you was quite sick. Poor little Merrill, how sick he must have been, and Paul I guess he was sick too. Joe said he felt for you and did not know how you stood it. Yes we would enjoy some of your fresh eggs they would taste good when you have more than you can use send some down. Well I suppose you are in school, holidays is over. We got letter from Parley last knight. He said he was well. He had been so busy with stock he couldn't get home for awhile, yet if he goes home send him down. He sent in five dollars, that is each one of us, making twenty dollars in all. He said have a good meal and go to a show that is . . .

Elizabeth wrote another letter to Ruth on May 5, 1914, on letterhead of the Larchmont Apartments, located at Washington and Main Streets in Los Angeles.

Dear Ruth,

Got your nice letter and was pleased to get it. You are the only grandchild that writes to me. I have written to nearly all of the rest but do not get any answer. Glad you can write. Marion and Evan is down in the lobby. Some young girl is leaving for home. She lives in Nevada. They are having a little party for her. She goes tomorrow.

Monday night they had a May party, the little girls danced the May pole dance. Their is a baby here eight months old they had her decorated for queen she looked like one she was so [ ] They had her in a high chair, she was decorated with roses the people just about went wild over her. I went down just too look at her. I did wish you had been here, I didn't see any that was as good looking as you.

Yes the lions still roar, but I don't notice them any more. We can see all of their performances by looking through the window.

Elizabeth and daughter Marion were preparing to leave. They planned to go to San Francisco on the way home:

Marion and myself went to Ocean Park yesterday. We called to see Mrs. Raddon and Clarisa. They gave us a nice dinner. They had their things all packed. Their trunks went while we were there. It made me wish that we was all ready to start. We will start next Monday night or Tuesday morning. Don't know how long Marion will want to stay in Frisco. I will be glad to get home.

You asked if I had seen Mr House. Yes he came here tonight, told me he had got a telegram. It said Mrs. Northwood was in the hospittle seriously sick. Mrs Peddler and Mrs. Geakey left here Monday. They came in and stayed quite a while just before they left. They didn't know that Mrs. Northwood was in the hospittle. They won't get to see me at the fair. They expected to stay in Frisco about too weeks.

Well Ruth have you seen the girls from Canada yet? I am glad that you help your mama so well. Do all you can for her.

May 6. I didn't finish this letter last night so will make another attempt. It looks like rain and is quite cool, I will be glad to get home to get some good bread and butter. I haven't made any bread since I used the flour we had when you left. So we have been eating bakers bread. It hasn't got any strength in it. Does your mother make butter now?

When you write send your letters to San Francisco Mission head quarters. This is all for this time. Hope you are all well.

Write soon,

From your grandma

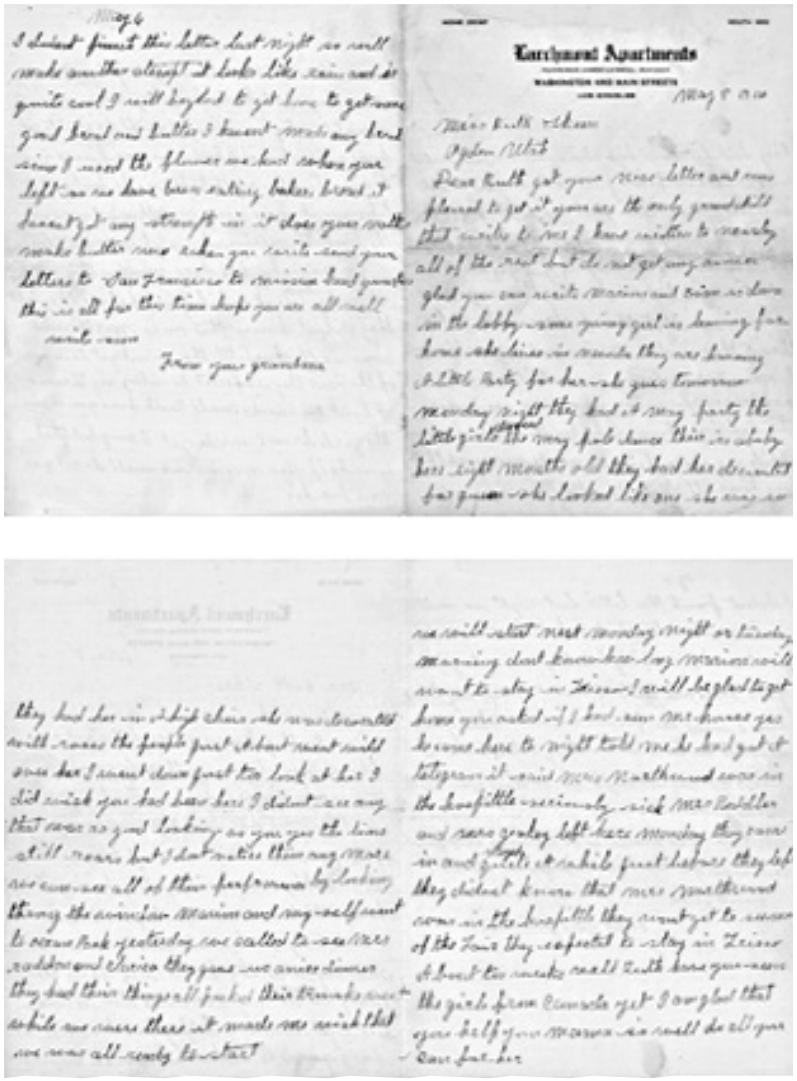
E. P.'s Business Schedule, 1914

To show how involved E. P. was in various businesses in a given calender year, it is useful to examine his 1914 daybook and re-create from its sketchy entries some sense of the busy schedule he tried to manage. During January, E. P. spent a week at the Nevada ranches looking at cattle and lambs. At the end of the month, he met with LDS Church President Joseph F. Smith and then headed for Los Angeles, where he spent three weeks in February with Elizabeth. By March he was at the Nevada ranches counting cattle, helping move lambs, and selling beef. In mid-March he was in Canada, where he spent three days at the sugar factory and then audited the Knight Sugar accounts before returning home.

During April and May, E. P. attended LDS General Conference in Salt Lake City, a Knight Sugar Company stockholders meeting, a canal directors' meeting, and a Layton priesthood meeting, bought $10,000 worth of Ellison Ranching and Utah Ore Sampling stock[58] (he was on the board of directors), checked on the Farmers Union and his farm, returned to the ranches in mid-April and helped with sheep shearing and dipping and loading of $25,439 worth of wool, visited San Francisco, returned home, attended directors' meetings for Knight Sugar Company, the Farmers Union, and Layton Milling, attended to Pingree Bank business and canal matters, and participated in a board meeting of Utah Ore Sampling Company. He returned to the ranches, and attended a Winnemucca bank directors' meeting.

In June he went to Oregon to purchase sheep, spent a few days at home, spent more time in Nevada. He stayed in Layton for a week, during which he attended a First National Bank of Layton directors' meeting, went to a Kaysville priesthood meeting, and visited his daughter-in-law Jane at the hospital.

During the summer he purchased 150 rams at Mt. Pleasant, Utah,



The letter written by Elizabeth to Ruth Skeen from Los Angeles, May 5, 1914

spent two weeks at the Nevada ranches, spent a week visiting canal sections and the East Canyon dam, and attended a stake high council meeting. During the fall he went to the ranches and divided sheep, then loaded sheep in Winnemucca and in Ogden, spent time at the store, attended LDS conference in October, went to the ranches, visited a ranch in Oregon, branded horses, measured and sold hay, spent two weeks at home, attended a ward conference, returned to the ranches to separate sheep and cattle, loaded cattle, returned home for twelve days, attended Aunt Mary Hunter's funeral in Grantsville, Utah, and spent a week in November at the ranches.

By December E. P. was giving attention to sugar mill plans. On December 9 he met on sugar business at LDS Church President Smith's office, then headed north to Great Falls to discuss beet growing with the Commercial Club there. The day before Christmas he met again at President Smith's office and twice after Christmas conferred with the "Eccles boys" and the Knight businessmen about sugar factory plans. After a quick trip to Delta, Utah, he ended 1914 by auditing Pingree Bank books on December 31st. E. P. noted that his 1914 income from dividends was $9,262, most of it from stock he owned in Ellison Milling and Elevator, Utah Ore Sampling, and the Farmers Union. His other dividend income came from the Layton bank, Amalgamated Sugar, Western Ore Processing Company, Beneficial Life, the Pingree Bank, and a cement company.

Final California Stay

Elizabeth's last stay in Southern California came during the winter of 1914–1915. When she arrived is not clear, but she was probably there from January to April or May 1915. Early that year, E. P. was very busy, overseeing the beginnings of the sugar factory construction project in Layton and visiting the Nevada ranches. He broke away from work on April 6, according to his daybook, and left for Los Angeles. He arrived the next day and "found family OK." After about a week there, he left Elizabeth and went north to San Francisco, where on the 11th and 12th he enjoyed the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, which drew millions of visitors that year. In May, Marion and Elizabeth visited the exposition on their way home.[59]

Ellison family outing in Weber Canyon. L. to r., *Stanley Ellison, Ruth Skeen, Harris Ellison, Oma Ellison, Reed Ellison, Paul Skeen, and Merrill Skeen*

During her winters in Southern California, Elizabeth made beautiful ornamental bead necklaces. She had beads of various kinds, and with crippled hands would hold the needles to do bead work. With four needles she would thread the beads and then bring all four needles together and go through a bigger bead.[60]

Elizabeth's Death, 1916

The most important event noted in E. P.'s daybooks in 1916 was Elizabeth's sudden injury and then her death on July 14:

July 4	At Alice's. Mrs. EPE taken seriously ill.
July 5	Mrs. E no better.
July 6	Mrs. E worse.
July 7	Mrs. E No better. Wired Boys.

On July 7, the *Davis County Clipper* reported that Elizabeth was "suddenly taken seriously ill." E. P.'s daybook continues:

July 9	Sunday. Mrs. E worse. Wired for Boys to come home. Received answers from M H & Parley, both coming.
July 10	Mrs. E. no better. Parley arrived 7:40 A.M.
July 11	Mrs E. very weak. M H arrived Home.
July 12	Mrs. E worse.
July 13	Mrs E a little better till noon, & then worse.
July 14	Mrs. E passed a way at 11:35 A.M.

The July 14 *Clipper* noted that Elizabeth died that afternoon. Ten days before, the article explained, it was believed that Elizabeth was developing pneumonia. But her problem proved to be blood poisoning. Elizabeth had not enjoyed good health for a year or more, it added. E. P's daybook tells what happened next:

July 15	Went Ogden. Ordered casket.
July 16	Sunday. At Home all day.
July 17	Funeral of Mrs. E. Left Res 1:30, 2 P.M. at K M [Kaysville Meetinghouse]. Home.

Elizabeth died of blood poisoning produced by "a slight wound in her foot" when a barley beard stuck in her shoe. The *Weekly Reflex* provided other details about Elizabeth's demise.[61] Elizabeth, it said, had been an invalid for many years,

> but for some time had been able to go about the home place, and on her best days was able to motor to the homes of her daughters and sons and call on nearby neighbors. It was on one of these occasions, while at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Alice L. Adams, where she and her husband and other members of the family had gone to partake of a Fourth of July dinner, she was stricken with a chill, and as soon as she had sufficiently recovered, was taken to her home where she died ten days after.

The day Elizabeth died, her granddaughter Elizabeth, daughter of James and Jane, "watched her til the last breath." James E. "believed that we had to look at the dead," daughter Elizabeth recalled, so she had to look into the coffin at Grandmother Ellison's body. Another granddaughter, Oma Ellison, said her parents had her kiss deceased Grandmother Ellison on the forehead.[62]

Elizabeth's funeral was held in the Kaysville Tabernacle and drew the largest attendance of any funeral held there to that date. In the gathering were Presidents Joseph F. Smith and Charles W. Penrose of the LDS First Presidency; Apostle David O. McKay; Presiding Bishop Charles W. Nibley and his counselor, Bishop David A. Smith; Stake President Henry H. Blood of Kaysville; and prominent Utahns Jesse Knight, J. William Knight, and Simon Bamberger.

Stake President Blood conducted the service. Impressive florals decorated the chapel. Combined choirs from Kaysville and Layton provided

Elizabeth Ellison and Joe Stevenson in California, ca. 1915

choral music; Cleone Rich played two violin solos, and Miss Dorothy Young sang "O My Father." Lifelong friend John W. Thornley noted the comfort Elizabeth received in her declining years from the love and affection of her children and grandchildren. "Her life has been devoted to others. It has been her pleasure to labor and work for others—to think of others, to administer unto their wants." He added that "she has raised a family that the country is proud of." He called her "an excellent neighbor, a Latter Day Saint, a devoted mother and a devoted wife."

Speaker John R. Barnes stated that "I know nothing of her whole life that is not good and such as is becoming the life of a Latter Day Saint." J. William Knight pointed out that

> Through all her last years of suffering and pain, you could never see her face without its pleasant smile. When I called on her a few days ago, and we were called in to administer unto her, she desired to give a cheerful word to us all on that occasion, and I thought what a patient woman this is. Suffering and in pain as she was, she was trying to make it nice and pleasant for those who were around her.

Mr. Knight felt Elizabeth could be measured by her greatest legacy, her children:

> I believe by the fruits of this family these parents shall be known as long as time shall last. The children inherited strong characters. They are always busy, always trying to occupy their time with something that is high and noble. They need no one to watch and care for them to any great extent for fear they will do something wrong; but they are of the class which are constantly setting a good example to those with whom they associate. They are a wonderful help in a community where people need labor and employment. They all have an idea of developing the country and its resources in the very best possible way. They think as a rule, very little of pleasure; but it seems to be their great pleasure to perform something in this life that will make it better for the people and for themselves.

He acknowledged his high regard for the Ellison family and for the integrity Elizabeth helped instill in them:

> I have always admired this family since we have been associated with them in business. Their word has been their bond and they could be depended on when they told you anything. I think this is largely due to Sister Ellison, as a woman has the care of the children in their younger years. . . . I feel that praise is due to Sister Ellison for the family we have before us at this time.

Offering similar praise were sugar magnate Thomas R. Cutler and mining and railroad executive Simon Bamberger—who that fall would be elected as Utah's governor, the second Jewish person elected to a U.S. governorship. Bishop Nibley said: "I thought, while sitting here, that it is a wonderful testimony to the life of a good woman and a splendid man and a magnificent family, to see this vast congregation on a warm, almost suffocating day in a busy part of the year and a week day." Other speakers were Apostle McKay and President Penrose and President Joseph F. Smith.

Elizabeth's beautiful bronze casket was completely buried in flowers. The funeral procession included the hearse and about fifty automobiles. Elizabeth was survived, her obituary notes, by four brothers and

An E. P. Ellison daybook. Handwritten entries for December 17–31, 1916.

three sisters. The reporter added a personal tribute, saying Elizabeth was always in the front ranks assisting those in distress. "Her ministrations to others were of the quiet unostentatious sort. Thoughts of self took second place." The reporter stated that the large audience at the funeral, the profusion of flowers, and the long cortege "all testify to the high esteem in which she was held by the community."

Elizabeth was buried in the Kaysville-Layton Cemetery. Pallbearers were five sons and her grandson Joseph Stevenson.

E. P. and Elizabeth had been married forty-three years. E. P. used his pocket daybooks to list his activities but not to give explanations or express feelings. His only expression of loss regarding Elizabeth found in the daybooks came on Christmas Day that year: "At home with Family and a Sad gathern on a/c of my Wife's absence."

Exactly two months after Elizabeth's death, on September 14, 1916, a daughter was born to Laurence and Katie Ellison. The new baby remained unnamed until shortly before Christmas, when Laurence and Katie visited at E. P.'s home. While they were there, E. P. took her from her mother's arms, and without asking if a name had been chosen, said he would like to give the baby a name and a blessing. She was given her grandmother's name, Elizabeth. Later she also inherited the nickname her grandmother was often called, "Tibby."[63]

More than two decades later, during E. P.'s funeral in 1939, J. Will Knight paid a second lengthy tribute to Elizabeth. "In the home, any time, she made that home so attractive that everybody liked to go there. What a beautiful woman she was! Smiling, happy, hopeful, helpful." Her children were lucky, he said: "Gracious, what a heritage!" Governor Henry H. Blood, at E. P.'s funeral, likewise praised Elizabeth and noted the loss E. P. felt when she died:

> I knew their excellent mother—a true Latter-day Saint and helpmate to her wonderful husband. Her passing away was a great sorrow to President Ellison. Perhaps none but those closest to him know how severe a shock that was to him.[64]

NOTES

1. Ruth Bott, "Elizabeth Whitesides Ellison," typescript, EFA.
2. Richard Ellison, Oral History Interview with author; Oma Ellison Wilcox, conversations with the author.
3. Richard Ellison and Lucille Ellison Strong, Oral History Interviews with the author, EFA.
4. Marion Whitesides Cowley, Oral History Interview with the author.
5. Harold Ellison, Oral History Interview with the author.
6. Elizabeth Green, Oral History Interview with the author.
7. Oma Wilcox, Oral History Interview with the author.
8. Ruth Skeen Bott, "Elizabeth Whitesides Ellison," typescript, EFA.
9. Harold Ellison Oral History Interview.
10. Marion Cowley Oral History; Oma Wilcox Oral History.
11. Elizabeth Green Oral History.
12. Marion Cowley Oral History; Elizabeth Green Oral History.
13. Marion Cowley Oral History.

14. Oma Wilcox conversations with the author.
15. *Weekly Reflex,* Sept. 4, 1913.
16. Oma Wilcox Oral History. E. P.'s daybook puts him in San Francisco when Roosevelt was there. It says E. P. spent July 21 at the fair and then in the city, and July 22 in the city for half a day and then at the fair. Teddy Roosevelt spoke at the exposition on July 21, urging war preparedness for the nation. See Elting E. Morison, The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt (Harvard University Press, 1954), 8:957; New York Times July 22, 1915.
17. Harold Ellison Oral History.
18. *Weekly Reflex,* July 3, 1913.
19. Patriarch File, LDS Archives; *Pioneers and Prominent Men in Utah* 2:859.
20. John Ellison Patriarchal Blessing, Nov. 16, 1899, copy in EFA.
21. "John Ellison," Biographical Record of Salt Lake City and Vicinity.
22. John Ellison Obituary, *Deseret News,* Sept. 11, 1903.
23. Unnamed Granddaughter, "John Ellison," Typescript, EFA, p. 7; Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah 4:398–99.
24. "Sudden Death from Typhoid," *Deseret News,* Oct. 8, 1903.
25. Oma Wilcox note to the author, Oma Wilcox File, EFA.
26. *Weekly Reflex,* July 10 and 17, 1913.
27. William Riley Skeen and Ruth E. Skeen Bott, "Jean Elizabeth Ellison," typescript, 2 pp., EFA.
28. James Ellison Missionary Diary, in possession of David Ellison, Salt Lake City, Utah.
29. William G. Hartley, "Saints and the San Francisco Earthquake," *BYU Studies* 23 (Fall 1983), 430–459.
30. Melba Ellison Jackson Oral History Interview, with the author; *Weekly Reflex,* Feb. 19, March 12 and 29, 1914.
31. Richard Ellison Oral History.
32. Liahona 15 (1918), 444.
33. David Ellison Oral History.
34. *Weekly Reflex,* May 20, 1915.
35. Davis Stake, Executive Records, July 4, 1915, LDS Church Archives.
36. *Davis County Clipper,* Oct. 27, 1916. Some grandchildren claim that Laurence really wanted to be an educator, not a banker.
37. Marie Ellison Kane, A Special Place, a Special Work! History of the Ellison Ranching Company, 149–152.
38. Ibid., 149.
39. Melba Jackson Oral History.
40. Richard Ellison Oral History.
41. Melba Jackson Oral History; Richard Pilling and Lucille Strong Oral Histories; Elizabeth Green Oral History.
42. Farmers Union Board Minutes; Oma Wilcox notes to the author.
43. Layton Ward, Relief Society Minutes, LDS Archives.

44. Layton Ward, Historical Record, 1900–1912. J. Parl was released as a bishopric counselor on Dec. 22, 1912.
45. Layton Ward, Manuscript History, LDS Archives.
46. Richard Ellison Oral History; Oma Wilcox Oral History.
47. Davis Stake, Executive Records, July 29, 1911.
48. Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church,* 588.
49. Ruth Bott, "Elizabeth Whitesides Ellison."
50. Unknown Author, "Elizabeth Whitesides Ellison," typescript; Richard Ellison and Lucille Strong Oral Histories.
51. Details about the Redwood Apartments are listed on a postcard depicting the apartments, sent by Alice Ellison to Ruth Skeen, Feb. 1913, in possession of Ruth Skeen Bott, Ogden, Utah.
52. E. P. Ellison Daybook, 1913.
53. *Liahona* 10 (May 13, 1913), 752.
54. *Weekly Reflex,* May 15, and 29, 1913.
55. *Weekly Reflex,* Nov. 20, 1913.
56. *Weekly Reflex,* Dec. 11 and 18, 1913; California Mission, Historical Record, Feb. 17, 1914, LDS Archives.
57. Richard Ellison and Lucille Strong Oral Histories.
58. At one point Utah Ore Sampling had operations in Park City, Murray, Sandy, and Silver City, Utah. See Richard H. Peterson, "Jesse Knight: Utah's Mormon Mining Mogul," Utah Historical Quarterly 57 (Summer 1989), 248.
59. Weekly Reflex, May 20, 1915.
60. Oma Wilcox Oral History.
61. "Death and Funeral of Mrs. E. P. Ellison," *Weekly Reflex,* July 20, 1916.
62. Elizabeth Green Oral History. Oma Wilcox was present during the interview and mentioned kissing the forehead.
63. Oma Wilcox Oral History.
64. "Funeral Services of Ephraim P. Ellison, Oct. 23, 1939," typescript, EFA.

PART FOUR

WAR, PEACE, AND PROSPERITY, 1916–1929

The Weekly Reflex.

The Indomitable Spirit of North Davis County

The Story of Seven Outstanding Men Who, through Their Efforts, Have Materially Aided in the Development of North Davis County and the State of Utah

The Weekly Reflex

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE LAYTON SUGAR COMPANY

Under E. P.'s direction, sugar manufacturing came to Layton in 1915. By then, Utah had several "sugar cities." A sugar factory provided jobs, became a consumer of local services and supplies, served as a market for local farmers who chose to grow sugar beets, and paid local taxes that benefited the community. Because of the Ellisons and their business associates, sugar became a blessing for E. P.'s family, neighbors, and north Davis County in general.[1]

New Sugar Company

Although E. P. never articulated why he decided to start a sugar factory in Layton, clearly he and his business associates felt that such a venture had excellent chances for success. Several factors seemed suitable. First, the Knight interests wanted to co-venture with the Ellisons, which meant the enterprise would have capital and investment resources sufficient to give Layton Sugar a secure financial foundation.

Second, expertise was not lacking. E. P., his family, and the Knight Investment Company officers knew the sugar business. E. P. had already been involved in the Ogden (later Amalgamated) Sugar Company founded by David Eccles and associates between 1897 and 1914 (see Chapter Twelve).

Third, the Layton location was suitable for growing beets and for shipping sugar by rail. Soil and climate could produce beets as good as or better than those raised on the prairies of far-away Alberta. The Ellisons knew their Davis County neighbors and felt they could draw upon loyalties of longtime friends to insure adequate beet supplies each year. Local farmers offered assurances they would grow the needed beets. Layton provided ready access to local and transcontinental railroad lines.

Fourth, the Ellisons saw that a successful sugar business close to

Newly-completed sugar factory in Layton. Layton Sugar Company began operations in 1915. The original officers were Jesse Knight, president; E. P. Ellison, first vice-president; David C. Eccles, second vice-president; James E. Ellison, manager. The initial investment was over one million dollars.

home would interface with their other business interests. The First National Bank of Layton could help handle finances and benefit from the factory's money transactions. E. P. could arrange for the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company to provide the large quantities of water a sugar factory required—and the factory would be a big customer of his water company. Sugar payrolls in Layton would increase sales of goods at the Farmers Union.

Also, E. P. probably had personal reasons for building the factory so close to home. He was sixty-five years old, so he must have liked the idea of having the factory near enough to monitor without having to travel long distances by train. Possibly too, he saw the factory helping his sons and daughters and grandchildren have work and investments that would keep them in the Layton vicinity.

E. P.'s business acumen was such that he felt assured the venture would turn a profit. Also, he was comfortable extending his business relationship with the Knights. At the same time, E. P. would continue to be the senior hands-on executive of the Knight Sugar Company ranches

and properties in Raymond, Alberta, whether or not a sugar factory started in Layton.

Factory Transfer Blocked

On January 21, 1915, James E. Ellison wrote to J. Will Knight, saying that plans were moving ahead to form a new sugar company in Layton and to move the Alberta factory there. James said that he and others were in the process of offering contracts for Layton area farmers to grow the 1915 season's beets, and James expressed hope that someone would buy the Alberta factory so that Layton could have a newly built one. His wish for the new plant soon came true.[2]

During the next few days, E. P. reviewed the Articles of Incorporation for the new company,[3] oversaw the signing of a contract with the Dyer Company of Cleveland, Ohio, to dismantle and move the Raymond plant to Layton, and considered bids from the Oregon Short Line Railway and the Canadian Pacific to move that factory.[4]

To build the complicated and technical factory, E. P. trusted the Dyer Company, which had constructed the Raymond plant. Dyer agents agreed to dismantle the machinery, appliances, and structural steel of the main building, boiler, and kiln house, to load the same on train cars in Raymond, and to "receive, unload, and re-erect same" at a site in Layton. They would also remove two railroad track scales and two wagon scales. They promised to have the new plant operational and its water system of pumps, sewers, pipes and flumes fully tested by September 1, 1915, and then to supervise the factory's operations for thirty days. In terms of plant capacity, the reassembled factory would be capable of processing five hundred tons of beets per twenty-four hour day. For their work, Dyer would receive $186,600 in eight payments, each to cover work done to date.

For its part the Layton Sugar Company agreed that by October 1 it would have ready its laboratory equipment, storage facilities for beets, coal, coke, and lime, a disposal system for pulp, lime, coke, and sewage, and the needed beets, fuel, and water. Those who signed the agreement were Edward F. Dyer, President of the Dyer Company, and E. P. Ellison as agent for the sugar company.[5]

Knight Sugar Company sent the Dyer people a "liberal payment" to start dismantling the factory. Three traincars of derricks, sent by the Dyer Company, soon reached Canada. Then suddenly the project stopped cold because, as a last-ditch effort to keep the sugar company in Canada, the Canadian Pacific Railway obtained a court injunction against removing the factory from Canada, claiming that when the sugar factory was first built in Raymond, the Knight company entered into a contract with the Canadian Pacific Railway which had not been fulfilled.[6] The 1901 agreement was to build a factory and operate it in 1902 and for at least twelve years. But the factory was a year late in opening, which point the railroad was using to claim nonfulfillment of the contract.

This surprise decision caused E. P. and the company two problems. First, to meet the fall beet harvest near Layton, they must build a new factory there. Second, they must sell the Canadian factory within Canada, and must do it soon to bring in money to offset the expense of the new factory. Already the Dyer superintendent, Mr. Webster, was in Raymond expecting the three train carloads of derricks. "It is with much regret and disappointment that the Canadian Pacific enters a protest at this late hour," E. P. wrote, "as the terms of the contract entered into by Jesse Knight and assumed by the Knight Sugar Company with the Predecessors of the Canadian Pacific were all complied with and completed prior to Sept. 1st, 1903."[7] Court intervention threatened to halt the project for months.

Building a New Factory

On March 6, 1915, without E. P. present, several officers met to discuss these problems.[8] J. Will Knight stated that

> there were certain moral as well as financial obligations in connection with the contracts already entered into at Layton with the farmers and with the Dyer Construction Company, and that business proceedings had been carried on to such an extent that it would be quite embarrassing, even though no more serious condition should arise as to legal obligations, to ask for a release from carrying out provisions of our various contracts at this time.

They voted to raise $100,000 for the new company to build a brand-new sugar factory. On March 6, E. P. learned of the decision by phone.

He sent the news to son James in Raymond. He also contacted the Dyer Company to build the new Layton factory.[9] E. P. then submitted an article to the *Deseret News* to announce the new plant, which would cost about $450,000. The news item concluded: "Inasmuch as a site, water right, [and] railroad connections have been arranged for, beet seed purchased, and contract made with farmers for beets, a new Plant will be erected to take care of this year's beet crop and the Dyer Company will have the contract."[10]

James, in a March 9 letter to E. P., asked for advice regarding Canadian lands the company owned. "Please let us know at once if you want us to rent some of the land to raise grain on, and what you are going to do." E. P.'s answer, if any, is missing. Meanwhile, to raise money for the venture, stock had to be issued to raise approximately $500,000. On March 31, the Knight Investment Company applied for 500 shares of capital stock in Layton Sugar Company.[11]

On April 5, 1915, after the Knight Sugar Company stockholders' meeting adjourned, the directors met in downtown Salt Lake City to organize for the ensuing year. Minutes show a shoulder-to-shoulder working relationship between E. P. Ellison and LDS Church President Joseph F. Smith:

> On motion of E. P. Ellison, seconded by Joseph F. Smith, W. Lester Mangum was appointed secretary of the meeting. On the motion of E. P. Ellison, seconded by Joseph F. Smith, Jesse Knight was unanimously elected President of the Company. On the motion of J. W. Knight, seconded by Joseph F. Smith, E. P. Ellison was unanimously elected Vice-President of the Company. On motion of Joseph F. Smith, seconded by J. W. Knight and unanimously adopted, Raymond Knight was elected secretary of the Company. On the motion of J. W. Knight, seconded by Joseph F. Smith, Jas. E. Ellison was unanimously elected treasurer of the Company. On the motion of J. W. Knight, seconded by Joseph F. Smith, Jesse Knight, E. P. Ellison and Raymond Knight were re-elected as members of the executive committee.[12]

A month later, Knight Sugar Company stockholders met in President Smith's office. They released James as manager of the Canadian company and appointed Ray Knight to replace him.[13]

Factory Components

To say that the Layton Sugar Company erected a factory that summer fails to portray how complex the construction project was. What is a sugar factory like? What machinery is required, and how does it all work together? To appreciate what E. P. and the new company had to do in order to open a sugar factory in Layton, a close look at how the factory was built is needed.

For a factory site, officers bought forty-eight acres of land in West Layton located next to the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad tracks. Construction work began in April 1915. During spring and summer, bricklayers inched the yellow brick walls of the factory upwards, racing the steady growth of green beet tops in nearby fields. During the summer, local people held picnics and family outings at the site to see the rise of the walls.[14]

The site included the factory itself, a warehouse, beet sheds, pulp silo, and railroad track spur. To make the manufacturing machinery work, the plant required a water system, a fire and boiler system, a sewer and waste system, an electrical and lighting system, and a railroad loading system. The main building began with a concrete foundation and a cement ground floor. Workmen cast other suspended floors of reinforced concrete. Carpenters built the roof of wood covered with good roofing materials. They installed coolers beneath the crystallizers and above the mixers. A separate building, the boiler house, consisted of a boiler room containing boilers for generating steam, and a pump room for supplying the boilers with hot water. This building, too, had cement foundations and floors.

Adjoining the boiler house, a kiln house contained the lime kiln, gas scrubber, and slacking machinery. It had a concrete foundation, cement floors, a suspended floor of reinforced concrete, and brick walls. A wood partition across one end provided a storage section for coke. A machine shop was built, divided off from the "beet end" of the main factory by a brick wall.

A lengthy list of parts and machinery to be moved from the Raymond factory to the Layton factory, inventoried by the Dyer

Vacuum pans located on the fourth floor. Purified sugar was boiled in vacuum pans to create sugar crystals.

Company in 1915, is reproduced here to show how intricate and technical sugar manufacturing was:[15]

stone catcher
weed catcher
beet wheel
beet scroll
beet washer
roll separator
ventilating fan

beet cutter, complete with pulleys and friction clutch.
knife sharpening machine
diffusion battery
pulp pump
battery supply tank
battery supply pump
battery pressure tank
battery wash out pump

beet elevator
steel chute
automatic scale
hopper for beet cutter
steel checking car
scales for checking car

raw juice heater with 7,000 square feet heating surface
carbonators, 4 for first carbonation, 2 for second, and 1 for carbonating and clarifying first machine syrup
cathall
carbonator receiving tank
soda tank, 12 cubic feet capacity arranged so that soda solution can be introduced into the juice boiler

juice boiler for constant boiling of juice from the second filter presses to break up the double carbonates of lime
four 3-inch carbonator press pumps
one for first carbonation, one for second, and one spare, and one for spare thin juice, to be driven from Sugar End engine.
6 Kelly Carbonation filter presses
Lime cake hopper
press wash water pump
press sweet water tank
3 new quartz sulphitors
receiving and supplying tanks for quartz
hot water tank
mechanical filters

"In addition to inlet valves," Dyer's agreement noted, "each feed line is to be equipped with a cast iron plug cock, placed ahead of the valve. The juice through from each trough should be provided with a line to drain the clouded juice back to the supply until the juice is running clear." Other parts needed were

evaporated supply pump
filtered standard syrup pump
clarified syrup pump
green syrup pump
laundry washing machine
bag filter for waste water from laundry washer
powerwringer
quadruple effect evaporators.
evaporator condenser
thick juice pump for evaporators
pan storage tanks, to care for standard syrup, clarified first syrup and molasses
vacuum pan
pan condenser
vacuum pumps
vacuum crystallizers
main water pump
spouts for vacuum pan and crystallizers
main water tank
mixers and centrifugals, for first sugar and second sugar.
sugar elevator
sugar melter, 6′ in diameter, 5′ deep, with all necessary gears, pulleys and shafting
melted sugar pump
receiving tanks from centrifugals
spout to wet sugar bin
west sugar bin—conical bottom tank 5′ in diameter, 7′ deep, made with 3/16 steel platen.

By now the lengthening list makes one admire engineers and contractors whose skills could take such parts and equipment and assemble them into a workable system that could transform beets into sugar. Dyer's inventory continues:

sugar dryer
sugar dust box
dust box circulating pump
granulator hopper
automatic sugar scale
bag sewing machine
bag stacker, with 35′ boom
sugar end engine

engine and generator
boilers
boiler feed pump
lime kiln
lime rock skip
lime slacker
lime milk sand settling tank
lime agitator
lime milk pumps
gas washer
carbonic acid gas pump
machine shop motor
machine shop equipment
laboratory equipment
scales—wagon and track, in scale house similar to one in Raymond
evaporator vacuum pump
traps
pipe lines
valves and fittings
pipe covering
gauges—old live steam and exhaust steam gauges
thermometers, for inlet to first carbonator, 2 to outlets for 2 carbonators, one juice boiler, 2 boiler feed lines
electric wiring
shafting and pulleys.

Successful First Season

By September 1915, the factory buildings were finished, equipment installed, and boilers tested. The factory had been assembled from new parts, using none from the Raymond plant. Downtown, meanwhile, the company's business office moved from the First National Bank Building to larger quarters in the Farmers Union hall. In response to the new factory's needs, some concreting of the State highway north of town began, the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company doubled its delivery capacity to West Layton, and the Farmers Union constructed and offered for sale a number of beet wagons and sold materials for many more.[16]

Layton Sugar Company's first stationery lists Jesse Knight as president, E. P. as first vice-president, David C. Eccles, second vice-president, and James E. Ellison, manager. Directors were James Pingree, J. William Knight, David A. Smith, O. C. Beebe, Joseph Nibley, and Henry H. Rolapp. Factory foremen were George E. Kirkham and Wallace W. Cowley. David E. Layton worked as field supervisor with the beet growers.[17]

The company needed much skilled and unskilled labor to man the factory. Superintendents and assistants, clerks, timekeepers, chemists, and laboratory employees worked in the office area in the factory itself. Workmen in the boiler house included a foreman, fireman, water tenders, coal passers, and cleaners. In the lime kiln house the company had

The first crew of workers at Layton Sugar Company factory, 1915, including Evan Ellison (first row third from left).

a foreman, rock and coke wheelers, slackers, and shovelers. In the factory itself were engine drivers, mechanics, oilers, pump men, and an army of workmen dealing with the various processing stages: fluming and handling the beets, washing beets, cutting and slicing, pulp conveying, sliced beets' conveying, first and second carbonatings, sulpher treating, carbonation pressing, raw juice heating, laundering, syrup storing in pans and tanks, evaporatings, centrifugal separatings, crystallizing, sugar melting, granulation drying, filling dry sugar bins, sacking, and warehousing. In addition there were sweepers and yardmen who kept the plant clean. For the 1915 sugar run, the factory employed 125 men, most of them from outside Davis County and hired for that startup year only.[18]

On September 30, the first load of sugarbeets was delivered to the plant by Pete Petoty, a Greek tenant farmer in West Kaysville, and on October 7 the factory started its first sugar manufacturing, an event that won headlines in the *Weekly Reflex* newspaper that day. E. P. came home from the Nevada ranches to witness the initial run. On October 13, the company's first sugar was for sale in the Farmers Union and "met with a brisk sale." It was quite a novelty, a reporter said, for the people to purchase sugar that had been standing in the field less than a week ago. On

October 24, LDS Church President Joseph F. Smith, Presiding Bishop Charles Nibley, and Nibley's counselor, David Smith, toured the factory.[19]

When the complicated new $500,000 sugar factory opened, Layton residents felt a new pulse in their community's life. Farmers, most for the first time, harvested sugar beets from their acres.[20] Wagon after wagon loaded with beets rolled west along Gentile Street past the Farmers Union and the First National Bank for about a mile, then turned northward to the factory to unload the cargo. Additional wagons came from other directions. On November 8, 1915, E. P. told Ray Knight, "We are very busy at the present time here." He expected that "the Factory will get through about Dec. 1st."[21] A week later the First National Bank of Layton was a "very busy place" because farmers were cashing their beet checks and paying off obligations. "Nearly one-hundred notes were liquidated at the bank" during a single day that week.[22]

By December 2, the factory finished its run and shut down, due to a shortage of beets caused by a dry season. During its first run, Layton Sugar Company purchased 25,296 tons of sugar beets at five dollars per ton, adding $129,000 to local farmers' incomes. Wagons and teams hauled all of these beets in, except for 5,000 tons that arrived in railroad cars. From these yellowish-white beets, the factory refined 58,922 100-pound bags of sugar. This first campaign required the company to purchase 4,000 tons of coal, 132 tons of coke, 1,348 tons of limerock, 9,175 pounds of sulphur, 116 pounds of muriatic acid, and 2,115 pounds of soda ash. Sugar sacks and bags had to be designed and manufactured.[23]

On February 29, 1916, Layton Sugar Company stockholders received their first annual report. Listed assets totalled $642,091, including the half-million dollar factory. The company was liable for $500,000 worth of capital stock. By then, the company had sold 38,950 bags of sugar for $5.60 per bag, or $218,000 worth of sugar, with about 20,000 bags still on hand.[24]

L. R. Eccles, manager of Amalgamated Sugar Company, complained about friction generated by Amalgamated and Layton Sugar companies competing for beets. Amalgamated did not want to surrender any of its beet growing territory, he said, but he knew that Layton Sugar needed more territory to get sufficient beets for a successful run. "More or less

"Mountain Brand" sugar produced by the Layton Sugar Company

trouble is bound to result," Eccles cautioned. So he offered to buy out the Layton factory and asked what price the directors wanted for shares of stock. He offered to buy the Layton stock and pay for it, share for share, with their own stock.[25] However, his deal-making attempt failed.

When the Layton Sugar Company was organized, Amalgamated Sugar invested $100,000 in it, despite L. R. Eccles' opposition. Then, after making "an unsuccessful attempt" to buy out Layton, it found it had to compete. "Failure to purchase the Layton Sugar Company and a successful drive to increase beet acreage in the Ogden and Cache Valley districts caused the management to make extensive improvements at Ogden and Lewiston."[26]

On February 8, 1916, Layton Sugar Company billed Knight Sugar Company for half of the expenses paid in attempting to move the Raymond plant—half of $1,774.12. That same day, Knight Investment Company offered to sell the Canadian factory to a buyer for $200,000, requiring $50,000 down and balance over three years in first mortgage bonds.[27]

When beet planting season was about to open in 1916, Layton Sugar Company had trouble finding beet seeds. E. P. told Jesse Knight on March 17, 1916, that Utah-Idaho Sugar Company magnate Thomas R. Cutler would give Layton Sugar Company a hundred bags of beet seed if Amalgamated Sugar Company would do the same, but Amalgamated "flatly refused to let us have any." E. P., sharing a secret with Jesse, said that he and James Pingree had quietly arranged for seeds to be shipped in from California.[28]

Idle Canadian Factory

Knight Sugar's holdings in Canada were slowly strangling the company, in which E. P. was an investor and officer.[29] The ranch operation did not generate enough profits to counter losses caused by an idle sugar factory and "sold" lands that buyers failed to pay for. In November 1915, E. P. reviewed a March 1st report showing that $242,091 was owed to Knight Sugar by land buyers. He suggested to Ray Knight that "we go after these collections in earnest." At the time, farmers were receiving good prices for their crops, E. P. noted, so "unless we make a strenuous effort to collect these accounts, in the very near future, we will not be able to collect much a little later on." Did Ray want E. P. or James's help, E. P. asked. "Unless we put a good deal of energy in the collecting of these past due contacts and interests," E. P. warned, "there will not be much of it come to us of its own accord."[30]

James soon left for Canada to help with collections. Will Knight wrote James there on December 6, thanking him for going to Canada to help manage the "technical bookkeeping." "Whatever you and Raymond may decide is best to do," Will said, would be fine with Will and father Jesse.[31]

During the winter of 1915–1916, Knight and Ellison officers communicated with each other more about the silent factory in Canada than the new one in Layton. A potential buyer in Toronto, James Fowler, wanted to move the Raymond plant to eastern Canada.[32] When E. P. heard that the Canadian Pacific Railroad would let the factory move that far within Canada, he commented that such an attitude "shows the selfishness on their part, in refusing to consent to moving the factory across the line."[33]

Jesse Knight told E. P. it would be "too risky for us to ship the factory into a new district in Canada." Without a sure sale soon in Canada, Jesse added, "we should commence at once shipping our plant into the United States," despite Canadian Pacific objections. Decide something definite about Fowler's offer, Jesse told E. P., because the Raymond factory "seems too valuable a plant to be lying idle all this time."[34] Early in February 1916, Knight Investment voted to leave its sugar stock "in Mr. Ellison's hands to handle." LDS Church President Joseph F. Smith promised to do the same with the Church's shares of stock.[35] Minutes of Knight Sugar Company's stockholders' meeting in April 1916, show the following shares represented:[36]

Knight Investment Corporation	4,010
David Eccles Company	1,443
J. William Knight	764
Eccles Investment Company	577
LDS Trustee in Trust	530
E. P. Ellison	512

By late spring, Ray Knight had collected "large sums" in overdue payments from land buyers, obtaining about $30,000, with $40,000 more expected by fall. How to disburse these monies was a problem. E. P. said he would "take it up with National City Bank, Zions Savings Bank and the Church and see what they say." He asked for Jesse's opinion while giving his own. "Personally, I think we should pay off our borrowed money," E. P. told Jesse, and Jesse seemed to agree.[37] They paid $6,000 on a loan from the LDS Church and apparently made payments on other notes as well.[38]

Negotiations with Mr. Fowler continued through the spring and summer.[39] Meanwhile, the town of Whitby, in Ontario, wanted to buy the factory. As incentives, Whitby's finance committee offered to give the company 5,000 acres for the factory, provide ample water and rail connections, reduce school fees, wave municipal taxes, and "do anything we can to induce location here."[40] So E. P., James Ellison, and Robert E. Allen visited Whitby and a nearby town, Oshawa, and talked to town officials and farmers. Afterwards, they sent a report of their findings to the board: "It would not be a wise thing to move the Raymond plant to that locality," the trio concluded, because "they are subject to failures in

their beet crop from drought" and had "but few, if any, experienced beet growers" in the area.[41]

While "back east," the men visited with government and railroad officials. "None of these gentlemen seemed to give us any encouragement in locating our plant in Eastern Ontario." Meeting with Canadian Pacific Railway representatives, the three bluntly told them to "either purchase the factory or withdraw their objections" to moving it to the United States. If they continued to be obstinate, E. P. said, Knight Sugar would sue them:

> If they do not care to purchase, we will be compelled to move the plant or practically lose the whole thing by leaving it there idle. If they still have objections, we suggested the idea that we have a friendly suit, in preference to going into court. Mr. Bosworth promised to take this matter up immediately with the view of relinquishing any objections that they might have to the removal of the plant.

This high-level conference among hard-headed businessmen cancelled all efforts to sell the factory inside Canada. On October 11, 1916, Mr. Bosworth of CPR wired E. P.: "Take such action you wish removal plant." This cleared the way for Knight Sugar to ship the factory to a site south of the border.[42]

Knight Sugar, with E. P. and J. Will and Raymond Knight as its executive committee, declared an 8 percent dividend for stockholders early in 1917, based on livestock and land sales. Stockholders elected as the company's board of directors[43]

Jesse Knight	J. William Knight	E. P. Ellison
Joseph F. Smith	Anthon H. Lund	Ray Knight
C. A. Magrath	David C. Eccles	W. Lester Mangum

Later that year, Jesse Knight offered to dispose of Knight Sugar Company's entire holdings in Canada—150,000 acres plus 15,600 cattle, horses, and sheep—for just over 2.25 million dollars, if a buyer could be found.[44]

Raymond Factory to Cornish, Utah

Obstacles removed, Knight Sugar found a Utah buyer for the factory. On November 15, 1916, J. A. Hendrickson and Lorenzo N. Stohl bought

it for $175,000, less an allowance for boilers if they could not be removed. Buyers, taking the name of West Cache Sugar Company, agreed to pay in installments. Crews then disassembled the Raymond factory and shipped it via railroad to Cornish, Utah, which is north of Logan, nearly on the Idaho border. Terms of the sale, when finalized, were that West Cache Sugar Company paid two $25,000 installments at the time, instead of selling bonds, and gave Knight Investment Company stock at ninety cents on the dollar totalling $150,000 plus a $6,000 bonus. This stock was sold to Knight Investment Company in return for a $135,000 note payable a year after January 23, 1918, earning 6% interest. The discounting, stock trading, and bonus paying was complicated, but the net result was the sale of the Raymond factory for $175,000.[45]

This sale left E. P. as Knight Sugar's managing executive, with the company's Canadian lands still to be sold. Meanwhile, he and his associates continued to operate and promote Ellison Milling and Elevator in Canada. Naturally, he watched for ways to capitalize on the Knight Sugar sell-offs that could benefit Ellison Milling or perhaps Layton Sugar or the Ellison ranches in Nevada.

Jesse Knight's Regard for E. P.

During fourteen years of association in the Knight Sugar Company and other joint ventures, Jesse Knight and E. P. developed a solid working relationship. They trusted and valued each other's judgments. Jesse expressed this respect in a letter to E. P. on November 23, 1916. Jesse, answering some matter his son Ray had raised, told E. P. that if E. P. approved his answer, to send it on with his comments added. Then, showing total trust, Jesse added: "If you have any other suggestion in lieu of the one submitted herewith, substitute it for mine if you desire."[46]

Assisting John W. Taylor

LDS Apostle John W. Taylor, whose polygamous activities caused him to resign from office in 1905 and who was excommunicated in 1911, was held in great esteem in LDS communities in Canada for devoted support and leadership he had given them earlier. When Taylor died in October 1916, E. P. and others of his friends tried to help his family

through some financial hard times. In a November 25 letter, E. P. invited Ray Knight in Raymond to assist. "In behalf of Brother Taylor's families," E. P. said, "some of us are making up a little purse to help lift a mortgage on one of his homes." E. P. and an unnamed person had donated $500, and others had given lesser amounts. "If you feel that you are able and desire to help in this good cause, I would suggest that you send your check to Brother M. F. Cowley, Salt Lake City, or to myself." E. P. added that he disliked writing Ray "on a matter of this kind," but that others appointed him to write. He told Ray that he should "feel free in the matter to give or not, just as you feel disposed."[47]

Layton Sugar's Success

E. P. lived to see about two dozen Layton sugar campaigns, which altogether produced about 400 million pounds of sugar—an average of 169,000 hundred-pound bags per year:[48]

Year	Beets/ tons	100-pound Bags
1915–16	25,296	58,922
1916–17	50,994	99,435
1917–18	44,612	99,792
1918–19	43,895	90,692
1919–20	55,384	102,078
1920–21	91,360	208,568
1921–22	82,294	218,530
1922–23	53,190	135,787
1923–24	84,644	196,148
1924–25	57,383	151,495
1925–26	84,180	210,905
1926–27	57,585	146,049
1927–28	81,223	220,858
1928–29	92,534	267,000
1929–30	66,500	183,522
1930–31	75,326	195,505
1931–32	59,664	164,148
1932–33	107,534	294,054
1933–34	100,500	283,715
1934–35	———	5,931
1935–36	58,113	144,548
1936–37	———	———
1937–38	73,881	192,726
1938–39	95,881	232,419

By March 1916, the company was shipping sugar and syrup to eastern markets. It became clear that the sugar factory, beyond a large scale work force during each year's sugar campaigns, would employ "eleven heads of family" year round.[49]

Because the factory had trouble finding beet seeds early in 1916, E. P. made a trip to California to find some and purchased enough to last the year. More beet seeds arrived in mid-March from Germany and Russia. "It is estimated that a sufficient acreage of beets will be planted this year," the *Clipper* noted, "to keep the sugar factory running for at least 100 days."

E. P.'s California trip involved more than obtaining beet seeds. He and unnamed associates bought control of a sugar factory in central California.[50] E. P's March 14, 1916, daybook entry reads: "Closed contract for sugar stock in Salinas Sugar Co." A 1919 daybook notation, on April 4, indicates E. P. was at Bakersfield, California, looking at beet fields. No other information has been found in Ellison business records regarding this California sugar connection.

As soon as spring came to north Davis County in 1916, local farmers planted beets. In May they arranged for 140 Japanese workers to thin them. "They have their camp pitched in the street west of the Short Line station," the *Clipper* reported. "They had thinned one day when the frost came and work had to be suspended. North of here some lands had to be replanted on account of poor beet seed." By the end of May, thinning started again.[51]

In late summer, the factory loaded thirty train cars with sugar produced the year before, and shipped it. Still on hand, however, was sufficient sugar to meet demand until the new sugar run started a few weeks later. Layton Sugar contracted for its fall output of syrup to go to a Kansas firm for twenty dollars per ton. By comparison, the previous year it had disposed of the syrup to local farmers for only twelve dollars a ton. Late in September, the factory ordered farmers to dig beets in anticipation of the factory starting up early in October.[52]

By late October 1916, the factory was "running at full blast." Fine weather had followed heavy rains, which softened the ground and made beet digging easier. By November 3, the factory was shipping new sugar at the rate of about a train car per day, although it was producing at a rate

of two carloads daily. Beet digging continued through November. Early in December, the company announced it would pay seven dollars per ton for beets during the next season. By then, a large percentage of the 1916 beets had been dug, but a good number were still in the field because the ground had been too wet to haul them out. Nevertheless, beets kept coming in. Three days before Christmas an estimated 100 carloads of beets remained to be shipped from Clearfield and other nearby points to the factory.[53]

By late December, cold weather froze water in the canal servicing the factory, forcing the factory to close for almost a month. Finally, at the end of January,

> after about three days work trying to remove the snow and ice from the canal and ditch leading to the sugar factory, the task was abandoned, and work was commenced in making new ditches to get water for the factory from Kay's Creek as it will be easier done than the task first undertaken. The first effort was made just after the thaw but when the cold weather set in again it retarded or completely stopped the work.

Due to the month's delay, workmen did not finish slicing the last beets until the first of March, completing a five-month run.[54]

Early in 1917, the annual beet cycle began again: obtaining seeds, planting, thinning, and harvesting. At Layton Sugar's 1917 stockholders meeting, company board members elected were:[55]

E. P. Ellison	J. Will Knight
David A. Smith	Joseph Nibley
James E. Ellison	Walter T. Pyper
James Pingree	Horace B. Whitney

E. P. was elected president replacing Jesse Knight, with David A. Smith vice-president, and R. E. Allen, secretary-treasurer.

During its sugar campaign between October 1917 and January 1918, the Layton sugar factory refined 44,000 tons of sugarbeets into 5,000 tons of sugar. For their beets, farmers received $6.50 per ton (not the $7.00 as promised), which meant that Layton Sugar pumped some $300,000 into farmers' pockets. But despite high profits from sugar sales, payments to beet contracts and seasonal employees caused the company some "cash flow" problems. To meet its obligations, the company borrowed money from the LDS Church, securing its loans with shares of stock. "Over the

next several years, these financial arrangements led to the LDS Church becoming the major stockholder in the Layton Sugar Company."[56]

Because of the World War, farm workers were in short supply. Local farmers received some government help when thinning time came: a Mr. Wilson from Ogden brought in forty-one boys for farmers to board and put to work. According to the *Clipper*, "This is one phase of the preparedness movement that Uncle Sam is inaugurating to help make up for the shortage of labor caused by the boys and men who are going to war." About sixty boys finished up in the local fields by late June and moved north to Box Elder to work there. Some boys earned three dollars per day.[57]

By midyear, Layton Sugar increased its capital stock from $600,000 to $1,000,000, and paid quarterly dividends of 2 percent. In September 1917, James E. went to Washington D.C. and attended a meeting of sugar beet producers, called by the national food administrator, Herbert Hoover. Mr. Hoover presented war rules and regulations governing the sale and distribution of beet and cane sugar throughout the United States, effective October 1st.[58]

To solve the winter problem of water freezing in the canal, the factory installed a pipeline from the factory to Adams Pond reservoir three miles to the east. The pipe, fifteen inches in diameter, was buried an average four feet in the ground. The system cost some $20,000.

A mild fall in 1917 let farmers dig beets and haul them to the factory by the end of November. A Mr. Ellis came from the affiliated plant in California to superintend the Layton factory, replacing George E. Kirkham. The factory finished slicing beets early in January. Mild weather meant that the new water pipeline was not used.[59]

Because of military demands for food, the United States Department of Agriculture urged an increase in the domestic production of sugar. In 1918, Layton Sugar agreed to pay farmers $9.50 per ton for beets, and ten dollars per ton in cases where large tonnage was produced. A slight farm revolt seemed afoot. Anti-beet propaganda spread, saying prices by fall would be unprofitable, so growers should reduce their beet acreage. To counter such feelings, the company and food administrators warned farmers that it was their patriotic duty not to let the domestic crop shrink—that the United States must reduce its dependence on foreign sugar.[60]

The summer of 1918 was dry, and beet seed did not germinate well.

Beet Sugar Producers, Washington D.C., 1917. Herbert Hoover is front row center, James E. Ellison is immediately above man standing in far right, first row.

Some farmers had to replant. "It is estimated that scarcely half as many sugar beets will be raised in this country this season as a year ago, the high prices of grain and labor is thought to be responsible for the great diminution in acreage," the *Clipper* reported.[61]

By 1918, the nation was suffering from a sugar shortage. Eighty percent of sugar consumed in America was imported. To solve the problem, food administrators promoted a "Saving Sugar Saves Shipping" campaign that called for every family to limit its use of sugar to two pounds per person per month. Consumers were asked to substitute dates, figs, dried pears, and fruit paste for sugar where possible, and to preserve fruits by drying instead of bottling them.[62]

During the fall of 1918, a worker shortage continued. Layton Sugar built a boarding house for factory workers, and E. P. telegraphed for hands to come from the California factory he had an interest in when its season closed in early October. The California workers arrived just in time to have to wear sanitary masks required for people to protect themselves in the deadly Flu Epidemic of 1918. Layton Sugar's fourth sugar campaign finished in mid-January, 1919.[63]

After World War I, the government lifted controls on sugar production and consumption. Economists projected that sugar would be in great demand. Investors gladly speculated on it, contributing to a worldwide inflationary boom in 1920. The world price for raw sugar soared to nineteen cents a pound in May 1920. But then the bubble burst, and prices fell to less than five cents per pound by December. Sugar faced hard times from then until after 1922.[64] In his annual report to the board in May 1921, manager James Ellison warned that "the future sugar market is anything but encouraging," noting that the company had on hand a larger stockpile than was healthy at that season of the year.[65]

From the factory's starting days in 1915, its paychecks to farmers and factory hands "became a by-word" for local merchants. "Credit was given and purchases were made on the strength of the beet check throughout much of northern Utah." Farmers hauled their harvested beets in wagons that drove along West Gentile Street to reach the factory. "Because this street was initially a dirt road, the ruts left by iron wheeled wagons in the Fall remained in the road until the following summer." This unpleasant situation was alleviated in 1923, when the sugar company contributed funds to have Gentile Street paved. "A single lane concrete strip" ran from Main Street to the factory.[66]

Growing beets was hard work because it required much hand labor. "It was necessary to thin the young beets by hand, hoe them three or four times during the growing season, top them by hand, and load them into wagons by hand." Farmers needed cheap labor, so Japanese workers from the West Coast were essential. By 1920, several Japanese families had come to Layton to work in the beet fields. Layton Sugar built housing for them, and even a school and church.[67]

According to the company's 1923 annual report, two officer changes were made. LDS Apostle David O. McKay was elected a director and first vice-president, and J. Will Knight became second vice-president.[68] E. P. continued as president. Directors besides E. P. included

W. T. Pyper	J. W. Knight
B. R. Smoot	H. B. Whitney
J. F. Nibley	R. E. Allen
James Ellison	David O. McKay

A 1923 feature article about E. P., published in the *Weekly Reflex*, said the stock of Layton Sugar was then being quoted higher than that of any other sugar companies in the intermountain region. "Approximately 90,000 tons of beets have been delivered to this plant this year," it praised. "This company has a capital of $1,000,000."[69]

In 1925, world sugar production again outstripped demand, sending the sugar market spiraling downward into a depression from which it did not recover before the onset of the Great Depression.[70] James E. Ellison's annual report to the board in May 1926 includes his observation that "we sold some sugar as low as $4.20 base price in order to meet competition and to hold some of our regular customers."[71]

By the mid–1920s, the Utah and Idaho Sugar Company, primarily an LDS Church-owned company, invested in the Layton Sugar Company, and one or more of its directors gained a seat on the Layton Sugar board.[72] In 1927, Layton Sugar listed 2.6 million dollars worth of assets, including the factory valued at $994,000, railroad equipment worth $62,000, a sugar inventory of $651,000, and almost $460,000 worth of stocks. James Ellison's annual report given in 1927 said that the prior fall's harvest produced 57,585 tons of sugar beets, down from 84,180 the year before. "The season was quite favorable during the early spring, but later we had a very dry summer and had White fly and other insects that damaged our crop considerably."

For 1927, the next season, the factory had contracted for 4,483 acres of beets, down 800 acres from the year before, but some of the crop was not very promising "due to 3 day frost, winds, and dry ground" caused by a shortage of irrigation water. Nevertheless, farmers sold 81,200 tons of beets that year, and 92,500 the next.[73] Compared to the 1926 yield of eleven tons per acre, farmers produced seventeen tons per acre in 1927 and fourteen tons in 1929. Unlike the first season, 1915, when almost all the beets reached the factory by wagon, by 1927 9,000 tons came by wagon compared to 72,000 by train. Prices per hundred pound bag of sugar rose slightly, to $5.21 in 1927, $5.60 in 1928, and $6.04 in 1929. However, as the decade of the twenties ended, demand for sugar was falling.[74]

NOTES

1. Sugar production had two notable drawbacks, however. Sugar beets were a very labor-intensive crop to grow, requiring much weeding and thinning, and farmers had trouble hiring "stoop labor" to do these tasks. Also, sugar beet pulp, a waste product from processed beets, produced one of the worst stenches known to human nostrils.
2. J. Will Knight to James E. Ellison, Jan. 21, 1915, KIC Papers.
3. J. Will Knight to E. P., Jan. 23, 1915, KIC Papers.
4. E. P. to J. Will Knight, Jan. 26, 1915, KIC Papers.
5. "1915 Articles of Agreement for Re-erection of Knight Sugar Company Plant in Layton Utah by the Dyer Company, Cleveland Ohio," in Oma Wilcox File, EFA.
6. *Deseret News*, March 9, 1915, 2.
7. Statement, no author, but presumably E. P. Ellison's press release for *Deseret News*, in the KIC Papers for March 1915.
8. KIC Board Minutes, this date, KIC Papers.
9. E. P. Ellison to J. W. Knight, this date, KIC.
10. *Deseret News,* March 9, 1915, 2.
11. KIC to E. P. Ellison, March 9, 1915.
12. Knight Sugar Company Minutes, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, Alberta, Canada. Archives cited hereafter as Glenbow.
13. E. P. to W. Lester Mangum, May 5, 1915, KIC.
14. Kent C. Day, "The Layton Sugar Company," report published by Layton City Corporation, 1983, 1.
15. "1915 Agreement for Reerection," Oma Wilcox File, EFA.
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24. Layton Sugar Company, Annual Report, Feb. 29, 1916.
25. L. R. Eccles to J. Will Knight, Jan. 6, 1916, KIC Papers.
26. J. R. Bachman, *Story of The Amalgamated Sugar Company, 1897–1961* (Ogden, Utah: Amalgamated Sugar, 1962), 52–56.

27. James E. Ellison to Jesse Knight, Feb. 8, 1916, KIC Papers; KIC to James Fowler, Feb. 8, 1916, KIC Papers.
28. E. P. Ellison to Jesse Knight, March 17, 1916.
29. KIC to E. P. Ellison, Aug. 5, 1915, KIC Papers.
30. E. P. Ellison to Raymond Knight, Nov. 8, 1915, KIC Papers.
31. James E. Ellison to Lester Mangum, Dec. 1, 1915, and J. Will Knight to James E. Ellison, Dec. 6, 1915, KIC Papers.
32. J. Will Knight to E. P. Ellison, Dec. 13, 1915, KIC Papers.
33. James Fowler to E. P. Ellison, Dec. 20, 1915, and E. P. Ellison to Jesse Knight, Dec. 23, 1915, KIC Papers.
34. Jesse Knight to E. P. Ellison, Feb. 5, 1916, KIC Papers.
35. KIC Minutes, Feb 10, 1916, KIC Papers.
36. Knight Sugar Company, Stockholders Minutes, April 3, 1916, Glenbow.
37. E. P. Ellison to Jesse Knight, June 2, 1916, KIC Papers.
38. E. P. Ellison to Raymond Knight, June 12, 1916, KIC Papers.
39. E. P. Ellison to Jesse Knight, May 19, 1916, KIC Papers; Lester Mangum to E. P. Ellison, May 22, 1916, KIC Papers; Knight Sugar Company to D. C. Perkins, Aug. 23, 1916, and James E. Ellison to D. C. Perkins, Aug. 30, 1916, KIC Papers.
40. F. Howard Annes to James E. Ellison, Aug. 14, 1916, KIC.
41. E. P. Ellison to Jesse Knight, May 19, 1916, KIC Papers; Lester Mangum to E. P. Ellison, May 22, 1916, KIC Papers; Knight Sugar Company to D. C. Perkins, Aug. 23, 1916, and James E. Ellison to D. C. Perkins, Aug. 30, 1916, KIC Papers; the trio's report is in E. P. Ellison and R. E. Allen to the KIC Board, Sept. 5, 1916, KIC Papers.
42. G. M. Bosworth to E. P. Ellison, Oct. 11, 1916, KIC Papers.
43. Knight Sugar Company, Minutes, April 2, 1917, Glenbow.
44. Lester Mangum to E. P. Ellison, Oct. 26, 1917, KIC Papers.
45. E. P. Ellison and J. William Knight to Board of Directors, Knight Sugar Company, May 9, 1918, Knight Sugar Company Minutes, Glenbow; E. P. Ellison to G. M. Bosworth (Canadian Pacific Railroad Vice-president), Oct. 11, 1916, KIC.
46. Jesse Knight to E. P. Ellison, Nov. 23, 1916, KIC Papers.
47. E. P. Ellison to Raymond Knight, Nov. 25, 1916, copy in possession of Oma Wilcox, Layton, Utah.
48. Taken from Layton Sugar Company, Annual Reports, in U and I Sugar Files, BYU.
49. *Clipper*, March 3 and 24, 1916.
50. E. P. to Jesse Knight, March 17, 1916, KIC Papers; *Clipper*, March 24 and 31, 1916.
51. *Clipper* May 12 and 19, 1916.
52. *Clipper*, Aug. 25, Sept. 1, 15, 22, 19, 1916.
53. *Clipper*, Oct. 20, Nov. 3 and 10, Dec. 8 and 22, 1916.
54. *Clipper*, Dec. 29, 1916; Jan 1 and Feb. 2 and 23, and March 16, 1917.
55. *Clipper*, May 5, 1917.
56. Day, "The Layton Sugar Company," 2.

57. *Clipper*, June 22 and 29, 1917.
58. *Clipper*, June 29 and Sept. 14, 1917. Other Utahns who attended were Thomas R. Cutler, Merrill Nibley, S. H. Love, LeRoy Eccles, and George E. Browning.
59. *Clipper*, Nov. 2 and 30, Dec. 7, 1917, Jan. 11, 1918.
60. *Clipper,* March 1, April 12, and May 3, 1918.
61. *Clipper*, May 10, 1918.
62. *Clipper*, Aug. 30 and Sept. 6, 1918.
63. *Clipper*, Oct. 11 and 18, 1918, Jan. 17, 1919.
64. J. R. Bachman, *Story of The Amalgamated Sugar Company, 1897–1961* (Ogden, Utah: Amalgamated Sugar, 1962), 280–281.
65. KIC Board Minutes, May 1917, KIC Papers.
66. Day, "The Layton Sugar Company," 2.
67. Ibid.
68. Filed in Layton Sugar Files in U and I Papers, BYU.
69. E. P. Ellison sketch in *Weekly Reflex,* Dec. 20, 1923.
70. Bachman, *Amalgamated Sugar*, 281–282.
71. KIC Board Minutes, May 1926, KIC Papers.
72. Layton Sugar to B. R. Smoot of U and I Sugar, May 13, 1927, U and I Papers.
73. Layton Sugar Company Minutes, May 6, 1927, and May 12, 1928.
74. Layton Sugar Company, Annual Reports, 1927–1930.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

BANK, STORE, AND FLOUR MILLS

Even before World War I, the Ellisons' business network increasingly became subject to national and international forces. History books, when discussing the period from the war to the Great Depression, mention several policies and events that influenced the Ellison firms, such as rationing, war bond drives, tariffs and international trade, recessions, and the agricultural depression of the 1920s.

Since the turn of the century, business had been good for E. P. and his family. According to his daybook notations, he received the following dividend amounts from stocks he owned:

1905	$8,640	1909	$12,891	1913	$11,923
1906	(missing)	1910	7,249	1914	9,262
1907	16,309	1911	15,524	1915	13,769
1908	12,650	1912	17,120	1916	32,018

A year-by-year list of tithing he paid during that period shows that he was a faithful tithepayer, that his earnings did not fluctuate spectacularly (except for a big jump in 1916 when they doubled), and that his average tithable income for those years was about $16,000 per year:

E. P. Ellison Tithing Totals by Year

1905	$1,025	1909	$1,610	1913	$1,550
1906	1,010	1910	1,814	1914	1,123
1907	1,306	1911	1,617	1915	1,524
1908	1,504	1912	2,068	1916	3,202

Back then it was an LDS Church practice to send out to those members who were the top tithepayers a listing of names of all who paid more

than $1,000 tithing per year. E. P. received a letter from the Presiding Bishopric dated April 13, 1918, containing such a list. The letter reads:

> The records of this office disclose the fact that there are many faithful tithepayers in the Church and some of the most faithful in the payment of their tithes are those who are only able to pay a very small amount. Some of our poorer brethren and sisters tithe their incomes more strictly that do many of the wealthy members.
>
> Our records show that there are fifty-two persons in the Church who last year paid $1,000.00 each, or more. We find your name among that number. We are taking the liberty of enclosing for you the list of these fifty-two tithepayers with the compliments of the Presiding Bishopric. Number one paid the largest amount, number two the next largest, and so on down the list.
>
> We hope it will occasion no offense but rather that it may be a record which you and your family will appreciate.

No money totals accompanied the names. According to the list, Jesse Knight was second highest tithepayer in the Church in 1917, and E. P. was number seven. Several of E. P.'s business associates are on the list, including President Joseph F. Smith, J. William Knight, Henry H. Rolapp, John R. Barnes, and W. Lester Mangum.[1]

With his sons handling day-to-day operations, E. P., who passed from age sixty-five to eighty by 1930, continued to participate actively on boards of directors and as a senior officer in his companies. A widower bereft of his companion Elizabeth, and a father with children raised, E. P. spent most of his waking hours working in behalf of his enterprises. Slowing down with advancing years, he nevertheless continued to serve as a counselor in the North Davis Stake presidency.

Wartime Banking

During World War I, the First National Bank of Layton had two concerns beyond its normal ones. The first related to the war effort, when banks had to help promote both thrift and the buying of war bonds and stamps. The second involved the new Layton Sugar Company, whose accounts the bank handled.

When E. P. and the Knight interests started the Layton Sugar Company, E. P. wanted the new company's offices to be in the bank.

When the sugar run started, farmers took the checks received for their beets to the bank to cash or deposit them and to pay off loans.[2] So on August 25, 1915, the bank's board appointed James Pingree, Rufus Adams, and Jesse M. Smith to study the feasibility of remodeling the bank building and constructing an addition to rent to Layton Sugar. A month later the board approved the remodeling plan and addition, and the sugar company's rent was set at sixty dollars per month. By that date the Layton bank's resources totalled $204,462.81.[3] Until the remodeling, which was done during the fall of 1915, the sugar company used temporary offices in the hall above the Farmers Union.

By October, the remodeling work began. William Allen was hired as architect. His plans called for additions to the old bank building on two sides—twenty-eight feet on the east and forty on the north. The east addition would be occupied by the sugar company.[4] During the winter of 1915–1916, workmen built the new sections and remodeled the old one. By Christmas, carpenters had completed the roof on the new sections. Into the bank went elegant fixtures of marble and mahogany. A tile floor was installed, the first in the county. When finished, the bank was the "finest banking room in Davis County." Early in February 1916, the sugar company moved into the offices in the new addition.[5]

During December of 1916 the bank purchased and installed 100 safety deposit boxes from Invincible Metal Furnishing Company.[6]

Between 1916 and 1920 regular and large deposits came from Utah and Idaho Sugar Company, the Pingree National Bank, and nearly $10,000 annually from the Layton Sugar Company.[7] In 1917, the bank posted $30,000 as bond, up from the $20,000 once required, so that Davis County Treasurer George W. Welling could deposit part of the county's moneys there.[8]

Banks across the nation responded to federal government requests to help fund the war effort by selling, distributing, and redeeming so-called Liberty Loans and subscribing to buy government securities.[9] At the Utah Bankers Association annual convention in 1917, Elias A. Smith explained part of Utah banks' responsibilities:

> The people of Utah within a month have been called upon to contribute to the national Treasury the vast sum of $6,500,000. For a moment it was a staggering demand; but with the vigor and patriotism which has character-

ized our people throughout all their history a quick response was made and within a week we not only subscribed to the "Liberty Loan" for the stipulated amount, but we added $3,700,000 for good measure.[10]

During May 1917, the Layton bank subscribed for $5,000 in Treasury Certificates that offered 3.25 percent interest, and then the certificates were converted into $5,000 worth of Liberty Bonds.[11] By late June the bank had sold upwards of $12,600 worth of Liberty Bonds.[12] That summer the bank published advertisements promoting the bonds.[13] On October 19, 1917, both the *Weekly Reflex* and *Davis County Clipper* newspapers carried an appeal to "Buy Liberty Bonds." It explained that "Uncle Sam" had a list of every man and how much he was worth and the amount of bonds he should buy. By year's end, the Layton bank subscribed to $5,000 worth of a second issue of Liberty Bonds.[14]

Citizens felt a responsibility to help finance the war. Early in 1918, county chairmen pushing the bond and thrift drives, said Utahns needed to raise about nine million dollars, or twenty dollars per capita. Utahns should be thrifty, they said, but should not leave "all the work of investing to the children and students."[15]

In April 1918, the First National Bank of Layton participated in the Third Liberty Loan drive, spearheaded this time by women, particularly the LDS Relief Societies.[16] "Buy Liberty Bonds or See the U.S. Lose," a *Reflex* headline pronounced.[17] During the first half of 1918, the Layton bank bought Liberty Bonds and thrift stamps.[18] Among the citizenry, the initials WSS became popular, standing for War Savings Stamps. Readers of the *Clipper* saw a little ditty using only words starting with WSS:[19]

W. S. S.
We Surely Should
War Saving Stamps
Will Soon Supply
Willing, Splendid Soldiers
With Ships, Shoes,
Weapons, Socks, Shirts
Why Spend Salary
Without Securing Some
War Savings Stamps

People were expected to mark their calendars twice per month: once to pay Red Cross pledge payments and once for thrift stamps. They were asked to pledge to buy a set amount of thrift stamps monthly. "Have You Signed a Pledge Card?" the *Clipper* asked readers on June 28, 1918. People were told that War Savings Stamps were the best investment in the world because they produced interest compounded quarterly, they taught lessons of thrift, and they "put dollars to stand behind the boys." A $4.17 savings stamp purchased in June 1918 would become $5 within five years. A person buying the limit of savings stamps, $834 worth, would receive $1,000 in five years. The WSS drive ended on June 28, 1918, which was declared National Savings Day.[20]

That August the *Clipper*'s main headline admonished: "Be Patriotic and Buy a Fourth Liberty Loan Bond." According to that newspaper, "practically every home in Utah" was displaying the Liberty Bond card in its window, showing that the residents had bought a Liberty Bond.[21] For this drive, North Davis County was assessed $147,650.[22] But by November the residents oversubscribed the assessment by $9,000.[23]

From June until December 1918, First National Bank of Layton's ledgers show constant payments to postmaster Joseph A. Sill for thrift and war stamps.

The War ended in November 1918. Then, and for months afterwards, the bank cashed in war bonds for the bond owners.[24] Early in 1919 the bank decided that Laurence as cashier must sell and transfer any and all United States registered bonds or registered bonds the bank had, terminating the bank's handling of or dealing with the war bonds.[25]

In 1920, the bank was fifteen years old. During those years, several of its board members had died, including George V. Stevenson in 1908, Elias Adams in 1912, and Alex Dawson in 1918. E. P. spoke at the Dawson funeral.[26]

Following the war, the bank enjoyed a general prosperity despite Utah's agricultural recession that lingered until Utah and the nation plunged into the Great Depression. E. P., pushing into his seventies, found it convenient to have an "Ellison enterprise zone" so close to his home—a concentration in Layton of the bank, store, coal business, mill, and sugar factory. And while the Ellison ranches were in Nevada and Ellison Milling and Elevator was in Canada, the corporate offices were

in the Farmers Union, where E. P. had his own office. These companies all used the bank, and by diversifying his business interests, E. P. and his sons were able to allow the businesses to reinforce each other.

As before the war, E. P. continued to earn a dividend of seventy-five dollars on his total bank shares every quarter, year after year.

Bank Robbery

In the early morning hours of March 22, 1920, burglars broke into the Layton bank and damaged and robbed some of its safety deposit boxes. The thieves blew up twenty-one safety deposit boxes by injecting explosives through the keyholes. The character of the work showed the burglars were skilled at their trade. They placed explosives in a checkerboard pattern in hopes of opening the entire section. Five of twenty-one boxes were empty, and five others contained nothing of value. Fortunately, the burglars missed those boxes containing the most valuables. Nevertheless, the bank losses totalled about $4,000, mostly in Liberty Bonds, gold coins, and jewelry.

Bank officers posted a reward of up to $1,000 for the capture of the thieves. Two national detective associations, Pinkertons and Burns, as well as the county sheriff's office, worked on the case. Wisely, the bank was protected by two insurance companies; but unfortunately, insurance coverage did not protect what renters lost in the looted safety deposit boxes.[27]

Reacting to the heist, Layton businessmen met at the bank and informally discussed the proposition of additional street lights and of hiring a night watchman.[28] Within a month of the burglary, bank officials installed bars on the bank's rear windows.[29]

Early in 1920, bank president James Pingree, serving in his sixteenth year, resigned because of financial troubles with his own bank in Ogden. E. P. replaced Pingree as president on May 6. Jesse M. Smith became vice-president. Laurence Ellison, elected a director in place of Pingree, bought Pingree's stock in the bank.[30] At the end of 1920 the First National Bank of Layton declared a 3 percent dividend.[31]

Pingree Bank Problems

In 1920, E. P. was a director of the Pingree National Bank of Ogden, which had assets and liabilities of 3.2 million dollars. James Pingree, its founder, was its president. He was president of three banks at which E. P. was a vice president—Pingree National, First National Bank of Layton, and National City Bank of Salt Lake City. On May 4, 1920, Pingree resigned as president of the Pingree National Bank and was replaced by E. P. Ellison. Director Ezra C. Richardson became vice-president, and V. I. Pingree a new director. On July 26, 1920, E. P.'s daybook notes that he went to Ogden and bought 535 shares of Pingree Bank stock at $100 per share.

A newspaper report of the bank personnel changes credited E. P. with being "one of the most prominent financial men of the state," and identified him as being president of Layton Milling, Ellison Milling of Canada, Layton Sugar, Farmers Union mercantile, the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company, and as vice-president and director of National City Bank of Salt Lake City, First National Bank of Layton, Knight Woolen Mills of Provo, Knight Sugar of Canada, Ellison Ranching, and Utah Ore Sampling.[32]

It was largely through E. P.'s efforts that the Pingree bank was saved from failure. He helped reorganize it as the National Bank of Commerce. The bank was soon in good condition financially and by 1923 had deposits of more than $2,500,000. E. P. became chairman of the board of directors of the bank.[33]

Taking a Friend to Court

A banker friend contracted to buy preferred stock in an Ogden packing plant, signing two $25,000 promissory notes. Unable to make payments on the loans, he asked E. P. for help. On March 12, 1920, E. P. sent him on loan 382 shares of Ellison Ranching stock and 194 shares of Layton Sugar Company stock, worth $47,750 total. E. P. expected these shares to serve as collateral for his friend's promissory notes to the packing company, to be returned when the loan was paid off.

The friend wrote E. P. on April 10th and acknowledged receipt of the stock certificates. He called E. P.'s generosity an "act of kindness you ren-

dered me." But about a month later, the friend transferred title and ownership of E. P.'s stocks to American Packing to help pay off an indebtedness to them that reached $250,000. However, the man lacked authority to endorse over this stock.

E. P. requested the return of his stock several times. On June 15, learning that his stocks had gone to Ogden Packing, he wrote with empathy to his friend: "I have been patient and have not desired to disturb you, knowing that you had many difficulties at the present time or in the weeks immediately past." But now, E. P. said, he wanted ample protection of his securities.[34]

The friend then sent E. P. some stocks in a land company, but E. P. refused them as "not good enough to use as security against my stocks" because they were "highly speculative" and of "very questionable value." E. P. said further, "Without desiring to be hard on you in this matter, I must ask that you make an effort to immediately deliver to me securities which will be of an agreed value at least the equivalent of the securities which you have received from me."

Seeing his friend's finances shaking toward a fall, E. P. moved to protect himself. He took the packing company to court, naming the friend as one of several co-defendants. E. P. charged that the co-defendant "fraudulently concealed from plaintiff his financial condition and the danger of his insolvency." E. P. claimed that the defendants "each and all of them, took said stock with full notice of the rights of the plaintiff herein."[35] The case dragged on for three years. Second Judicial District Court records list the case as *E. P. Ellison v Ogden Packing and Provision Company, et al, No. 7502*.

E. P. blamed the men to whom his friend was in debt for intimidating the man. E. P.'s suit claimed the men by "wrongful use of fear" had threatened the borrower, forcing him to endorse the stock to them:

> Plaintiff alleges that by reason of the importunities and threats of the defendants, through the said defendants, Poppenhusen, Rhodes and DeVine, as hereinbefore set forth, the defendant [ ] because mentally exhausted and his will overcome, and solely through and by reason of the said threats and his condition resulting therefrom, the said property aforesaid was turned over to the said defendants under the agreements.

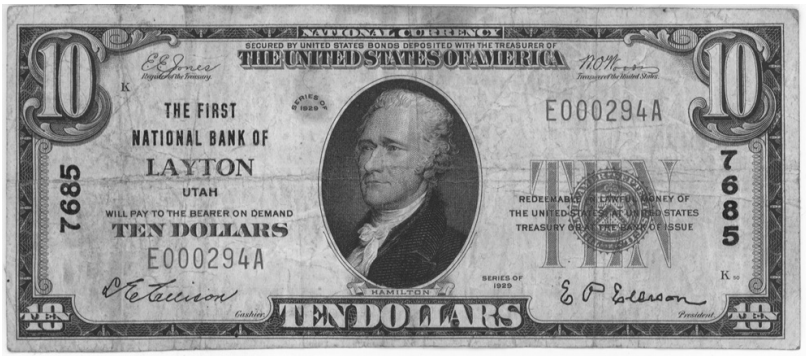
The friend's defense counsel, implying that E. P. Ellison was elderly and had a faulty memory, and not knowing that E. P. kept daybooks, claimed that between June 9 and 12 he had obtained E. P.'s verbal permission to transfer the stock. E. P. countered that he had given "no express consent to that transfer of his stock." E. P. then showed the judge and the court from his daybooks that he "was not in the State of Utah at the time but was in the State of Nevada." E. P. won his case. The judge stated that "if E. P. Ellison says he was in Nevada, then he was in Nevada." The court awarded him $76,850 plus interest amounting to $20,066.35, or 96,916.35 total.[36] In 1924, E. P. finally received back his stocks from Ogden Packing Company.[37]

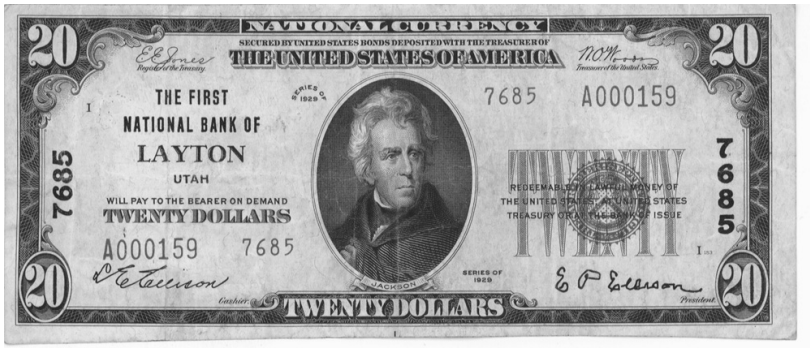
Bank Survivals and Failures

An economic downturn staggered the nation in 1921 when commodity prices fell dramatically. Food prices slumped 24 percent in one year. Prices of agricultural products and raw materials dug from mines were hit particularly hard. As a result, Utah's banks were "severely strained" by 1922.[38] Banks with loans to farmers and industries based on wartime's inflated prices were unable to collect interest or principal on loans. Foreclosures could not produce the amount owed, so banks lost. Fifteen Utah banks closed between 1920 and 1922. Bank assets during those two years fell by nearly $30 million. Bank loans declined from $108 million to $88 million. Utah experienced recessions in 1924 and in 1927. Hard times showed that Utah had too many banks for available assets, which meant that banks had too many small deposits. By then, every town of any size at all in Utah had its own bank, but many were stretched too thin. As a result, between 1921 and 1933, seventy-four Utah banks, or 55 percent, closed. Most of them were state-chartered banks, not nationally chartered ones like the Layton bank.[39]

The First National Bank of Layton had the sugar factory as a big depositor, which no doubt helped the bank steer through the turbulent 1920s. A list of Layton Sugar deposits at the Layton bank includes these amounts:[40]

1920	$35,000	1924	$10,000
1922	35,000	1925	20,000
1923	2,500	1926	10,000





National Bank currency notes issued by First National Bank of Layton in 1929, the year the Great Depression began. Engraved signatures are by E. P. Ellison, president; and L. E. Ellison, cashier.

Another regular depositor of funds, usually $3,000 to $4,000 per year, was the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company, of which E. P. was president.

The bank's officers as of January 20, 1921 were E. P. Ellison, president; Rufus Adams and Jesse M. Smith, vice-presidents; and Laurence Ellison, cashier. When 1922 opened, Laurence held the most shares of bank stock of anyone, thirty, followed by E. P. with twenty-five. By then, Vird Cook was the bank's assistant cashier.[41] In the spring of 1923, bank officers executed an agreement with the Treasurer of the State of Utah for the bank to be an official depository for state funds.[42] During the late 1920s, the bank's history is primarily one of normal banking transactions—no major upswings, downturns, relocatings, impacts from national banking policies, or management changes. It was the proverbial calm before the storm of banking crises unleased by the Wall Street

stockmarket crash in October, 1929, and the resultant Great Depression. Fortunately, the Layton Bank was financially well grounded and did not have a risky loan portfolio by the time that national disaster struck American banks hard and closed so many of them.

In terms of E. P.'s responsibilities at other banks, early in 1925 he resigned as a director and chairman of the board of the Utah Bank of Commerce.[43] His daybooks indicate that he attended some of the annual Utah Bankers Association meetings during the 1920s.

Farmers Union

E. P.'s home away from home was his office in a northwest nook of the Farmers Union store. Beyond his office, the store seemed less like a business, compared to the bank and sugar offices across the street, and more like a social and community gathering place.

During this period, E. P. continued to be a member of the store's board of directors and was the major stockholder in the company. At a March 6, 1916, stockholders' meeting, E. P. owned 1,676 of the total 2,124 shares represented. John W. Thornley was president and John W. Gailey vice-president. E. P.'s daughter, Nettie Stevenson, was elected the store's secretary-treasurer, and she served for many years as the accountant and bookkeeper, among other tasks.[44] Directors then were

John W. Thornley	Alex Dawson
John W. Gailey	S. H. Nalder
E. P. Ellison	D. E. Layton

E. P. did not let the store sell onions, because of his personal dislike for them. Also, he would not allow soda crackers to be sold because he thought people should eat homemade bread instead.[45]

E. P. probably noticed, as did the local newspaper, that in February 1916, Nathan F. Haworth, the murderer of the store's night watchman, Thomas Sandall, was released from prison after serving nearly sixteen years.[46] Early in 1917, a chiropractor named Hansen opened an office in the Farmers Union building.[47]

In April 1917, burglars entered the store and also the Adams Brothers Meat Market but took little more than "a few eatables from the meat market."[48] The *Clipper* that summer noted what was a custom for

The nerve center for the many business interests of E. P. Ellison was his office, located in the Farmers Union store in Layton.

small-town stores in those days—to close Wednesday afternoons during the summer.[49] Sometime in 1917, the store saw a competitor come to town, the Golden Rule Store, a low-priced department store linked to a chain of James Cash Penney's stores that soon would adopt the J. C. Penney name.[50] This competitor cut into the Farmer's Union dry-goods business.

In April 1918, the directors voted to let management decide whether or not to subscribe to Liberty Bonds in the future. As the store's new manager, the board hired Morris H. Ellison.[51] The board paid tribute to Alexander Dawson, who had died, praising his "genial disposition," "strong personality," and "extreme hospitality." Morris replaced Dawson on the board.[52]

War rationing and shortages caused the government to ask grocers and customers to adopt a "50–50 wheat program." That is, customers should buy the same weight in a wheat substitute as they did in wheat flour. Substitutes included cornmeal, corn flour, edible cornstarch, hominy, corn grits, barley flour, potato flour, sweet potato flour, soya bean flour, Feterita flour and meals, rice, rice flour, oatmeal, rolled oats, and buckwheat flour. The government urged citizens to "Use Less Wheat." Citizens were asked to display in their windows a Food Pledge Card alongside their Liberty Bond Card.[53]

Early in the 1920s, E. P. noted that the Farmers Union was experiencing an increase in prices for merchandise, an increase in business, and notable growth and development of the community.[54] Directors early in 1921 authorized secretary-treasurer Nettie Stevenson to sell the store's Liberty bonds and other registered bonds, apparently because the store needed the capital before the bonds matured.[55] An apparent decline in Farmers Union business in 1923 caused a reduction of the dividend to 6 percent, well below the 12 percent that stockholders were accustomed to receiving.[56]

As the decade of the twenties was nearing its end, store operations apparently needed to be tightened up. E. P.'s role in the store changed in 1927 when, at seventy-seven, he was elected president. John W. Thornley became vice-president, and John Gailey chairman of the three-man executive committee comprised of Gailey, E. P., and Thornley.[57] This trio agreed to meet monthly to handle store management decisions. A year later the directors took action on unpaid accounts at the store. They authorized manager Morris to proceed to collect all past due accounts or to obtain security for what was owed. In cases where neither payment nor security was obtained, Morris was instructed to file legal suits.[58] It is not known if he took any customers to court. In 1929 the directors, wanting to rejuvenate the store, told Morris to look into a possible expansion of the store on the north side. They also asked him to determine if the store should join the Red and White grocery chain.[59]

Day-to-day details of this busy general mercantile store are lacking. However, store staff had to order food and merchandise from local farmers and regional and national distributors and wholesalers. The store received shipments by train and wagon and by gasoline-engine trucks. Shelves were constantly restocked with goods. Morris and the board made decisions about new products, pricing, displaying, and disposing of damaged and dated foods. Store hardwares and softgoods changed seasonally, as did fruits and vegetables in the fresh produce section. Nettie kept the account books, and for safety, a store employee took cash, currency, and checks to the bank almost daily.

Ledger books show that from 1916 to 1929 the Farmers Union maintained profitability—higher during the war years and down during the

1920s. Dividends were 10 and 12 percent up to 1922, and then mostly 6 and 8 percent through 1929.

Layton Milling and Elevator

During World War I, to mobilize the nation into an efficient war machine, the federal government adopted war regulations that controlled private industry's production of materials needed by the war effort. Regulations relating to food production, distribution, and rationing went into effect, and normal supply and demand forces inherent in the profit-driven free-market economy were restrained. A wartime slogan that E. P. and other Layton Milling officials heard often was "Wheat and Flour, Needs of the Hour." They cooperated with war food production officials who set Layton Milling's product and output agenda. In February 1918, they received orders to close down the mill until after the next harvest because they had ground their "allotment" of flour, and to ship their unground grain to Kansas City, Missouri. Directives called for western flour mills to produce enough flour to last until after the next threshing time.[60] Normal production resumed when the war ended that November.

Company letterhead in 1921 said that the mill's daily capacity was 150 barrels (about 55,000 barrels per year), its elevators' capacity was 80,000 bushels, and that its main products were hard and soft wheat flour, graham, corn meal, germade bran, and shorts and grain. Officials the stationery listed were John H. Bonnemort as president; John. W. Thornley, vice-president; Morris H. Ellison, secretary-treasurer; and E. P. Ellison, manager.[61]

In 1921 the milling and elevator operation was merged with the Kaysville Milling Company. The new company, called Kaysville-Layton Milling Company, was headed by Henry H. Blood as president and E. P. Ellison as vice-president. Perhaps only Mormons would have noted that this arrangement meant that the LDS stake president and his first counselor were top officers in the business. A printed notice of a stockholders meeting in 1924 shows the men switched positions, so that E. P. was president; Henry H. Blood, manager; and Clifford D. Strong, secretary. With a milling capacity of 60,000 barrels of flour per year, the flour mill

supplied western markets in Utah, Nevada, California, and Arizona, as well as markets in Alabama and Georgia.[62]

Canadian Ranches

Despite the 1915 closure of the Raymond Sugar factory, the Ellisons continued to have two business interests in southern Alberta. Ellison Milling and Elevator prospered, and the Knight Sugar Company, in which the Ellisons were investors and officers, managed vast tracts of lands to be sold, leased, farmed, and used for ranching.[63]

Late in 1917, the Knight Investment Company's Canadian operations were worth more than $2,258,400. A list of their assets and values shows the following:[64]

150,000	acres	$10/acre	$1,500.000
12,000	cattle	65/head	780,000
400	horses	100/head	40,000
3,200	sheep	12/head	38,400

On May 10, 1918, Knight Sugar stockholders met in the LDS Church Administration Building in Salt Lake City and approved the sale of the Canadian assets—basically the Bar K2 Ranch—to the firm of Knight and Watson of Alberta, a ranching company run by Jesse Knight's son Raymond and J. D. Watson. Approving the plan was one thing; making it happen was another, as time would show.

For several years the Knight Sugar Company's power plant at the sugar factory had provided electricity to the city of Raymond. When the factory was dismantled and moved to Utah, the company bought a steam engine to provide the electricity as usual—from dark until midnight. Late in 1918, Knight Sugar sold the rights to the electric lighting system to Ellison Milling and Elevator Company. By 1921, Ellison Milling sold the system to the Raymond Electric Company.[65]

Upon the death of LDS Church President Joseph F. Smith on November 19, 1918, his successor, President Heber J. Grant, replaced him on Knight Sugar's board.[66] On October 20, 1919, stockholders learned that Knight and Watson needed an extension of their option to buy rather than lose their promissory note for $50,000 and their $50,000 cash already paid. Stockholders approved the extension.

Jesse Knight died in 1921. When 1922 opened, the company again extended the Knight and Watson option.[67] Finally, in 1924, that deal fell through. This caused, or at least contributed to, Knight Investment Company's slide into financial trouble. Needing money, the company asked E. P. to take shares of Knight Sugar Company stock, apparently of low value, in exchange for Ellison Ranching shares. E. P. agreed to make the trade to help bail the Knights out, but the Knights managed to sell their Springville-Mapleton sugar company, so E. P.'s stock trade was not needed. "We are extremely grateful to you for your generous attitude in being willing to make the exchange in order to assist us in re-financing ourselves," Knight officials told E. P.[68]

Knight Sugar Company restructured its Canadian ranch operations. During 1924 it refinanced by issuing ten-year and fifteen-year bonds for $350,000 that brought in money with which it paid off current obligations, bought livestock, and made improvements. The LDS Church's Trustee-in-Trust subscribed for $50,000 of the bonds, E. P. Ellison purchased $15,000 worth, and Will Knight, $10,000.[69]

At one point the company bought sheep from the Knight-Watson Ranching Company at "reasonable prices," and in return allowed Ray Knight to graze not more than 5,000 sheep and 165 horses on company lands.[70] By late 1925, the Knight Sugar Company took over the Knight-Watson interests and in other ways continued to expand its ranch operations.[71]

By late September 1926, the Knight Investment Company sold 500 shares of Ellison Ranching stock to E. P. Ellison and, with the money obtained, paid a $37,000 note due the National Copper Bank. Needing to retire debts owed the Ellisons, the Knight officers worked out a stock exchange. They traded 500 shares they held of Ellison Ranching stock to the Ellisons, and the Ellisons transferred 500 shares of Knight Sugar stock to the Knights.[72]

E. P. and Knight executives made a big decision in 1927. The company had 40,236 sheep. Needing more land for grazing, it tried to lease it cheaply from the Canadian Pacific Railroad, but failed. The company had experienced a poor lambing season due to cold rains, storms, and a severe winter. Officers decided to dispose of sheep in order to pay off bonds. Canada then had a strong demand for sheep, and a successful sale could

bring in "much cash." Will Knight believed that the sheep business in Canada was risky and that the company should run a smaller number than 30,000 to 40,000, to which they could give closer attention. E. P., at the company's board meeting in August 1927, agreed with Will, so the board voted to sell sheep to retire bonds and decided not to lease more land.[73]

Ellison Milling and Elevator

Ellison Milling and Elevator prospered during and after the war, under the able management of George W. Green. It operated two mills, at Raymond and Lethbridge. The mill at Magrath, which burned down in 1915, was not rebuilt. In 1917, directors authorized the purchase of new machinery to increase the Lethbridge mill's capacity to 500 barrels of flour per day. This expansion was funded by an increase in capital stock from $150,000 to $500,000.[74] Also that year, the company purchased its first automobile, a Model T, which had been converted to a truck. Arthur Green, son of the manager, drove this solid-rubber-tired vehicle across the old Benton Trail between Lethbridge, Raymond and Magrath to conduct company business for his father.[75]

World War I brought government regulation of flour production and distribution. To set fair prices and avoid market manipulation, the Canadian Government created a Board of Grain Supervisors in June 1917. The government "assumed complete control over the purchase and sale of wheat for export, including control over prices and destination of exports."[76]

During the war, Great Britain needed flour and flour products from its sister nations in the empire. In response, Ellison Milling shipped flour to the British Isles, one major market being Glasgow. War demand caused the mill to run six days a week, twenty-four hours a day.[77] As in the United States, local consumers were limited in how much wheat flour they could buy:

> Because of the great demand on the limited supply of wheat flour, the mill was forced to sell barley flour and rye flour as a substitute. A purchase of wheat flour had to include a portion of the substitute flour. It was not as good for baking but the housewives had to accept the government regulation.[78]

War affected Ellison Milling by raising wheat prices such that farmers sent more wheat to the mill, by opening new foreign markets for Ellison products, and by creating a government regulatory system, including a Canadian Wheat Board, which was only partly dismantled after the Armistice. Following the war, Ellison Milling increasingly felt "the effects of bureaucratic regulation" not only regarding wheat processing but also relating to credit arrangements with farmers for seeds and with customers. "Ellison milling now had a financial stake in all aspects of the business—literally from seed to bread."[79]

At Raymond, the Alberta Pacific Company built an elevator near the Ellisons', which Ellison Milling acquired in 1919 and named "Elevator B."[80]

A postwar depression from 1920 to 1923 hurt Ellison Milling. Temporary increases in wheat prices caused farmers to overspend, hoping to reap profits while the market was good. But then the prices plummeted, making loans hard to repay. Ellison Milling board minutes reported:

> Large groups of customers were in the office daily, particularly in the months of November and December, taking their settlements at big values. Some did heavy plunging from which they never recovered. The "slump" became very noticeable by January of 1921. Many farmers had held their grain, taking large advances in part payment, and the Company was conducting a rather extensive business in grain futures for its customers. The staff could hardly keep up with the work, and accounts were not always "closed out" in time to save the company from loss. Farmers soon found themselves in embarrassing straits and the Company too.[81]

During the same period, stockmen suffered losses because of a severe winter. Cattle feed became scarce and so expensive that many cattlemen and sheepmen did not recover from their financial losses of that season. Banks had to write off many large loans. The depression became "a bitter time for all." By the fall of 1921, Ellison Milling was saddled with heavy accounts receivable and substantial liabilities with the Standard Bank of Canada.

Facing a critical situation, directors asked E. P. to come to Canada to help them. He did, and helped engineer the issuing of 750 shares of preferred stock at $100 each, which raised $75,000, enabling the company

"to finance its way through the 1920–23 depression."[82] The company then undertook what became a decade-long expansion program.

During the night of November 19, 1923, a fire of unknown cause, fanned by brisk winds, completely destroyed the Raymond mill. A bucket brigade's efforts proved futile. The mill was not rebuilt. For storing grain, Ellison Milling erected a new elevator with a 45,000 bushel capacity at Raymond, using some of the bricks and scrap lumber salvaged from the fire, and erected one at Cardston, with a capacity of 38,000 bushels. Rail and road improvements made it easier for farmers to haul grain to Lethbridge, so all the milling was concentrated at that plant.[83]

In the late 1920s, Ellison Milling promoted several improvements. In 1927 the Lethbridge mill, warehouse, and a newly expanded office were painted and mill walls were lined with plaster board to conserve heat and reduce insurance costs. Group insurance was provided the employees. Within the next few years, grain elevators, holding 40,000 bushels each, were built at Turin, Iron Spring, Skiff, and Coalhurst.

The company had been doing business in British Columbia. As early as 1920 it had been shipping flour and feed to the province's interior from a company warehouse in Nelson. At the port of Vancouver, Ellison Milling was sending flour and feed to many foreign markets and selling flour to local stores and bakeries through a rented outlet there. Increased sales called for larger storage and distribution facilities, so in 1929, Ellison Milling decided to construct a four-story building along railway property in Vancouver. The company also built a facility at Calgary, Alberta, giving Ellison Milling three distribution centers—Lethbridge, Vancouver, and Calgary.[84]

In 1929, the company announced major changes for its Lethbridge operations. According to the *Lethbridge Herald*'s report of the plans, Ellison Milling would construct the first modern concrete elevator in the railway division around Lethbridge, where one-third of all of Alberta's grain was produced. "The terminal [new elevator] will have a 60,000 bushel capacity with 27 bins, a basement working floor and cleaner rooms." The building would be 124 feet in height and have a basement. It was designed to handle about twenty rail cars at a time and would require additional Canadian Pacific Railway trackage. "Ellison products have been shipped to all parts of the West and its export connections reach from

Glasgow to Hong Kong," the article explained. "Its staff numbers up to 60 in peak seasons of the year, and its annual payroll reaches $90,000."[85]

E. P.'s careful lists of dividend amounts paid him, posted in his annual daybooks, show that Ellison Milling and Elevator was his best dividend producer during the 1920s.[86]

NOTES

1. Copy of letter in EFA. The leading tithepayer was Charles W. Nibley.
2. *Weekly Reflex,* Nov. 18, 1915.
3. First National Bank of Layton, Board Minutes, Aug. 15, Sept. 11 and 22, 1915. Cited hereafter as Bank Board Minutes.
4. *Weekly Reflex*, Oct. 21, 1915.
5. Ibid., Oct. 21 and Dec. 23, 1915, and March 2, 1916; Day, "The Layton Sugar Company," 2; *Clipper*, Feb. 11, 1916.
6. Bank Board Minutes, Dec. 8, 1916.
7. Certificates of Deposit, Ledger Book, First National Bank of Layton vaults, cited hereafter as FNBL.
8. Bank Board Minutes, April 25, 1917.
9. Roland Stucki, *Commercial Banking in Utah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah College of Business, 1967), 33.
10. Utah Bankers Association, *Proceedings of Ninth Annual Convention* (Provo, 1917), 17.
11. Bank Board Minutes, May 23, 1917.
12. *Clipper*, May 15 and June 22, 1917.
13. *Weekly Reflex*, July 7, 1917.
14. Bank Board Minutes, Oct. 24, 1917.
15. *Clipper*, Jan. 25, 1918.
16. Ibid., April 5, 1918.
17. *Reflex*, May 3, 1918.
18. Bank Board Minutes, May 17 and June entries, 1918.
19. *Clipper*, June 7, 1918.
20. Ibid., June 14, 1918.
21. Ibid., Aug. 23, 1918.
22. Ibid., Sept. 27, 1918.
23. Ibid., Nov. 22, 1918.
24. FNBL ledger books, 1919.
25. Bank Board Minutes, March 26, 1919.
26. Bank Board Minutes, Jan. 8, 1908, Sept. 25, 1913, and Oct. 23, 1918; *Clipper*, Oct. 25, 1918.

27. Bank Board Minutes, March 24, 1920; The *Reflex* said this was the fourth time in fifteen years that the bank had been entered, but this was the only time when anything of value was taken, *Reflex*, March, 25, 1920.
28. Ibid.
29. Bank Board Minutes, April 27, 1920.
30. Ibid., May 26 and Dec. 31, 1920, and March 30, 1921. The bank apparently lost several hundred dollars on Pingree Sugar Company notes that were not repaid.
31. Bank Board Minutes, Dec. 31, 1920, and March 30, 1921.
32. *The Ogden Standard-Examiner*, May 5, 1920.
33. E. P. Ellison sketch in *Weekly Reflex,* Dec. 20, 1923.
34. Respecting rights to privacy, sources dealing with this matter are not cited here but are on file in EFA.
35. Second Judicial District Court, Hearing, March 12, 1921.
36. Judgment, Aug 23, 1923, Judge James N. Kimball, 2nd Judicial District, *E. P. Ellison v. American Packing, A. G. Becker and Co, et al.*; Transcript of Decision of Second Judicial District Court, Rendered in Open Court Sept. 5, 1923. Quote recalled by Oma Wilcox, research notes to the author.
37. E. P. Ellison Daybook, April 12, 1924.
38. Sticki, *Commercial Banking in Utah*, 41.
39. Ibid., 41, 47.
40. Certificates of Deposit, FNBL Ledger Books.
41. Bank Board Minutes, Jan. 10 and 24, 1922.
42. Ibid., April 25, 1923.
43. E. P. Ellison Daybook, Feb. 27, 1925.
44. Farmers Union Board Minutes, March 6, 1916 and March 12, 1917, in the vault in FNBL.
45. Oma Wilcox comments during Elizabeth Green Oral History, with the author.
46. *Clipper*, Feb. 25, 1916.
47. Ibid., March 9, 1917.
48. Ibid., April 20, 1917.
49. Ibid., June 15, 1917.
50. Ibid., advertisements, 1917.
51. Farmers Union Minutes, March 16, 1918.
52. Ibid., March 24, 1918.
53. *Clipper*, May 24, June 14, and Aug. 23, 1918.
54. Farmers Union Minutes, March 15, 1920.
55. Ibid., April 7, 1921.
56. Ibid., April 10, 1922.
57. Ibid., April 28, 1927.
58. Ibid., March 31, 1928.
59. Ibid., April 9, 1929.

60. *Clipper*, March 1, April 12, and June 14, 1918.
61. Copy of letterhead in Oma Wilcox file, EFA.
62. Dan and Eve Carlsruh, eds., *Layton, Utah Historic Viewpoints* (Kaysville-Layton Historical Society, 1985). Notice of stockholders' meeting in Oma Wilcox File, EFA.
63. Knight Sugar Company records refer to two Canadian companies which were partly Ellison firms, the Eccles-Ellison Company and the Ellison Brothers, but information regarding these firms is lacking.
64. Lester Mangum to E. P. Ellison, Oct. 26, 1917, KIC.
65. Knight Sugar Company Minutes, May 10 and Aug. 9, 1918, and April 9, 1920, KIC Papers, Glenbow; Edward Brado, *Cattle Kingdom: Early Ranching in Alberta* (Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984), 138; Eva Ellison, Milling History, 10.
66. Knight Sugar Company Minutes, Feb. 13, 1919.
67. Ibid., Jan. 6, 1922.
68. R. E. Allen to E. P. Ellison, Aug. 4, 1924, KIC.
69. Knight Sugar Company Minutes, Aug. 20, 1924.
70. Ibid., Feb. 4, 1925.
71. Ibid., Nov. 24 and Dec. 28, 1925. To expand their ranges, for example, they leased 160,000 acres of land for twenty years from the Canadian Pacific Railroad (CPRR).
72. E. P. Ellison to R. E. Allen, Oct. 21, 1926; R. E. Allen to E. P. Ellison, Nov. 4, 1926; and R. E. Allen to E. P. Ellison, Nov. 29, 1926, KIC Papers.
73. J. William Knight to Executive Committee, Aug. 17, 1927, and 1927 Knight Sugar Company Minutes.
74. Eva Ellison, Milling History, 10.
75. Arthur N. Green Oral History, cited in Eva Ellison, Milling History, 11.
76. Gregory P. Christofferson, "Ellison Milling and Elevator Company: The Catalyst for the Southern Alberta Wheat Industry," paper presented at the Mormon History Association conference in Kingston, Ontario, Canada, June 24, 1995, typescript copy in EFA, 10.
77. Reed Ellison Oral History.
78. Eva Ellison, Milling History, 11.
79. Christofferson, "Ellison Milling and Elevator Company," 10.
80. "Raymond Milling and Elevator Company Limited," in J. Orvin Hicken, et al., ed. "*Roundup*" (Lethbridge, Alberta: Lethbridge Herald Company, 1967).
81. Cited in Eva Ellison, Milling History, 11.
82. Eva Ellison, Milling History, based on company minutes and oral history with Arthur N. Green.
83. Ibid.
84. Eva Ellison, Milling History, 13–14.
85. Quoted in Ibid., 14.
86. In 1925, for example, E. P. received $4,672 in dividend payments from that company.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

ELLISON RANCHING COMPANY MATURES

Two major world events, World War I and the Great Depression, engulfed Ellison Ranching Company and altered its course—the war in a positive direction, the Depression negatively—and nearly destroyed it. Here we deal with the the war, the postwar adjustments, and the 1920s, leaving for later chapters the Depression story. During the thirteen-year segment covered here, Ellison Ranching experienced war prosperity, expansion of both land and livestock holdings, setbacks caused by nature, some record business years, and, of longterm significance up to the present, the purchase and addition of the Spanish Ranch in Elko County—an area which then and now contains "some of the best ranches in the world."[1] Between 1916 and 1929, Ellison Ranching tripled in value.

Through the war and postwar years, E. P. Ellison literally stayed in the saddle even though aging through his sixties and seventies. As company vice-president and major shareholder, and then company president, E. P. made frequent train trips and an occasional automobile ride to the Nevada ranches from his Layton home. Son Parley was resident manager of the company's operations, and by 1924, Parl had an automobile in which he transported E. P. around the properties.[2] North of Winnemucca were the Kings River, Nelson, Rebel Creek, Quinn River, Buffalo and Home Ranches. East from Winnemucca was the Blossom Ranch. The company sold some ranch operations and added the Spanish Ranch north of Elko.

E. P.'s hands-on ranch visits settled into a seasonal routine. Each spring found him out on the ranches counting lambs and cattle and helping with the shearing of sheep and loading of wool into train cars. Each September or October, he inspected the sheep and cattle. During his October or November visits he helped with the cutting out and

E. P. Ellison travelled frequently and extensively by train to visit his businesses in Canada and Nevada.

weighing of beef cattle and lambs and with loading them into train cars. Sometimes during winter he checked on the herds and flocks. During periods of drought, disease, or hard freezes, he made first-hand inspections to check the livestock and their feed supply.

Sale of Nelson Ranch

By 1916, Ellison Ranching Company's letterhead proclaimed it was capitalized at $500,000 and operated ranches in Humboldt and Elko counties. Early that year a potential buyer inquired about the Thomas Nelson Ranch and sheep. T. D. Ryan of Security State Bank of Ogden relayed the request for a price quote. Details of the sale offer, modified somewhat by the time the deal was completed, provide a clear window for viewing one part of Ellison Ranching Company's operations at the time.

Ellison Ranching Company responded on February 15.[3] It said that 24,000 acres were for sale, including 5,000 acres on the Humboldt River, with good water rights and all buildings and improvements at no additional cost, and 17,000 acres on Willow Creek about eighty miles northeast of the Home Ranch. The potential deal included a permit to run 17,860 sheep on the Humboldt Forest Reserve and a lease from the Southern Pacific Railroad for 109,000 acres, good for wintering sheep. Ellison Ranching thought August or September would be the proper time

to transfer ownership, by which time the company expected to have the following sheep and valuations:

14,000 head of ewes	$ 6.35 per head
2,000 head of old ewes	3.75 per head
3,500 head of wethers	4.50 per head
12,000 head of lambs	4.25 per head
450 head of bucks	11.00 per head

Ellison Ranching's offer to sell included cooking utensils, tents, stoves, burros, pack saddles, sheep wagons, and about 500 tons of hay. Tonnage of hay could be increased "many times" by plowing up willows and sagebrush and replacing them with alfalfa.

Buyers must pay $10,000 at the time of closing the deal, 50 percent of purchase price at the time of the property takeover, less the $10,000, 25 percent one year from closing date, and the remaining 25 percent at the end of two years. The proposition, however, required approval of the board of directors, who would be contacted once the buyer showed serious interest.

While the Nelson Ranch sale was being negotiated, E. P. considered another deal early in 1916. Railroad promoters inquired about buying the Buffalo and Home Ranches in the Quinn River area for a possible railroad line running between Winnemucca, Nevada and Boise, Idaho. "I think it would be well for us to name them a cash price on one or both of those Ranches," E. P. told Jesse Knight.[4] Jesse answered with advice but bowed to E. P.'s judgment on the matter. "We are willing to sell these ranches and leave the price very largely for you to make," he told E. P., "but our thought in the matter is about $45 per acre for the Buffalo Ranch and $35 per acre for the Home Ranch. You will know best whether or not these prices meet your views in the matter." Jesse added that "we should certainly like to see the railroad go through that country, as it would mean much to our interest." That deal failed to materialize, however, so Ellison Ranching continued to operate the Quinn River ranches, including Buffalo and Home ranches.[5]

In E. P.'s annual report in June 1916, before the Nelson Ranch deal was put together, he noted that debts had been reduced by $41,227; cattle increased 713 to 5,486; sheep increased 8,246 to 36,509; and that ranch acreage totalled 66,714.68 acres. The company had built a barn on the

Nelson Ranch, measuring 36 feet by 125 feet. The board accepted his report and approved a 6 percent dividend on capital stock, paid quarterly beginning October 1st. J. William Knight replaced Knight man R. E. Allen on the board. Stockholders present represented 3,547 of some 5,000 shares of company stock, of whom the five biggest shareholders represented at the meeting were

Knight Investment Company	1,628
E. P. Ellison	656
J. William Knight	513
Edward I. Rich	330
John Flint	100

Finally, during November 1916, Ellison Ranching and the Thomas Nelson Company sold all the Nelson Ranch lands on Willow Creek in Humboldt County and all their sheep except those at Kings River. They sold the Thomas Nelson Ranch of 15,339.51 acres at $7.00 per acre to J. Sheehan of Winnemucca. Included in the sale were more than 14,000 ewes, 6,000 lambs, and rams, horses, and milk cows. Sheehan agreed to pay $310,429.49—nearly one-third of a million dollars.[6]

In another transaction, both Ellison and Nelson ranching companies sold some of their 5,000 acres of ranch land near Battle Mountain, along the Humboldt River in Elko County, to the Golconda Cattle Company in accord with an agreement dated October 1, 1916.[7]

Directors paid shareholders a big 20 percent dividend on November 10th, produced by profits from the Nelson Ranch sale.

Purchase of Golconda Cattle Company

In the November 1916 national elections, voters reelected Woodrow Wilson President of the United States, and Utah voters chose Democrat Simon Bamberger, an associate of E. P., to be their governor, replacing Republican William Spry. After the election, E. P. asked a favor of Jesse Knight. J. M. Snow, Ellison Ranching Company's engineer, was seeking appointment by the new governor to become Utah's state engineer. Knight and Ellison people could use their influence on Mr. Snow's behalf, E. P. admonished Jesse, and "we should be anxious to do so." E. P. had written to the governor and would soon pay a personal visit. "Your

New stock was issued to fund the expansion of Ellison Ranching Company.

support would more than likely make it possible for the appointment to come to Mr. Snow," E. P. added.[8] No result is noted in the Ellison companies' records.

Early in 1917 the ranch's board reviewed a December 30, 1916 letter from an H. Petrie in which he offered to sell the entire property of the Golconda Cattle Company east-northeast of Winnemucca and about midway between there and Tuscarora in northern Elko County. He included a price list for the lands, livestock, and improvements. On January 30, 1917, the board authorized E. P. to make the purchase if suitable terms could be arranged.[9]

Eleven days later he negotiated an acceptable deal, dated February 10, 1917, thereby committing Ellison Ranching to finding enough capital to make the purchase. On March 3, 1917, stockholders voted to double the number of $100 par value shares from 5,000 to 10,000, thereby increasing the company's capital stock to $1,000,000. This increase was "for the purpose of obtaining funds to apply on the purchase price of property bought from the Golconda Cattle Company."[10] Stockholders,

by letter from secretary J. H. Wilcox, were offered the chance to buy additional stock at $100 per share for each share they already owned.[11] Stock not subscribed for was to be sold by the president. Officers called in the old stock, which on its face said $500,000 capitalization, and issued new certificates showing $1,000,000 capitalization for the company.[12]

Stock sales raised the needed funds, so for about a half-million dollars, Ellison Ranching Company acquired the Golconda Cattle Company, which included some 74,000 acres and nearly 27,000 head of livestock. Although Ellison Ranching took over the property in May 1917, the deal was not formally completed until July 1919.

This Golconda operation, formerly owned by the A. E. Kent family, added to the Ellison properties the Blossom, Fish Creek, Cottonwood, and Squaw Valley ranches.[13] According to a "Statement of Livestock and Improvements Acquired with the Golconda Land in May 1917," that purchase brought to Ellison Ranching 5,459 head of cattle valued at $261,161—including 141 bulls, 2,187 cows, 1,203 yearlings, 657 two-year-old steers, and 434 three-year-old steers. The deal also involved 441 horses and mules and 14 burros, valued at $27,300, as well as 21,052 sheep—17,623 ewes, 398 rams, and 3,031 yearlings—valued at $199,911.50. The total number of livestock was 26,966, worth $488,372.50. Ellison Ranching also obtained improvements valued at $21,020—shearing corrals worth $1,020 and irrigation improvements worth $20,000. Ellison Ranching's livestock inventory after the purchase was 45,919, of which about half were sheep and half cattle.[14]

Purchase of the Golconda operations came but two months before the United States entered World War I on April 6, 1917. In Europe, the war had started in 1914, but the United States had stayed out of it for almost three years, seeking to stay neutral.

On June 26, 1917, company directors accepted E. P.'s report, which included, for the first time, details about operations of the newly purchased ranches. At a September meeting, called to declare a dividend, E. P.

> reported the ranches to be in normal condition and the sheep looking extra well. On the New Ranch cattle are good. Reported having an abundance of hay to take care of the stock; though much has been drowned out. While there is no scab among the sheep, they are dipping them. Are selling merino wether lambs at $7.50 per head. Sold about 1,000 head of steers at 8c and have about two hundred head of old fat cows to sell and thought we would realize 6.5c weighed up at the Ranch.[15]

From E. P.'s report, directors learned that taking water out in the canals from the Quinn River and irrigating the upper lands would help both the low lands and the upper lands. Squaw Valley Ranch had a poor hay crop, the men heard, and contained between 17,000 and 18,000 ewes. The board granted a dividend of 2% to be paid on October 1, 1917.

Near Thanksgiving 1917, E. P. sent Jesse Knight specific details of the Golconda Cattle Company deal. When the deal was closed, E. P. said, Ellison Ranching would sign the notes but he and Jesse both must sign the five notes personally, which were enclosed for Jesse's signature and company seal. Land costs for Golconda, Fish Creek, and Cottonwood ranches—more than 74,000 acres—amounted to $509,985.30. They were paying $261,161 for cattle, $199,911.50 for sheep, and $27,300 for horses. Total purchase price was $998,357.80, of which Ellison Ranching paid $669,124.32, with a balance due of $329,985.30, payable in five annual installments.[16]

During World War I

Ellison Ranching was cattle and sheep rich when World War I increased market demands for meat, leather, and wool. Ranch profits during the war years are impressive. In 1916, Ellison Ranching's cattle sales generated $96,601, but during the two war years, 1917–18, and 1918–19 the company's sales jumped above $200,000 (see Table Two). One factor behind increased sales, however, was weather. E. P. told the company's directors at their July 8, 1917, meeting:

> Nevada is suffering very much from drouth; is of the opinion that he will be able to put up about 2,000 tons of hay; thinks that on account of the scarcity of feed that all cattle that can be got fat should be sold. The sheep are doing very well.

Illustrative of the ranch's shipping operations is E. P.'s daybook entry for October 2, 1917, which mentions that he and ranch personnel on that one day loaded 25 train cars with 667 head of beef steers and cows, val-

ued at $51,059. A year later, during a September visit to the ranches, E. P. and ranch personnel weighed and separated sheep, loaded lambs onto Western Pacific cars, loaded 94 cows into 23 cars, and 552 steers into 58 other cars. E. P. spent almost the entire month of May 1918 shearing sheep on the ranches.

Records do not identify who the main buyers of Ellison Ranching Company's livestock were. The 1917–18 ledger entries show that Ellison Ranching sold unspecified quantities of lambs, steers, and old cows to the Western Meat Company in San Francisco, cattle to the Ogden Packing Company, and steers, bulls, and cows to the H. Moffat Company in Nevada. On a small scale, it shipped 61 cattle to the Pleasant Grove Meat Market, and the meat market in nearby Midas, Nevada, also made purchases. Apparently, Ellison Ranching Company animals provided meat for the Farmers Union and other stores in north Davis County.[17] His daybook shows, for example, that on October 10, 1918, the company sold 219 cows to the Flint Brothers, which E. P. allowed to be unloaded and put on Layton property belonging to sons James and Morris.

During the War, wool prices shot up dramatically, from 21 cents per pound in 1916 to 27 cents and then 45 cents per pound. As a result, Ellison Ranching's profits from wool sales more than doubled: up from $22,054 in 1916 to $38,760 in 1917, $64,389 in 1918, and $55,952 in 1919. The ranch's peak year of wool production (but not sales income) was 1917 when it sold 157,000 pounds. A year later the company sold 124,334 pounds. Among wool buyers identified in ranch records are the Eisenmann Brothers, B. Harris, and Bissinger & Company.

At a special meeting of the board held on December 26, 1917, E. P. reported on two bothersome matters. First, he reported that "feed has been too dry for the sheep to do well," but was pleased to report that "cattle are doing very well." Of more concern than the livestock, though, was taxation. E. P. reported that the county's assessment on the livestock was fair but the tax rate on ranch lands was "very high." Responding, the board authorized him to secure the services of the law firm of Cheney, Jensen, and Holman to handle the tax interests of the company. Other landowners protested the tax rates too, and within a year their labors had

paid off. On October 8, 1918, directors met and reviewed a letter from J. Sheehan, secretary of the Humboldt County Taxpayers Association, giving notice of a reduction of $1,687.03 in taxes paid by Ellison Ranching for 1914. E. P. said he did not know if other parties to the suit would want to bring action for collection of the amounts due for the years 1915, 1916, and 1917. Directors agreed that if other parties would go on with the suit, so would Ellison Ranching.[18] Ranch records do not show that the company received any tax refunds.

World War I drained manpower from the local work forces, and Ellison Ranching was hurt by losing employees into the military. So E. P. petitioned the district draft board office in Reno not to draft more ranch employees. Ellison Ranching, he said, ran about 1,000 horses, 12,000 head of cattle, and 20,000 sheep in Nevada. "In the former draft we lost a goodly number of our men both by volunteer enlisting and draft. We now have about eight herders and camp movers, four Ranch Foremen, and two assistant Managers, who are subject to draft." He said that after visiting the ranches, he was "really at a loss to know what move to make to have our stock taken care of. Of course, we can substitute herders and camp movers but we cannot very well substitute Foremen and especially our Assistant Managers." Ellison Ranching, he added, desired to do what it could to increase production—its assigned patriotic duty as part of the war mobilization effort—"but unless we can be allowed to keep our more important men, we will not be able to maintain our present rate of production." He asked for help to "keep up our usual production of beef, mutton and wool." Whether or not his request was honored is not known.[19]

Directors, meeting in Layton on July 8, 1918, approved the 1917 "loss and gain account" of $57,801.21 to the reserve fund. They declared an 8% dividend, 2% to be paid July 15th. They voted that the balance of the loss and gain account of 1918 of $24,700 be set aside for taxes. When stockholders met, they approved the board's actions and reelected the board members.

Fire struck one of the ranches, not identified in the company records, on July 12, 1919. Three days later the board met and authorized E. P. to be their lawful agent with full power to act pertaining to adjustments and settlements of claims for indemnity for loss by fire, with insurance

companies involved. At the same meeting, the board accepted E. P.'s ninth annual report, the financial report for the year, and the auditing committee's report. It ordered that a 2 percent dividend of $20,000 be paid at once out of $40,000 set apart for dividends on October 8, 1919.

In July 1920, the board agreed to raise Morris's and Parl's wages by fifty dollars per month, effective the previous January. They issued a resolution of respect, written by Morris, for deceased board member John H. Layton. Robert E. Allen replaced Layton on the board. A new position was created, assistant secretary, to which the board appointed James Ellison. At the meeting, E. P. reported that Home Ranch and Quinn River had "no hay at all" but the other ranches had fair crops.[20]

Directors met in special session on February 21, 1921 to deal with several pressing business matters.[21] First, they approved an agreement E. P. had entered into contractually with A. E. Kent and Company for purchase of about 1,765 acres on the Humboldt River and northeast of the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks, for $39,712.50, with a balance owing of $30,000 payable in six annual payments of $5,000, with interest at 6% per annum. E. P. consummated the transaction. Ellison Ranching's official history notes that the company acquired additional lands in both 1919 and 1921, thereby increasing acreages of the Fish Creek and Squaw Valley Ranches.[22]

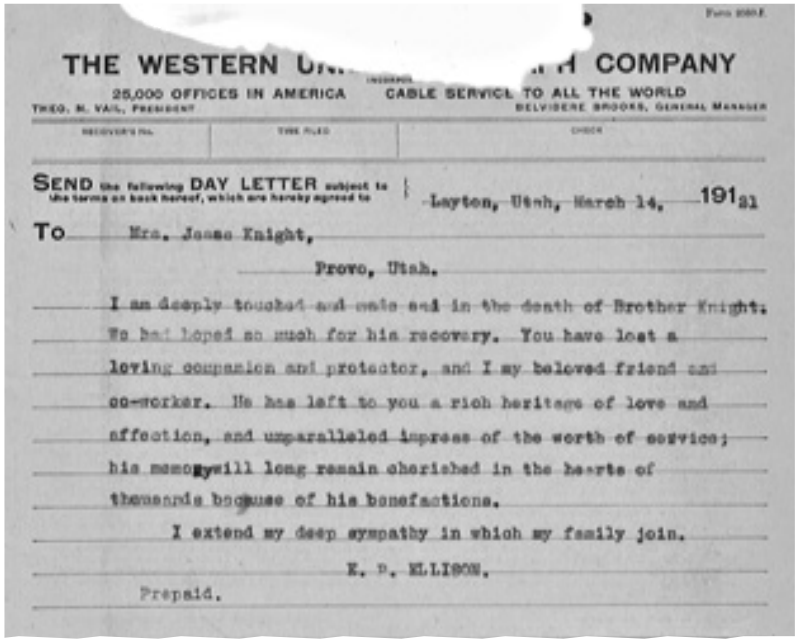
At that same board meeting, E. P. discussed an adjudication of water rights of the Humboldt River that was in progress. He urged Ellison Ranching to join other litigants and pay its proportional expense of the suit. The board approved his request. Regarding another water matter, E. P. said, "We have till the first of 1923 to raise our reservoir dam at Willow Creek." Directors ordered that the work be done in the summer and fall of 1922.

Death of Jesse Knight

Jesse Knight died of a stroke on March 14, 1921. His death closed an important era for E. P., the Ellison family, Utah, and the LDS Church. Death dissolved a fine working relationship between E. P. and Jesse that spanned two decades and involved them in several successful

business ventures. As was his way, E. P. left no written record of emotions he felt at the passing of this business giant and long-time friend. By corporate custom, Ellison Ranching entered in its minutes a formal tribute to Jesse, signed by E. P., which no doubt was sent to Mrs. Knight in some form:[23]

> A wise and merciful Providence has called from us our beloved President, Jesse Knight.
>
> In his departure from this earth life we have suffered an irreparable loss for he truly was a great man and as the days and months pass we are brought to realize more fully his life influence and true worth.
>
> We loved him for his gentleness and his wonderful simplicity, for his sympathy and kindly tolerance, for his infinite charity manifest among his fellows and for his rare judgement always born from a calmness and serenity seldom seen in men.
>
> He like many other great men trod the low walks of life. His beginning was humble yet honorable—but blest with soul quality and with a desire to achieve and with a vision of life's purposes he accomplished the soul enlargement for he kept close to his Creator and was added upon until he became himself, a master, wielding state and nation wide influence. In his hands he held the cord of gigantic responsibility entrusted to him by God in whom he trusted implicitly and became a luminous center around which innumerable destinies revolved.
>
> His vision was realized for he made the desert to blossom with grain and fruits and flowers, he saw, as a vision, into the earth and it yielded a wealth which was transformed in turn into benefaction of his fellow men and thousands were made happy by his most wondrous accomplishments.
>
> In his death we have lost a great friend and adviser, his wife a devoted husband and his children a fond and indulgent father. To them he has left a rich heritage of love and affection, an example of sacrifice and faith and power and service.
>
> We mourn his loss and sympathize with the family and invoke the Divine blessings upon them that their sorrow shall be alleviated and that they might acknowledge the hand of a loving Father in the hour of their bereavement.
>
> E. P. Ellison, Vice-president
>
> J. H. Wilcox, Secretary



THE WESTERN U... COMPANY

25,000 OFFICES IN AMERICA CABLE SERVICE TO ALL THE WORLD

THEO. N. VAIL, PRESIDENT DELIVERED BROOKS, GENERAL MANAGER

SEND the following DAY LETTER subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Layton, Utah, March 14, 1921

To Mrs. Jesse Knight,

Provo, Utah.

I am deeply touched and sad in the death of Brother Knight. We had loped so much for his recovery. You have lost a loving companion and protector, and I my beloved friend and co-worker. He has left to you a rich heritage of love and affection, and unparalleled impress of the worth of service; his memory will long remain cherished in the hearts of thousands because of his benefactions.

I extend my deep sympathy in which my family join.

E. P. ELLISON.

Prepaid.

Telegram sent by E. P. Ellison to the widow of Jesse Knight, 1921.

President Ellison

The board gathered for its 1921 annual meeting, feeling the absence of President Jesse Knight. Reorganizing, they chose E. P. to replace Jesse Knight as the president, and selected J. Will Knight to be the vice-president in place of E. P. Laurence continued as treasurer, Morris as assistant-secretary, and James H. Wilcox as secretary. Directors authorized President Ellison to arrange for a bond issue for a maximum of $400,000 on the Quinn River and the Kings River ranches. Moneys raised would pay off current obligations of the company and buy more livestock. E. P. informed the board that the company's financial records for the 1915 to 1921 period had been audited by Alexander Kiene & Company.[24]

One of the first major decisions Ellison Ranching made after E. P. became president was to raise $500,000, up $100,000 from the amount previously approved, to complete real estate contracts, perfect its property titles, provide working capital for operating its properties, and to conduct ranch business.[25] In October 1921, stockholders approved the

issuing of first mortgage bonds and deeds of trust secured by real estate—the company's ranches near Winnemucca. They authorized the board to

> . . . make, execute and deliver to the Union Trust Company of San Francisco, a deed of trust and mortgage covering all or such part of the real estate of this corporation, located within the State of Nevada, together with water, water rights, ditches, canals, reservoirs and appurtenances, which they may deem advisable to include, to secure payment of bonds of this corporation of the par value of $500,000.[26]

So in late 1921 and early 1922, the Union Trust Company of San Francisco, guaranteed by Ellison Ranching Company property, issued bonds that provided the company with $500,000.

The year 1922 posed financial, water, and disease problems for Ellison Ranching. Early in the year the Federal Reserve bank required the National Copper Bank, which held a $37,000 Ellison Ranching note, to identify ranch collateral backing the note, which was easily done.[27] During the peak of summer, E. P. gained consent from Mr. Scrugham, the state engineer for Nevada, to have another year's time to complete a reservoir dam in Squaw Valley (which became the Willow Creek Reservoir).[28] Late in 1922, disease struck the company's sheep. On December 22, E. P. told board members that "for the first time in eleven years there is some scab in two bands of our sheep through infection from herds belonging to other people. Six herds were exposed." E. P. was "trying to keep them separate from the other sheep." He was authorized to sell lambs and wool as he thought best for the company's interest.[29]

After 1922, E. P. spent much energy working with loans—paying back existing ones and taking out new ones. On May 16, 1923, for instance, he wrote to R. E. Allen that within four days the company owed $19,200 to "the Trust people" on bonds, and another $11,000 for taxes. E. P. acknowledged that it needed to "dispose of our wool which it hardly looks probable by the time we will have these amounts to raise." Can Knight Investment Company help, he asked? "If you are in shape to assist us in this matter please let us know by return mail." E. P. inquired about $10,000 of Ellison money that was on loan to the Knights. Allen answered that the $10,000 could not be paid but that, on a short-term basis, E. P. could have two $5,000 loans from the Knights.[30]

On June 12, 1923, Mr. Allen requested of Ellison Ranching a statement of income for the past ten years, both annual and total, including interest received and sent out. This request caused Morris to sort out records in order to tighten up Ellison Ranching's accounting systems:

> I found I had a multiplicity of reports; our old balances on our ledgers were amended and inventories set up to the market value on the livestock by Parker & Holman then the Auditors Kiene & Company made a series of balances and profits and loss statements and I have had some considerable trouble in making a reconciliation of the various three different sets of figures, however, I have it now with about four days of work and while it has been a little trouble to me I am very glad that you have called for it for our own benefit.

Morris added that the company, since its inception, had paid $280,000 in cash dividends and $125,000 in stock dividends.

In 1923, the *Weekly Reflex* published a long biographical sketch about E. P. Part of the profile was a summary of Ellison Ranching's history from 1910 to 1923, which the reporter probably obtained by talking to Morris and perhaps E. P.:

> In 1910 Mr. Ellison purchased, on his own account, the Quinn River and Buffalo ranches in Nevada, containing approximately 26,000 acres and a considerable bunch of sheep and cattle. Later in the year he organized the Ellison Ranching company, with a capital of $500,000, and acquired for the company King River ranch and adjoining lands, some 20,000 acres. Later the company increased its capital stock to $1,000,000 and purchased the famous Golconda ranch consisting of 81,000 acres, a reservoir of 8,000 acre feet capacity (now being increased to 22,000 acre feet) and primary water rights. The most recent purchase of the company was the well improved Snap ranch of 2,000 acres. All these ranches have ample water rights and valuable improvements and are well equipped with machinery. The company runs from 25,000 to 40,000 head of sheep, 13,000 head of cattle and a large number of horses. His son, J. P. Ellison, who with his family resides in the Quinn River valley, at Rebel Creek, Nevada, is manager of that group of ranches in the valleys of Quinn and King rivers.[31]

Business Statistics

Ellison Ranching's annual reports between 1910 and 1929 regarding livestock pinpoint 1917 and 1924 as the company's biggest years (see below). In 1924 the company had its highest valuation of livestock, $847,877, and the most cattle, 11,927. In 1917 and 1924 the company ran its largest numbers of livestock, 45,919 and 45,629 respectively, as well as its peak numbers of sheep, 33,208 and 32,722. Its top year for horses was 1926, with 1,011, a couple of hundred higher than the company's average for the period. The horse market in the United States was huge during World War I, but afterwards collapsed as automobiles replaced horse-drawn vehicles.[32]

Table One: Annual Livestock Inventory
Ellison Ranching Company, 1916–1929

Year	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Hogs	Total	Value
1916	492	5,486	28,263		34,309	
1917	971	11,680	33,208		45,919	
1918	961	11,550	30,340		42,896	
1919	966	10,383	32,100		43,565	
1920	787	10,074	27,849	47	38,757	$765,402
1921	782	8,992	28,459	40	38,163	698,606
1922	783	9,557	24,579	72	34,991	715,786
1923	854	11,052	8,338	75	40,319	814,460
1924	875	11,927	32,722	105	45,629	847,877
1925	884	10,911	28,348	79	40,222	756,903
1926	1,011	10,689	30,784	64	42,547	790,143
1927	956	11,225	26,335	92	38,608	772,808
1928	884	11,821	31,608	87	44,400	824,131
1929	592	11,840	29,053	92	41,577	805,933

By mid–1924, drought and dropping prices hurt the business. On August 18, 1924, E. P. told directors that he had reduced the valuation of Ellison cattle. Auditors called for the devaluation, he said. Also, without the reductions, bondholders might think that "in view of the unsettled state of the cattle market, inventory values had been rather inflated." Directors accepted his figures.[33]

Figures in Table Two show that Ellison Ranching's sales income, net annual profits, and debt load fluctuated year by year but that its net worth stayed fairly constant through the 1920s. Net profits fell whenever the company had unusual expenses for land or livestock purchases, ranch improvements, and losses of livestock. During the war the com-

pany paid out $22,000 extra in labor costs in 1917–1918, and its hay and feed bill in 1918–1919 jumped by more than $40,000.[34]

Table Two: Sales, Profitability, and Net Worth
Ellison Ranching Company, 1921–1929

Year	Debts/Notes Payable	Livestock Sales	Net Profit	Net Worth
1916		96,601	121,055	
1917		234,793	89,898	
1918		201,875	89,110	
1919		187,660	–546	
1920		202,679		
1921	129,000	161,319	–44,871	1,082,714
1922	64,000	84,906	–72,687	1,342,193
1923	97,000	73,450	44,998	1,384,201
1924	154,000	121,656	89,247	1,422,038
1925	142,997	189,419	494	1,304,705
1926	247,497	136,787	110,499	1,358,746
1927	222,497	189,605	1,451	1,360,017
1928	197,997	157,487	123,756	1,486,467
1929	188,000	264,126	24,126	1,423,808

Knight Investment Corporation, part owner of Ellison Ranching, faced financial constraints by mid-decade. When someone found good ore samples within forty miles of Rebel Creek, Morris Ellison mentioned this to the Knights, whose interest in mining was legendary. But the Knights replied that "we are not in a position to undertake any new projects which will require money."[35]

On September 18, 1924, E. P. learned of a fire that burned two houses at the Home Ranch. Five days later he looked over the damage caused by the "SPRR Fire"—SPRR meaning Southern Pacific Railroad. On November 16, directors met in a special session and voted full authority to E. P. to adjust and settle claims for losses caused by the fire. The board also approved the survey of Willow Creek Dam and reservoir which R. E. Tilden had made the month before. They approved the building of the Willow Creek Dam between November 12, 1923 and October 20, 1924.[36]

In 1924 E. P. became a member of the board of directors of the Knight Woolen Mill in Provo. Apparently, this woolen mill continued to obtain some of its raw wool from Ellison Ranching's sheep.[37]

Purchase of Spanish Ranch

The year 1925 marks a major turning point in the company's history, because that year E. P. purchased for Ellison Ranching the Spanish Ranch north of Tuscarora.[38] However, that momentous year started out with a small land sale. In February and March the company sold two parcels of land of about twenty-six acres and three acres. E. P. and Laurence Ellison deeded the land, located outside of Blossom Field, to Nevada, to be used by the state for building a section of the transcontinental Lincoln Highway.[39]

Then, at the April board meeting, E. P. announced that the First National Bank of San Francisco was selling the Union Land and Cattle Company's Spanish Ranch and Allied Ranches, at a receiver's sale or auction. Up for bid were approximately 80,000 acres of ranch and mountain lands in Elko and Humboldt Counties, including all improvements, houses, barns, fences, ditches, water rights, about fifty work horses and other horses on the ranch, milk cows, ranch equipment, farm machinery, harnesses, saddles, and household furnishings. Four days earlier, E. P. explained, he and John G. Taylor of Lovelock, Nevada, had made an offer to buy the Spanish Ranch and Allied Ranch by paying the court $2.50 per acre—either $220,000 over three years or $190,000 at once. Taylor was a long-time rancher in Elko County and at one point had the second largest horse operation in northeastern Nevada.[40]

Seeing a good opportunity, the board authorized E. P. to make the purchase in connection with Mr. Taylor. If the purchase plan succeeded, the board said, E. P. should make an equitable division of properties with Mr. Taylor.[41] The U. S. District Court of Nevada, meeting in Carson City, heard the foreclosure case on May 9, 1925. Seven banks were involved, but the attorneys representing the San Francisco bank presented the offer of Taylor and Ellison and deposited $50,000. Accepting the bid, the court ordered the receiver, W. T. Smith, to sell according to E. P.'s terms.

Stockholders met on July 30 to approve the purchase. Mr. Taylor claimed the Allied Ranches as his part of the deal, while Ellison Ranching gained the Spanish Ranch.[42] At the meeting, E. P. told stockholders that Ellison Ranching had lost money during the 1924–1925 financial year because of the serious drought conditions which caused livestock losses

Branding cattle at the Spanish Ranch, ca. 1924.

and made the company spend enormous amounts for feed. Directors gave E. P. permission to borrow $50,000 from Zions Savings Bank and Trust and to execute the company's note for the same. By 1925 W. Lester Mangum and Morris Ellison, the secretary-treasurer, had replaced James H. Wilcox and Raymond Knight on the the board of directors.[43]

As owner of extensive acreage, Ellison Ranching Company considered offers made to buy parcels. On April 21, 1926, E. P. told directors of some inquiries he had received about selling the Quinn River and the Kings River properties. He asked the board to decide if they wished to sell and to name prices for the various properties. The board authorized him to enter into negotiations to sell all or part of these properties:[44]

Rebel Creek	2,079 acres@	16.00	$ 33,264
Talkington	320	4.00	1,280
Christenson	320	4.00	1,280
Buffalo	3,440	12.50	43,000
Home Ranch	20,586	9.00	185,274
Mountain Land	2,000	4.00	8,000
Bench Land includes water and improvemts	120	9.00	1,080
Kings River Ranch	13,346	10.00	133,460
Mountain Land	2,000	4.00	8,000
Permit for	3,375 sheep @	$2.00/head	6,750
Totals	44,211 acres		$421,388

For the entire 44,211 acres, the board said the price was eight dollars per acre, including the selling commission. In addition, it authorized E. P. to sell any Squaw Valley lands, together with water rights, at prices and terms acceptable to him.

E. P. told the board on May 12 that they must obtain the consent of the bond trustee before they could sell any properties covered by the deed of trust. The board therefore sent a request to the Wells Fargo Bank and Trust Company, the current trustee for the 1921 bond issue agreement of the corporation, to release from the lien of the deed of trust the lands comprised in the Home Ranch, consisting of 22,706 acres; the Buffalo Ranch, consisting of 4,000 acres (evidently including the Talkington and Christenson parcels of 640 acres total), and the Kings River Ranch, of 15,346 acres, on terms fixed by an appraiser appointed by the company and trustee.

Four weeks later, E. P. sent R. E. Allen an appraisal of the three ranches and Spanish Ranch made by Philip Johnson. Johnson evaluated the holdings in order to determine the advisability of releasing the first three from a Union Trust Company deed of trust executed on September 1, 1921, by Ellison Ranching, to secure $500,000 in bonded debts. In place of those three ranches, Ellison Ranching wanted the Spanish Ranch to serve as the security for the bonds.[45]

Johnson's appraisals of each ranch, which vary slightly from the figures just cited, provide a good picture of what they were like as of 1926. Riley Kings River Valley Ranch, located eighty miles northwest of Winnemucca, Nevada—via thirty miles of good road, fifty of rough road—contained 15,346 acres. It included approximately 1,700 acres of mountain meadow hay land, 11,100 of sage brush and rye grass pastures, and 2,546 acres of mountain range lands. The ranch also controlled more than half a million acres of free range. Meadows near the 4,500 foot level yielded from three-fourths to one ton of hay per acre. The meadows were irrigated by Kings River and springs. Irrigation costs were small, the water free, and watering required but one man's labor. About 1,500 acres in the

southeast portion of the ranch were alkaloid. Buildings on the ranch were a three-room and a six-room dwelling, barn, and the usual outbuildings. The land was in good condition and mostly fenced. Although the ranch was appraised at $128,284, the selling price was set at $136,184—about eight dollars per acre. E. P. had acquired the valley land in 1911 at $5.50 per acre, and mountain land in 1913 at three dollars per acre.

Buffalo Ranch's 4,000 acres, including the Talkington and Christenson parcels, contained both mountain and valley land. It had 150 acres of irrigated grain land, 200 acres of rye grass pasture, and 2,730 acres of sage and rye grass pasture. Meadowlands were well watered and easily yielded a ton of hay per acre. Four creeks irrigated the ranch, and its soil was all but free of alkali. Buildings were a good one-story frame dwelling, a horse barn, a granary, and the usual small outbuildings. The property, Johnson said, was in good condition. Ellison Ranching acquired the spread in 1910 for five dollars per acre. The selling price now was $51,000, or $12.50 per acre. Johnson appraised the ranch at $63,075.

Home Ranch covered 22,706 acres. Of those, 2,000 were mountain lands, and the other 20,706 were "mountain valley land" that included 4,500 acres of meadow hay land; 11,086 of sage brush-covered land; 5,000 acres of alkali sage brush pasturage; and a 120-acre Jordan Meadow pasture. The Quinn River traversed the length of the property but "owing to past four seasons having been abnormally dry, property has suffered somewhat." Nevertheless, the meadows yielded about 4,000 tons of hay per annum. The acreage contained springs, a modern dwelling, horse barn, machine shop, blacksmith shop, and sundry outbuildings. The valley lands were all fenced. Ellison Ranching acquired the property in 1910 for $5.50 per acre. Johnson said that the county's tax assessment of the ranch at $6.52 per acre was "very excessive." It was priced for sale at $194,354; Johnson appraised it at $204,358.

Johnson also examined and evaluated the Spanish Ranch. Located sixty miles northwest of Elko, it contained 19,760 acres of mountain range lands, and 24,040 of mountain valley land. The valley land was 8,000 acres of good meadow hay land, 6,500 acres of meadow pasture land, and 9,540 acres of sage brush and rye grasses. Meadowlands yielded three-fourths to one ton of hay per acre. Jack Creek, whose normal flow was far in excess of ranch needs, irrigated the ranch in the north; a river

and two creeks irrigated the south 2,000 acres. Water that year was scarce—only a third dry year, Johnson noted in his report, in twenty-five years. The ranch had no alkali problems. It contained two sets of buildings. New improvements were an eighty-by-twenty-two foot frame stable large enough for twenty-eight horses, a cement block meat house, bunk house, two-story dwelling modernly equipped, and a frame machine shop fully equipped.

> These improvements are of the best material and construction. The old buildings, consisting of frame, men's dining room and dwelling, tank house, 2 barns, machine shop, stone bunk house and store house are in fair condition. These sets of buildings are about 1 mile apart.

Johnson noted that Ellison Ranching had acquired the ranch in 1925 at a foreclosure sale for $2.50 per acre. The ranch was accessible by telephone and by a "fair" road from Elko. The meadow pasture provided for 10,000 sheep and 8,000 head of cattle, year round. Johnson appraised the Spanish Ranch at $415,390.

Armed with Johnson's appraisals of its ranches, Ellison Ranching asked the bank to use the Spanish Ranch's $415,390 value as collateral for the bond issue, replacing the Kings River, Buffalo, and Home Ranches—which together were appraised at $19,673 less than Spanish Ranch. The three ranches contained 42,132 acres, the Spanish Ranch 43,800—approximately the same size.

On July 26, 1926, the directors met, heard, and accepted E. P.'s financial report, and ratified the appraising work of Philip Johnson. They resolved that E. P. ask Wells Fargo bank to release from the lien the parcel known as Anderson Eighty and also Sage Mountain land. Anderson Eighty was an eighty-acre part of the Home Ranch; the Sage Mountain segment was 2,038 acres of the Kings River Ranch.[46]

In September 1926, Knight Investment Company sold 500 shares of Ellison Ranching stock at seventy-five dollars per share to E. P., J. Will Knight, and Amanda Knight. With the $37,000 raised by the sale, Knight Investment paid off a loan it had with National Copper Bank. Knight Investment Company then traded blocks of Ellison Ranching stock with E. P. for blocks of Knight Sugar stock that he held.[47]

1928 $400,000 Bond Issue

In 1927, ranch directors created an executive committee to oversee ranch business, consisting of E. P., J. Will Knight, Robert E. Allen, and Edward I. Rich. That fall, the company officially requested Wells Fargo to release from the lien eighty acres of the Thomas Nelson Company field so that E. P. could sell the parcel.[48] Its request granted, the board the next year, on July 11, 1928, approved the sale of 600 acres "more or less" to Reuben Kilfoyle. It also authorized E. P. to sign a license allowing the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Lighthouses, to "occupy a site in the air corridor." America's airplane age was beginning, and the bureau apparently wanted to erect a beacon light on Ellison ranchlands.

In 1928, E. P.'s grandson, David Ellison, sold some sheep he owned for $650 and used the money to buy a new Ford Coupe. On his way home he stopped at the Farmers Union. E. P. came out. "Where did you get that good-looking little machine?" he asked; "You wouldn't like to make a little trip with me, would you? I have to go to Nevada." David accepted the invitation. They were gone more than a week while E. P. visited the ranches. E. P. needed to look at irrigation projects where there were no roads, so David drove his new car through fields and ditches, knowing the car would never be the same.[49]

Grandson Harris Ellison remembered being in Nevada with E. P. one time when E. P. became quite ill. Worried, Harris called the railroad depot in Elko to see when he and E. P. could get aboard a train for home. The railroad man asked, "You're calling for your Grandfather, E. P. Ellison?" "Yes." "How soon can you be here?" "About an hour," Harris replied. "There will be a train." When they arrived in Elko they found, waiting for them, one engine and one Pullman car with a bed made up for E. P. During the trip home, Harris worried about the cost, so he finally asked how expensive this all would be. The trainman said, "Oh, this is on the railroad."[50]

About 1927 or 1928, a Mr. Burrows went to Nevada to look at the Ellison properties, sent by Edward L. Burton of the First National Bank of Salt Lake City in connection with a possible loan to Ellison Ranching. Burrows later wrote to E. P.'s granddaughter, Elizabeth Ellison Simmons, about his visit: "Your grandfather was our guide and while not a young man then, for two days he rode a horse most of the day to show us the range and the ranches. I was deeply impressed with your grandfather and said to Mr. Burton that in my opinion he certainly knew the business and that the ranches were a beautiful layout. A bond issue on the Ellison Ranching Company was approved."[51]

Ellison Ranching sold bonds to increase the company's capitalization. On July 11, 1928, E. P. told directors that Zions and other banks were willing to underwrite a new bond issue for $400,000 for a ten-year period. The company therefore called in all outstanding bonds for payment that December. The plan was to pay off the 8 percent bonds and issue 6 percent bonds.[52] On November 28, stockholders approved the new bonding. Of 8,004 shares represented, Knight Investment Company held 2,085 shares. Ellison Ranching directors authorized the issuance through Zions Savings Bank and Trust of First Mortgage Serial Gold Bonds worth $400,000, most as $1,000 bonds totalling $385,000, the rest worth $15,000 as $500 bonds. The 6% bonds would mature serially starting December 1, 1929 and each December 1st for the next nine years, to 1938.[53]

The Late 1920s

The ranch's official history contains a few miscellaneous details about the Spanish Ranch during the late 1920s. It notes that by then it was customary to trail about 3,000 lambs from Charleston to Deeth, where they were put on the railroad, weighed, and shipped.[54] Winter transportation, the history says, was by truck unless roads became snowbound, in which case men drove a sleigh pulled by four horses from near Elko to Tuscarora.[55] In terms of personnel at Spanish Ranch, Claude Barkdull was the cattle foreman and his wife, Frankie, cooked at the cookhouse.[56]

In March 1929, E. P., almost eighty years old, paid his usual spring visit to the ranches. He spent a week looking at sheep at Squaw Valley, Tuscarora, and the Spanish Ranch. Then in April he returned to Nevada, where he looked at cattle, searched for lost sheep, and found about ten dead cattle. During late May and early June, E. P. was once again in Nevada, this time working with and watching the sheep shearers. By then, the ranch was moving wool by truck to the train connection points.[57] Sun, wind, and lack of rain made 1929 a difficult summer for the ranches, as E. P. told the board that July:[58]

> The president stated we would have only about 50% hay crop this year on account of drouth, that it would be advisable to reduce the number of cattle we have if satisfactory prices can be obtained He also stated that we have not sold our wool, but have consigned it. He reported that we did not get a good lamb crop.

Between April and June, he reported, the company sold four parcels of land, totalling 960 acres, at six dollars per acre and another forty acres at $12.50 per acre.[59] Returning to Nevada that August, E. P. counted cattle and estimated the hay and pasturage results.

In October he was at Spanish Ranch separating sheep, then at Squaw Valley cutting out 124 head of cattle to go to Layton. On October 14, with cattle started for the river, E. P. broke his ankle while helping to put a gate in place. "Foot giving me lots of trouble," he pencilled in his daybook the next day. A day later he watched as his men "separated, weighed, and loaded same for California, 11 carloads, 4 carloads for Layton." Then he "left for home at 6 pm" on the Western Pacific Railroad.[60] E. P. arrived home the next morning at 7 A.M. and spent the day there. Dr. A. Z. Tanner examined his foot but was not sure if any bones were broken. For the next few days E. P. stayed at home. He hosted the stake presidency's Sunday meeting there as usual. On October 22, Laurence took him to the hospital in Ogden, where Dr. Tanner and Dr. Edward Rich checked his foot. "X-rays showed one horizontal and one upright break in the ankle joint," E. P. noted.

From today's vantage point, it seems almost symbolic that E. P. was limping a week later on October 29th—Black Thursday—when the Wall Street stock market crashed, plunging the nation into what became the financially crippling Great Depression, a time of severe testing for the Ellison family's enterprises.

NOTES

1. Beverly Probert, "The Day of the Horse in Northeastern Nevada," *The Northeastern Nevada Historical Quarterly* 5 (Summer 1974), 1.
2. E. P.'s 1924 daybook notes on June 30 that he went from the Winnemucca depot to the ranch "in P. Ellison car."
3. Ellison Ranching to T. D. Ryan, Feb. 15, 1916, in Ellison Ranching Papers, Spanish Ranch, Nevada.

4. Knight Investment Company, Minutes, March 23, 1916, cited hereafter as KIC.
5. Jesse Knight to E. P. Ellison, March 25, 1916, KIC Papers.
6. Ellison Ranching Board, Minutes, Nov. 2, 1916.
7. Ibid.
8. E. P. Ellison to Jesse Knight, Nov. 28, 1916, KIC Papers.
9. Ellison Ranching Board Minutes, Jan. 30, 1917, Spanish Ranch.
10. Ibid., March 3, 1917.
11. J. H. Wilcox to Ellison Ranching stockholders, May 5, 1917, copy in KIC Papers.
12. Laurence E. Ellison to "Dear Sir," May 1917, KIC Papers.
13. Marie Ellison Kane, *A Special Place, A Special Work: History of the Ellison Ranching Company* (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon, 1979), 21.
14. Statement filed with Ellison Ranching Minutes, May 1917.
15. Ellison Ranching, Minutes, Sept. 1917.
16. E. P. Ellison to Jesse Knight, Nov. 23, 1917, KIC Papers.
17. Ellison Ranching Ledger Entries, 1912–1924, Spanish Ranch.
18. Ellison Ranching Minutes.
19. E. P. Ellison to District Board, Jan. 15, 1918, KIC Papers.
20. Ellison Ranching Minutes, July 13, 1920.
21. Ibid.
22. Kane, *History*, 21.
23. Ellison Ranching Minutes, July 12, 1921.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., Oct. 15, 1921.
26. Ibid.
27. Morris H. Ellison to R. E. Allen, Jan. 31, 1922, KIC Papers.
28. Ellison Ranching Minutes, July 18, 1922.
29. Ibid., Dec. 22, 1922.
30. E. P. Ellison to R. E. Allen, May 16, 1923, and R. E. Allen to E. P. Ellison, May 17, 1923, KIC Papers.
31. *The Weekly Reflex*, n. d. [1923].
32. Probert, "The Day of the Horse in Northeastern Nevada," 21.
33. Ellison Ranching Minutes, Aug. 18, 1924. August totals do not match the annual report because buying and selling had taken place in the meantime, so that 11,676 cattle were involved in the devaluation, not the 10,911 on the annual report, and the reduced value of the cattle only was $48,090.
34. Ellison Ranching, Account Ledgers, Spanish Ranch.
35. Morris H. Ellison to R. E. Allen, July 9, 1924, and R. E. Allen to Morris Ellison, July 15, 1924, KIC Papers.
36. Ellison Ranching Minutes.
37. See E. P. Ellison daybook for November 20, 1924. Later in the decade E. P. attended

Knight Woolen Mill board meetings held each January. As noted in Chapter 14, the entire 1913 wool clip was sold to the Knight Woolen Mill.

38. Peter Ellison, Ellison Family Reunion Address, 1985.
39. Ellison Ranching Minutes, April 22, 1925.
40. Probert, "The Day of the Horse in Northeastern Nevada," 5.
41. Ellison Ranching Minutes, July 30, 1925.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid., April 21, 1926. Records do not show where the Talkington and Christenson lands were located.
45. E. P. Ellison to R. E. Allen, June 8, 1926, KIC Papers.
46. Ellison Ranching Minutes, Aug. 16, 1926.
47. Knight Investment Corporation, Minutes, Sept. 10, 1926, and R. E. Allen to E. P. Ellison, Nov. 15, 1926, KIC Papers.
48. Ellison Ranching Minutes, Nov. 8, 1927.
49. Oma Wilcox notes to author.
50. Ibid.
51. Typed excerpt of Mr. Burrows' letter to Tibby Simmons, undated [1978], EFA.
52. Ellison Ranching Minutes, July 11, 1928.
53. Ibid., Nov. 17, 1928.
54. Kane, *History*, 140–141.
55. Ibid., 82.
56. Ibid., 29.
57. See E. P.'s May 23, 1930, daybook entry for an example.
58. Ellison Ranching Minutes, July 16, 1929.
59. Ibid.
60. E. P. Ellison Daybook, 1929.

CHAPTER TWENTY

ECHO DAM AND RESERVOIR

During the war years and through the 1920s, President E. P. Ellison and the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company (DWCCC) board of directors shared three main concerns. The first was the ongoing need to protect their canals from breakage and earth slides. The second was to keep the new East Canyon Dam, finished in 1916, and all the company's canals mechanically operational. Third, they wanted to find and develop new sources of water.

Monitoring the New Dam

By mid–1917, perhaps because of fears of sabotage aroused by World War I, E. P. and the board wanted the dam guarded properly. On June 25 they agreed that the men then guarding the dam were not competent.

> Mr. Ellison reported that when the report reached him, he had instructed Mr. Butters, the superintendent at Morgan, to make an entire change in the men employed as guards. The possibility of getting state or Government aid was discussed after which Mr. Barnes moved that a request be made of the Governor for assistance in guarding the dam with an adequate number of State Guards. Passed.

That fall, one of their consulting engineers, A. F. Parker, gave the board a good report about the new dam. At the end of June, he said, water had begun to overflow the top of the stop plank in the spillway of the new dam. This demonstrated not only that there was sufficient water to fill the reservoir but also proved the dam's stability.[1] "Mr Parker stated the behavior of the dam under stress was eminently satisfactory, the leakage being much less than anticipated, practically negligible, and the gates working perfectly." The board paid another of the consulting engineers, Samuel Fortier, $500 for his services, not the $250 he suggested. They also considered advice that the dam be emptied in order to inspect valves and the foundation. They assessed stockholders $3.50 per stock share.

At the November 17, 1917, stockholders meeting, E. P. reviewed the work done on the dam and canals during the previous year. The assessment was increased, he said, because of costs of work done on the dam and to enlarge and improve the canals. Engineer Parker explained why it was impossible to repair the old dam and absolutely necessary to build the new one. "He pronounced the new dam one of the best structures of its kind that he knew of." Stockholders then reelected the board for another term.

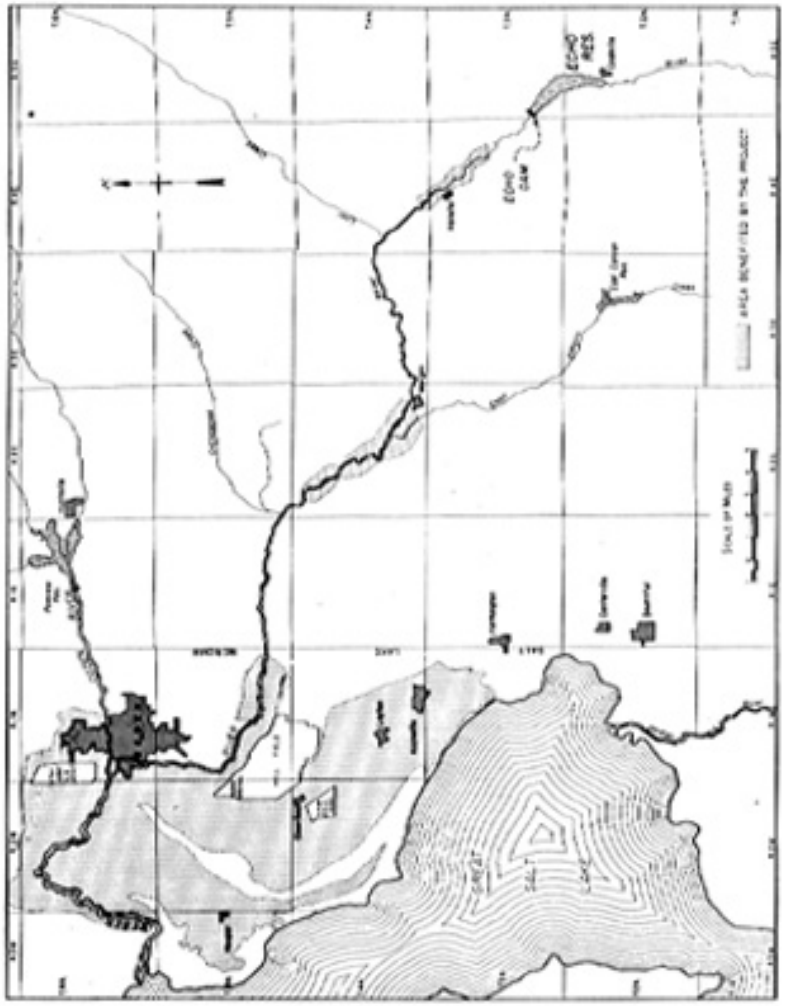
Improving Canals and Ditches

Meeting on January 4, 1918, the DWCCC board dealt with several matters of pressing business. It accepted J. C. Nye's resignation as secretary-treasurer and elected Robert C. Nye in his place. By now the company had moved its Ogden offices from 2482 Washington Blvd. to office 602 in the Eccles Building.

Reflecting anti-German feelings engendered by the war, the company's bonding bank, German American Trust Company, changed its name to American Bank and Trust Company. In case of wartime sabotage attempts, the board considered an insurance bid from Heber J. Grant and Company for explosion insurance for the new dam. To make better protection possible, it voted to provide suitable quarters at the dam for one or more watchmen and discussed ways to light the dam. Also, the board appointed D. D. Harris as superintendent for 1918, agreeing to pay him $150 per month during the canal season for full-time work and then an hourly amount for work done during the off-season.

On February 25, 1918, the main canal broke, then in March it broke again about eighty feet west of the first break and above the power plant. In late spring the company paid claims for damages caused by the canal breaks, and arranged for a Delco Lighting System to be installed at the dam for $764.35. In May, A. J. Hall replaced W. J. Parker as a company director.[2]

That fall, 1918, the board pushed ahead with plans to enlarge and improve lateral canals and to line part of the South Branch Canal. To fund the improvements, they approved the issuance of secondary stock, 500 shares at seventy-five dollars each. After reviewing and rejecting bids



Map showing the location of the DWCCC dams and areas served by the canal system

for the concrete work, the board decided to organize their own work force to do the job.[3]

Early in 1919, E. P. removed himself from the executive board, which then became Barnes, W.W. Stead, and H.L. Herrington. E. P. reemployed Harris as superintendent, at a salary of six dollars a day.[4]

Canal breakage became less of a problem as more and more segments of the canals received concrete linings. However, banks along the canals suffered from erosion and earth slippage caused by wet ground. On February 12, 1919, a break in the canal a half-mile east of Riverdale tore out forty feet of concrete and did minor damage to farmlands. To prevent other, similar problems, the company prepared the banks of the South Branch canal for concrete, from the terminus of the main canal down to Sunset. Wheelwright Construction was awarded the contract, at $31.80 per lineal foot.[5] In May the board refused to settle farmers' claims against them for damages caused by the February canal break. E. P., Barnes, and Harris had inspected damages the day after the break and now felt the farmers' claims were all "excessive."[6]

Early in 1920, director A.J. Hall died. He was replaced by D. D. Harris, who had been the canal's superintendent for two years and who continued as such. The board approved Harris's recommendation that 1,600 more feet of the South Branch Canal be concreted.[7]

Keeping canals and the dam operational required constant maintenance and upgrading. When the state road commission started paving the road in Weber Canyon, it required the canal company to build two new concrete bridges across the South Branch Canal, sturdy enough for eighteen-ton trucks to cross. E. P. challenged them, saying the canal company should not be compelled to erect the bridges. The board did eventually agree to split the costs of the bridges with the state.[8]

During dry seasons in 1919 and 1920, old customers as well as potential new customers petitioned the company to find more water for its canals. Such pressures helped give birth to the idea of building a second dam, on the upper Provo River if possible. At a special board meeting on July 25, 1919, Mr. Barnes, who attended a meeting of parties interested in the venture, said he felt such a project "was quite feasible." That summer was dry. On August 15, four Davis County commissioners appeared before the DWCCC board and asked whether the company could extend

a canal to south Davis County or whether the south end should try to pump water from the nearby Jordan River. E. P. saw no way to help the south county people at that time:

> President Ellison stated that he was interested in the matter of securing more water for Davis County, he gave a brief history of the Canal Company, stating that ours was not an Irrigation District, but simply an Irrigation Company. He stated that during the last two years we had been short of water and that at present we had no water to spare; also, that before we could do anything in the matter the Directors would have to submit the matter to the Shareholders for their decision.

A month later, James A. Anderson of Morgan suggested that the DWCCC join forces with Morgan County to build a dam on Lost Creek, a plan Morgan County officials were considering. That fall, stockholders authorized the directors to pursue the Lost Creek Dam idea and file for new water rights. When DWCCC was invited to become part of an irrigation district in Davis County early in 1920, directors deferred, although they felt supportive of the venture.[9] Late in 1920, E. P. called the attention of stockholders to their obligation to show the State Water Commission that they needed their appropriated amounts of water and that such should not be reduced:[10]

> Mr. Ellison reported the necessity of enlarging our canal laterals to take care of the flood waters on which our company had made filing, stating that it was very necessary that the laterals be able to take care of the increased amount of water soon, in order that the Company might make the necessary final proof of appropriation.
>
> He also called attention to the necessity of getting water cards early and advised that new rules and regulations would be mailed to the stockholders before the next irrigation season, concerning the obtaining of water cards and transfer of water, etc. Mr. Ellison stated further that the canal was in fairly good condition and it was the present contemplation of the Company to make some further improvements in the way of concrete lining during the fall or spring.

The board met with water masters of the company's different ditches and arranged for the enlargement of the lateral canals in order to show they were using their full water allotment.[11]

On January 4, 1921, E. P. discussed with the board the irrigation

Inspecting the DWCCC canal system, l. to r. E. P. Ellison, L. E. Ellison, John W. Thornley.

district being formed in Davis County. He thought it advisable for DWCCC to take some action because "he felt sure that there would be damage to our Canal if land immediately above the Main Canal was put under irrigation." What action they next took, if any, is not recorded.

In mid–1921, a good water year, some Morgan County farmers sued DWCCC for damages, apparently to roads at the south end of the East Canyon Reservoir, caused, they asserted, by improper handling of the water gates at the dam.[12]

In November 1921, superintendent Harris reported to President Ellison and the board that the lateral canals still needed enlarging before the company could submit final proof of appropriation of flood waters.[13]

Being frugal, the board disliked the fee they were forced to pay for a state water commissioner. DWCCC's assessment for his salary was $825 in 1922, so they petitioned to have his term reduced. Because of their pressure and others' complaints, by late 1923 the water commissioner's pay period was reduced to five or six months per year instead of twelve months.[14]

Earth Slides

On May 26, 1922, the board visited and inspected the Main Canal,

> where trouble by slides had been experienced during the past spring, examining carefully the condition of the canal lining and also the hill back of the canal, which has been moving toward the canal, causing considerable trouble. Considerable discussion was entered into by the Directors relative to the most satisfactory way to drain the hill of water, which was causing the trouble. No definite action, however, was taken.[15]

Board members met again on the Main Canal at station 232 where the hillside was slipping into the canal. They approved plans for draining the hill and called for bids to move about 30,000 cubic yards of earth from the south side of the canal to the north side. They signed an urgent earth-moving contract with the C. F. Dinsmore Company, which agreed to run three shifts each twenty-four-hour period.[16]

Later in 1922 the board learned from James Anderson of Morgan that the state engineer had closed the filings on Lost Creek for the benefit of the irrigation districts. It appeared that the districts would not use the water, so Anderson wanted to resurrect the idea of building a dam. The board voted to consider Anderson's idea.[17]

Water year 1922 was an unusually wet year for the company. Users received 9.27 acre feet per share, up from 7.37 the year before, which itself had been a larger-than-normal quantity. Many showers in the mountains produced a large flow of "flood" waters, so the company saved its stored water while delivering a good stream to irrigators. On November 18, water in the dam stood at the seventy-five foot level, insuring a full reservoir for the coming year.[18]

In mid-April 1923 the board felt the Dinsmore firm was not doing a satisfactory job of earth-moving from one side of the canal to the other, to prevent slides. Dinsmore's estimate of dirt moved to date seemed too high. They had made a dam across the canal to transport dirt from one side to the other and had agreed that when the dam came out so water could run in the canal again, the contract was finished. However, Dinsmore, with the dam removed but dirt still to be hauled, wanted to barge the dirt across the canal. That fall, the board reported that costs to move the earth had passed $88,930 and that 29,441 cubic yards of earth had been moved. To

help pay for this costly project, the board voted to sell the lighting plant at the reservoir and to assess stockholders five dollars per share.[19]

On the evening of August 13, 1923, heavy storms hit the west slopes of the Wasatch Mountains from Brigham City to Salt Lake City. Floods brought death and destruction to Willard and Farmington, but apparently the DWCCC system was not damaged.[20]

The year 1923 was another good water year. Superintendent Harris reported in November that the dam's gates worked freely and the bulkhead in the dam opening was in good condition. Therefore, the board decided once again not to drain the dam during that winter. However, in November, the company struggled against earth slides in South Weber. Harris advocated that the company try shoveling the earth at the slide point to stop it from sliding.[21]

Pursuing Park City Water

On November 2, 1923, the board rejected an opportunity to buy water from the Silver King Consolidated Mining Company's Spiro Tunnel in Park City because the first price tag was too high. The deal involved eight second feet of water, which the mining company was running in the tunnel. Because the source of East Canyon creek was very near this tunnel, directors felt the water could be diverted into the creek quite easily. However, because the mining company could not guarantee an unobstructed tunnel, DWCCC backed out. A mine representative heard the board's rejection, then made a new offer. They guaranteed to keep the tunnel open as long as they operated it, and added a few other inducements, so the board accepted their selling price, except for board member P. A. Dix. The board asked attorney A. E. Pratt to prepare a contract for purchase of the mine's water. Early in 1924, E. P. negotiated with the mining people and with three irrigation companies in the Kaysville district that wanted the DWCCC South Branch extended for their benefit. However, new mine owners, who did not know their water rights had been sold, cancelled the Spiro Tunnel water deal. So the board agreed to receive back the $15,000 they had paid for the water rights.[22]

This setback, however, did not stop DWCCC from seeking new sources of water for the company and for Weber and Davis counties.

New Reservoir Site

With E. P. Ellison as President, DWCCC became the prime backer of a federal government plan to build a new dam on the upper Weber River for local water companies to purchase. By the mid-twenties, E. P.'s company saw the need for additional storage capacity to take care of new farmlands being cleared and opened up. Also, other water users and irrigation companies on the Weber water system wanted more water. No company, however, could as yet see a profitable way to build a new dam.[23]

As early as 1903, reclamation engineers had studied the Weber Basin and recommended reservoir developments. Then, about 1921–1922, Federal Reclamation Bureau engineers William Green and E. O. Larson conducted studies for that purpose. Early in 1922 the Reclamation Service and the Utah State Water Storage Commission investigated feasible locations for storage reservoirs, and two years later selected the site where Echo Dam is now, by Coalville, Utah. On the basis of these findings, Congress provided funds late in 1924 for constructing a dam there. With money approved, two years of studies and legal planning followed.[24] Although the federal government had selected a site, it would not start contracting out the water until water users organized to subscribe for the water and to repay the construction costs. "A great deal of effort was expended to unite these water users so as to obtain contracts from the Bureau of Reclamation." Among prime movers who pulled the various canal companies, irrigation, culinary, stock water, and industrial users from several counties together were W. M. R. Wallace of the Bureau of Reclamation, W. W. Armstrong of the Old Copper Bank, LDS Apostle Richard R. Lyman, banker A. P. Bigelow of Ogden, Kaysville banker John R. Barnes, Ogden's mayor P. F. Kirkendall, and of course E. P. Ellison.[25]

Weber River Water Users' Association

Meanwhile, E. P. announced to the DWCCC board on July 15, 1924, that the Bureau of Reclamation proposed to assist with a reservoir dam project in Utah, and he saw a good possibility of DWCCC becoming involved.[26] The board voted to subscribe for 20,000 acre feet of the new dam's water, under the government's terms, and stockholders approved the plan. E. P. then met with various irrigation companies tied to the

Weber River system and asked them to submit to DWCCC their estimates of storage water they could use from this project.[27]

A dry summer in 1924 reduced the amount of water DWCCC delivered to its water users, down from the 9.27 in 1922 to 4.89 acre feet. Needing more water than their present dam stored and delivered, the board in October looked seriously at raising East Canyon dam again. They reviewed a 1913 letter from Samuel Fortier, who had been one of their consulting engineers, wherein he said that increasing the size of the dam was feasible.[28]

However, late in the summer of 1925, the proposed Echo Dam seemed like the best project for DWCCC to pursue. The government waited for various canal companies to amend their articles of incorporation so they could pay for the water, which would be subscribed for through a new organization known as the Weber River Water Users Association.

At its heart, the plan proposed a dam but also a diversion canal to carry water to the Provo River. This new venture preempted DWCCC considerations to expand its ditch system to carry water to south Davis County. The DWCCC authorized E. P. to subscribe for 25,000 acre feet of water instead of the previously approved 20,000 feet, meaning purchase of 25,000 shares in the corporation formed to operate the Echo Reservoir.[29] In September, DWCCC stockholders approved amendments to the company's articles of incorporation which enabled DWCCC to participate in the proposed new reservoir venture. A year later, because the government raised questions about the prior majority vote, stockholders repassed the measures by a two-thirds vote.[30]

By November 1925, Provo River officials decided against joint-sponsoring the Echo project (but they soon rejoined it), seeking simply a diversion by canal of half of the flow of the Weber River. It therefore fell to the Weber River Water Users Association (WRWUA) to subscribe for all the Echo water; otherwise the project might fail. The DWCCC picked E. P., John R. Barnes, and A. P. Bigelow to represent it on the new association's board.[31] To back the Echo Dam, a Weber River Water Users Association formally organized on January 9, 1926, with nine "founding fathers" from various localities and water districts, each with one initial share of the company:

Echo Creek Arch Structure, ca. 1927 (Courtesy DWCCC Archives).

A. P. Bigelow	Ogden
Joseph R.Murdock	Heber City
T. R. Jones	Kanesville, Weber County
E. P. Ellison	Layton
John T. Bybee	Riverdale
P. F. Kirkendall	Ogden
John Maw	Plain City, Weber County
Thomas Harding	Morgan
Levi Pearson	Oakley

Broad, interrelated purposes of the company were spelled out in the incorporation papers:

> Organized for purpose of purchasing, condemning, leasing, acquiring, or constructing dams, reservoirs, canals, irrigation works, power plants, pumping plants, transmission lines, power systems, telephone systems, or other systems of communication, irrigation systems, drainage systems and works, roads, buildings, waterworks, and for the purpose of purchasing, condemning, leasing or acquiring water, water rights, land, and other things incidental to, or necessary for the reclamation, irrigation, or enjoyment of the lands or property of its stockholders, etc. or their lessees or grantees; also, to operate and maintain all such dams, reservoirs, canals, irrigation works, drainage works, power systems, transmission lines, telephone systems, or other systems of communication, pumping plants heretofore mentioned; also to

Building Echo Reservoir, 1927. (Courtesy DWCCC Archives).

> lease, sell, or otherwise dispose of any property which it may acquire, including water and water rights; to generate electric power and furnish the same to its stockholders, pumping plants, lessees and grantees for the accomplishment of any of the purposes or objects of this corporation.[32]

Elected as WRWUA's first officers were President, A P. Bigelow; Vice-president, Joseph R. Murdock; Secretary, T. R. Jones, and Treasurer, E. P. Ellison. WRWUA started with an initial capitalization of 74,000 shares of stock.[33]

Sponsoring the New Dam

On April 24, 1926, the DWCCC board reviewed a copy of the official contract for the dam signed by both the federal government and the Weber River Water Users Association. They voted that DWCCC purchase 25,000 shares of stock in the WRWUA and that E. P. represent them at WRWUA stockholders' meetings. In July the board purchased 6,000 more shares of stock, so that 80 percent of the new dam's water allotments were purchased, at which point work on the dam could legally start.[34]

On December 10, 1926, DWCCC agreed to subscribe for 26,000 shares of WRWUA stock, 1,000 more than it previously thought, backed by a mortgage on everything the company owned. WRWUA signed a con-

Weber River Water Users Association Board of Directors meeting held at site of expansion of East Canyon Dam, 28 March 1927. L. to r., Olie Larson, John Maw, E. P. Ellison, President; J. R. Alexander, A. P. Bigelow, J. G. M. Barnes (courtesy DWCCC Archives).

tract with Secretary of Interior Hubert Work on December 16, 1926, which President Calvin Coolidge approved on January 8, 1927. Although the goverment would choose contractors and oversee the construction of the dam, WRWUA agreed to repay constructions costs and then to operate and maintain the dam and reservoir when completed.[35] Wearing both his canal and his sugar hats, E. P. wrote to canal company secretary Robert C. Nye on January 27, 1927, asking to rent available DWCCC water for the Layton Sugar Factory:

> The Layton Sugar Co. would like to rent what water you can secure for them and they are willing to pay the going price and we will be glad to pay whatever you have to pay for the same plus $1.00 for yourself per share. Would be pleased to have you keep in touch with the Sugar Company here as to what you can get.[36]

In the spring of 1927, superintendent Harris reported that what once had been a slide area each spring along the Main Canal no longer seemed to be a problem. The "draining" of the hill, accomplished by the earth-moving project earlier, seemed to solve the difficulties.[37]

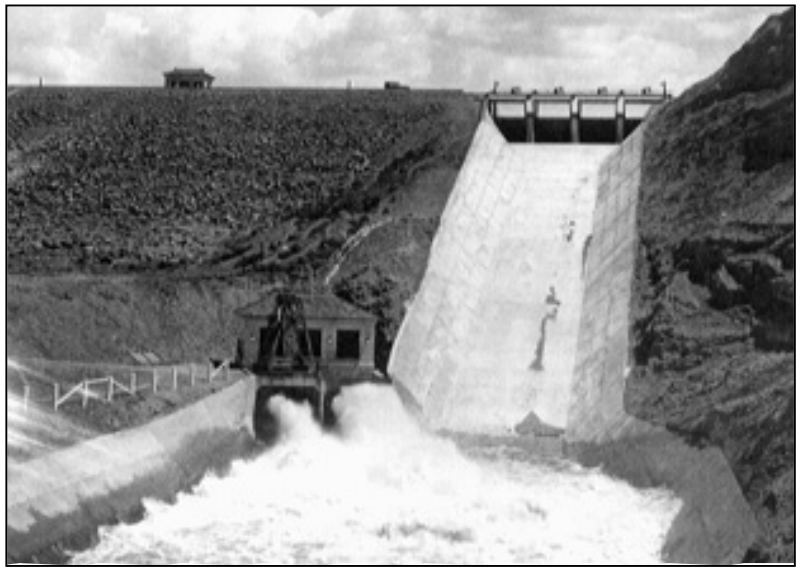
Echo Dam contracts were filed on March 19, 1927. Thirty-two canal

View across the top of recently-completed Echo Dam, 1930. (Courtesy DWCCC Archives)

companies subscribed to 59,411 shares of stock. Major stockholders were the DWCCC, the Provo Reservation Water Users Company, the Hooper, North Ogden, Plain City, Warren, Western, and Wilson irrigation companies.[38]

Attenders at the DWCCC stockholders' meeting on November 19, 1927, heard E. P. report on the Echo Dam site where construction was about to begin. A construction contract had been let, E. P. said, and about seventeen cars of machinery were on the construction site. The general contractor was the A. Guthrie Company of Portland, Oregon, which started the project on November 26, 1927. Guthrie agreed to build a dam and a nine-mile diversion canal connecting the Weber and Provo rivers. Location of the dam required that sections of the Union Pacific Railroad track and the Lincoln Highway be relocated.[39] Projections were that first water would be available for the 1930 season.

In late 1927, the DWCCC board members were E. P., Barnes, A. P. Bigelow, P. A. Dix, D. D. Harris, Richard Stringham, and Thomas J. Thurgood. Robert Nye was secretary and DWCCC employees were Thomas U. Butters and Vera E. Crist.[40]



Echo Dam Needle Valve House and Spillway, 1930. (Courtesy DWCCC Archives)

By year's end, the board learned that a new Weber System Canals Association had been formed to determine the rights to the title of waters from the Weber River system. DWCCC agreed to subscribe and gain a membership in it, for which it would be allowed to appoint one of the association's twenty-five directors.[41]

In 1928, the DWCCC's system delivered eight acre-feet per shareholder, and in 1929, nine acre-feet. Anticipating a good supply of water to sell when the Echo Dam opened, DWCCC decided to extend the South Branch Canal in Davis County. To fund the extension, they issued 5,000 shares of new secondary stock in mid–1929. Officers investigated how they could pump water east of the South Branch up onto the benchlands.[42]

Echo Dam

Echo Dam was completed in 1930, and that spring its reservoir water was ready to flow into the DWCCC system. According to a recent description of it,

> Echo is an earth- and rock-filled dam with a height of 158 feet and a crest length of 1,887 feet, including the eight-feet-wide spillway channel. The

zoned, 1,540,000-cubic-yard structure was constructed by sprinkling and rolling eight-inch layers of clay, sand, and gravel. Both upstream and downstream slopes are heavily covered by conglomerate rock fill with cobbles. A concrete cut-off wall, bonded to bedrock, extends the full length of the dam. Flood waters are handled by a spillway with a capacity of fifteen thousand cubic feet per second,which is fed by a concrete-lined horseshoe tunnel conduit, with the flow regulated by four eighteen-by-seventeen-feet radial gates.[43]

At the April 3, 1930, board meeting, President Ellison stated that the government had consented to allow the storage of 10,000 acre feet of water in the Echo Reservoir that season if the water users installed temporary gates.

DWCCC voted to join with others in paying the expense of acquiring the proffered 10,000 acre feet of storage water. DWCCC would get 6,000 of these, Hooper Irrigation Company 1,500, and other companies the other 2,500. For temporary gates at the dam, DWCCC paid some $13,000.[44]

While the new dam was filling, the DWCCC continued with business as usual, except for earth slides that followed heavy rains on July 10, 1930, filling 1.5 miles of the Main Canal near the mouth of Weber Canyon with mud and rocks. For six days no water ran through the canal while repairs were made, costs of which exceeded $10,000. Three days after the repairs, a full stream flowed for the water users. E. P. told the board that "everything possible was done to expedite the operations of removing the material from the Canal."[45]

On August 5, 1930, the board heard the good news that the company had paid the final payment on the outstanding bonds, releasing the mortgages from the trustees.

E. P. noted in his 1932 daybook that Echo Dam cost $2,789,318.78 to build. DWCCC subscribed for 40 percent of the water, making it the largest single shareholder in the consortium.[46] Utah County drew Weber River water directly from the river through a diversion canal, but its operations were the responsibility of, and oftentimes a headache for, the Weber River Water Users Association.[47]

Water flowed into DWCCC's system from Echo Reservoir in 1931, an extremely dry year when water needs downstream became desperate. On June 13 that year the Bureau of Reclamation informed the WRWUA

that they should assume control of the dam, reservoir, and diversion canal on July 5th. In August, Superintendent Harris reported that storage water from both the East Canyon Reservoir and the Echo Reservoir had been exhausted, except for enough water to run through the canal to protect the concrete linings during hot weather. DWCCC had delivered a dismal total of but 3.45 acre feet of water for each share owned by its shareholders, less water than in any of the previous twelve years.[48]

Today, the Echo Reservoir's capacity is 74,000 acre feet. Behind the dam, the surface of the reservoir can extend 4.5 miles long and one mile wide at its widest place. Three counties received Echo Dam waters: Davis, Weber, and Morgan.[49]

NOTES

1. Davis and Weber County Canals Company (DWCCC), Minutes, Sept. 8, 1917.
2. Minutes, March 1, May 7, and June 7, 1918.
3. Ibid., Sept. 17 and Nov. 6, 1918.
4. Ibid., Feb. 7 and May 9, 1919.
5. Ibid., March 1 and May 9, 1919.
6. Ibid., May 9, 1919.
7. Ibid., Dec. 6, 1919 and March 5, 1920.
8. Ibid., May 9, 1919.
9. Ibid., Nov. 15, 1919 and March 5, 1920.
10. Ibid., Nov. 15, 1920.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., July 20, 1921.
13. Ibid., Nov. 19, 1921.
14. Ibid., Nov. 19, 1921, Nov. 18, 1922, and Nov. 17, 1923.
15. Ibid., May 26, 1922.
16. Ibid., June 28 and Sept 6, 1922.
17. Ibid., Sept. 6, 1922.
18. Ibid., Nov. 8, 1922.
19. Ibid., April 18 and Sept. 21, 1923.
20. Flood Report, Dec. 15, 1923, Utah Flood Relief File, DWCCC Storage.
21. Minutes, Nov. 2, 1923.
22. Ibid., Nov. 17 and 23 and Dec. 15, 1923, Feb. 13, April 9, and May 15, 22, and 27, 1924.
23. *Defining Efficient Water Resource Management*, 24.

24. Wain Sutton, *Utah: A Centennial History* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1949), 91–92; *Defining Efficient Water Resource Management*, 25.
25. Sadler and Roberts, *The Weber River Basin*, 126.
26. Ibid., 25.
27. Minutes, July 15 and Nov. 15, 1924.
28. Ibid., Aug. 30 and Oct. 9, 1924.
29. Ibid., Aug 25, 1925.
30. Ibid., Sept. 19 and Oct. 23, 1926.
31. Ibid., Nov. 21, 1925.
32. Incorporation Papers, in Weber River Water Users Association Minute Book, 1926 to 1957, in WRWUA offices (1988) on Washington Boulevard, Ogden, Utah.
33. Ibid.
34. Minutes, April 24 and July 6, 1926.
35. Sutton, *Utah: A Centennial History*, 92; Sadler and Roberts, *The Weber River Basin*, 126.
36. E. P. Ellison, Correspondence File, DWCCC Storage.
37. Minutes, April 14, 1927.
38. Sadler and Roberts, *The Weber River Basin*, 127.
39. Ibid., 126.
40. Minutes, Nov. 19, 1927, and Sept. 13, 1928.
41. Ibid., Dec. 30, 1927.
42. Ibid., Nov. 16, 1928, May 10 and Nov. 13, 1929.
43. Sadler and Roberts, *The Weber River Basin*, 127.
44. Minutes, April 3 and Nov. 15, 1930.
45. Ibid., Aug. 5 and Nov. 15, 1930.
46. DWCCC initially subscribed for 26,000 of the 74,000 shares of stock first offered but boosted that to 31,000 by 1932. Minutes, Dec. 20, 1932.
47. President A. P. Bigelow of the Weber River Water Users Association told stockholders on December 10, 1932, that "the most expensive and troublesome part of the Project is the Weber-Provo Diversion Canal. The Canal was an appendage onto the Echo Project to satisfy the people in the Provo and Salt Lake Districts; that water is transferred from one watershed to another where there have been no prior appropriators. That we have had more problems in connection with the Canal than expected in the way of claims for seepage, drainage, rights-of-way, etc., and that these problems still exist." WRWUA Minutes, December 10, 1932.
48. Minutes, Aug. 15, and Nov. 21, 1931.
49. *Defining Efficient Water Resource Management*, 24–25; Sadler and Roberts, *The Weber River Basin*, 127.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE
PERSONAL AND FAMILY

While E. P. Ellison was living through the 1920s and heading for his eightieth birthday in 1930, he was a recognized senior business and religious leader, as well as a grandfather for a growing number of grandchildren. His physical settings did not change much—he continued to live in the family home and to maintain his main business office in the partitioned-off west end of the Farmers Union store.

Marriages

In 1917, two of E. P.'s children married on the same day, September 19th. Evan, twenty-six, married Afton Bourne. A story in Evan's family deals with an effort to have him marry before that. One time Evan was in Provo in one of Jesse Knight's offices or at his home. Jesse had a secretary he could not get rid of. She was not very pretty. He told the young man, "Evan, if you'll marry my secretary, I'll give you $10,000." Evan liked Jesse, the story goes, but not enough to marry that woman.[1]

Youngest child Marion, twenty-three, married Murray Waldemer Cowley, whom she had "always known." When death took Murray's father, station master and telegrapher at the Oregon Shortline station on Main Street in Layton, Murray, who was training in Farmington for railroad work, was hired to replace him.[2] Murray proved to be a great help to E. P. when train reservations needed to be made.

On January 3, 1920, Parl joined the ranks of the married children when he and Chloe Elizabeth Larkin became husband and wife. After they married in the Salt Lake Temple, she moved out to his house at Rebel Creek Ranch in Nevada.

Family and the World War

On April 6, 1917, the United States formally entered the World War. The Ellisons, like all citizens, were caught up in the news, the

Family home in Layton, 1920.

excitement, and the demands of the war. Food and other rationing, the beginnings of daylight savings time, buying war bonds and thrift stamps, and worries about friends serving in the military were parts of their daily lives for the next year and a half. Two items are of particular interest regarding the Ellisons during World War I. The first is E. P.'s assignment to Davis County's defense and preparedness committee. The second is the one male in the family doing military duty, Marion's husband, Murray Cowley.

Utah, and all states, created statewide and local "councils of defense." Each county in Utah except Daggett had county organizations which mirrored the state ones. Leading citizens were picked to head the committees, and in Davis County E. P. Ellison was named chairman of the "Survey of Man Power." What he did as chairman is not known. Committee heads in Davis county were[3]

Finance	John W. Thornley
Publicity	W. P. Epperson
Secretary, Legal	L. I. Layton
Sanitation and Medicine	Dr. D. B. Kessler
Food Supply and Conservation	H. H. Blood
Industrial Survey	Henry W. Stahle
Labor	Nephi Palmer
Military Affairs	J. G. M. Barnes
State Protection	Stearns Hatch
Transportation	L. J. Muir
Manpower	E. P. Ellison
Women's Work	Mrs. J. W. Thornley

In June 1917, E. P. was appointed chairman of the Red Cross relief committee of Davis County.[4]

E. P. and his family watched with concern when young men from Utah marched off to war. For example, E. P. and some family members motored to Fort Douglas in early September "to see the soldier boys." Accompanying E. P. was son Morris's wife Margaret (Maggie) Jane Cowley, daughter Jean Elizabeth Skeen, and her husband, and Alice Ellison Adams and family.[5] When Marion Ellison married Murray Cowley that September 19, he had already been drafted. Murray went to San Diego for training. In late October, friends held a "patriotic party" for Marion prior to her departure to join her husband. Because Marion had been an energetic Primary worker, guests at the party included members of the stake's Primary board.[6] Four months later, according to the local newspaper, E. P. left for Camp Kearney, California, to visit Marion and Murray "and the Davis County boys who are in training and in Uncle Sam's service there." He spent a month in Southern California.[7] In August 1918, Marion returned from California, accompanied by her sister Nettie. Husband Murray had not yet left California but was expecting to be called at any time. A month later, Murray was overseas. Less than three months later, the war ended. Murray returned home in late January, having served briefly "with the 145th."[8]

Flu Epidemic of 1918

By October 1918, local residents were being warned about the rapid spread of deadly flu, now known as the Influenza Epidemic of 1918. People were ordered to avoid congregating in public. Workers at the Layton sugar factory, like many people who were in close contact with others, wore face masks for protection. "Coughs and Sneezes Spread Diseases" was a popular slogan. Many Utahns died from causes related to the flu—estimates range from 2,200 to 2,700.[9] E. P. spoke at two funerals during that flu season for longtime friends Alexander Dawson and John R. Barnes, but whether their deaths were flu-caused is not known.[10]

Morris' wife Maggie caught the flu in 1918. It was thought that she was going to die. Her son Reed recalled a special experience connected with that critical time:

> There had been several deaths in the county caused by the epidemic. My brother [Stanley] and I went to live with Grandmother Cowley. They did not want us living in the home while mother was contagious. My father or Grandfather invited Apostle David O. McKay to come into the home and administer to her. He came. My father, Uncle James Ellison, and Dr. A. Z. Tanner were in the room with him. They put a little ladder up against the wall so Stan and I could look through the window and see that administration. She did recover.[11]

Laurence Tries Politics

During the November 1916 elections, Democratic President Woodrow Wilson ran for reelection, and the nation and Utah were turning to the Democratic party. Laurence Ellison chose that year to run for the state legislature as a Republican. Campaign rhetoric called him "a careful, conservative business man and successful banker" as well as a farmer living on his own farm. In the Layton area women organized a Ladies Republican Club, in which Laurence's wife Katie and his sister Marion were two of four vice-presidents. A Democratic landslide swept the nation, including Utah, and Laurence lost to his Democrat opponent by 469 votes--1,645 to 2,114. President Wilson won reelection, which pleased E. P.'s friend Jesse Knight, one of Utah's electors on the Democratic and Progressive ticket. E. P.'s friend Simon Bamberger was elected governor.[12]

In 1920 Laurence became Layton's first town president (pre-mayor days). He served five additional two-year terms, eleven years in all. One year, both the Democratic and Republican parties nominated him.[13]

A Close Look at 1920

In 1916, when Elizabeth died, E. P. was sixty-six years old. From then until 1929 when the stock market crash triggered the Great Depression, his schedule did not slow much. True, his daybook entries gradually became shakier, but these hard-to-read jottings trace out a busy

schedule and an active life. His life was organized according to seasonal rhythms orchestrated by regular monthly or yearly board and stockholders' meetings, by spring lambings and fall separatings of herds and flocks, by fall sugar beet harvests and manufacturing, by weekly stake presidency meetings, quarterly stake conferences, and twice-annual general church conferences, and by family holidays.

A close look at one year, 1920, provides a sampling and gives some sense of what his senior years were like. The following month-by-month recounting of his activities during the year when he turned seventy is drawn from his 1920 daybook.[14]

In 1920, E. P. continued to live in the family residence by Fiddlers' Creek. Widowed daughter Nettie served as housekeeper, and her son Joe, twenty-one, lived there too. E. P. liked to walk to work each morning, still along the railroad tracks so drivers would not pick him up. First, he went to the local barber to be shaved, then walked to his office in the Farmers Union. He walked home for lunch, and then returned to work. At the Farmers Union he associated with son Morris, who managed the store, worked with Layton Milling and Elevator next door, and handled accounts for Ellison Ranching. Across the street, E. P. had regular contact with his son James, manager of Layton Sugar Company, and son Laurence, who managed the First National Bank of Layton. E. P. owned a car, a handsome yellow Cadillac, but never drove it personally; rather, he always asked someone else to chauffeur him. He often boarded the Bamberger Electric for a quick trip to Salt Lake City or Ogden, or an Oregon Short Line or Denver and Rio Grande train for a longer trip to the Nevada ranches or elsewhere.[15]

E. P. started the year by visiting the sugar factory and then dining at daughter Alice's (Mrs. Jabez Adams). His daybook fails to note that on January 3 Parl and Bessie were married, although E. P. and his sons and daughters enjoyed the family celebration of the wedding. He spent most of his days during the first two weeks of the year at the Farmers Union or the Layton Sugar Company factory and offices. He attended a funeral, three meetings with the stake president, a Utah Ore Sampling meeting of the board of directors, two Pingree Bank stockholders meetings, meetings of Ogden City Bank's directors and Pingree Sugar Company directors, and a meeting with LDS Church President Heber J. Grant and

Presiding Bishop Charles W. Nibley. He attended a livestock convention in Salt Lake City and went to Farmington "on account of irrigation." During the last five days in January he was on the Nevada ranches looking at cattle and sheep.

During February, he spent about ten days at the store. He attended stockholders' or directors' meetings of Layton Milling and Elevator, Ellison Milling and Elevator (of Lethbridge), Utah Ore Sampling, Guardian Fire Insurance Company, National City Bank, Clearfield State Bank, and Beneficial Life Insurance. He attended several funerals, no doubt because of his position as a counselor in the stake presidency. He noted that East Canyon reservoir's depth was fifty-seven feet.

Early in March, E. P. visited Ogden several times, enjoyed friend John G. M. Barnes's birthday party, attended the stake's Sunday School conference at Kaysville, and spent about four days at the store. He was gone for a week to the Nevada ranches. "Sold steers at Rebel Creek," he noted, and seven carloads were sold. Two of the ranch days were spent, as he put it, "on sheep pen." He sold some wool, then returned home. His daybook noted the rise in East Canyon reservoir's water level to sixty-seven feet, then to seventy feet—"22%," he recorded, meaning the reservoir was 22 percent full.

He greeted April with a cold that kept him homebound for three days. He spent three days in Salt Lake City attending LDS General Conference and meeting with the Presiding Bishopric. Water levels in the reservoir rose from seventy-two feet on April 5th to 109 feet on the 30th. He continued serious discussions with James Pingree about problems at the Pingree Bank (see Chapter Eighteen). After four days at the ranches to check on lambs and to load sheep for friend John W. Thornley, E. P. attended a Nevada taxpayers' meeting in Reno.

During May, Pingree bank matters occupied a big chunk of E. P.'s work time. In June he spent a week at the shearing pens in Nevada and was there for his seventieth birthday on the 10th. In late June and early July he went to Ogden on business several times, which resulted in his buying 535 shares of Pingree Bank stock at $100 per share. In July he attended Sunday stake presidency meetings, high council meetings, and directors' meetings for National City Bank and Guardian Life Insurance.

On the first weekend in August he participated in a ward quarterly

conference at Syracuse. On subsequent Sundays he attended a priesthood meeting in Layton and a funeral for Thomas Abbott, a stake presidency and a high priests meeting in Kaysville, and a high council and Primary Union meeting at Clearfield. During August he met with the Utah Ore Sampling company, Knight Sugar company, and National City Bank, and spent a half-day at the canal.

September brought cooling temperatures and the beginning of autumn. E. P. attended meetings for the bank, the canal company, Guardian Fire Insurance, the Pingree Bank, and Layton Sugar. He attended a church Mutual Improvement Association convention at Clearfield. He spent four days at home nursing a cold. He went to church meetings three Sundays of the four. On September 28th he attended the funeral of son Parley's first baby, John Larkin Ellison, who was born on the 22nd and died on the 26th.

When October arrived, E. P. was at the ranch again. His daybook on the 4th notes simply, "8500 sheep." He returned home for three days to attend a Pingree Bank directors' meeting. On the 8th he "cut out beef" at Squaw Valley and on the 9th "weighed up beef." On the 10th, Sunday, he weighed up 132 steers, and the next day 78 more. On the 12th he loaded cattle at Iron Point. He spent four days cutting out and weighing lambs. After a night in Winnemucca, he went to Buffalo Ranch and weighed lambs. On the 18th, heavy rain turned to snow, putting four inches on the ground. During the next three days he weighed cattle at Buffalo Ranch, went to River Ranch and separated one bunch of lambs, and loaded lambs at Iron Point. On the last two Sundays of the month he participated in a ward conference at Sunset ward and a priesthood meeting at Clearfield.

His November pattern included three days when he went to Ogden, one day in Salt Lake City, four at the ranch, a ward conference in Layton, and a meeting on a Sunday in Syracuse. He spent part of Thanksgiving Day at the Layton Sugar factory. His November business meetings involved National City Bank, Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company, Davis County Improvement District, First National Bank in Salt Lake City, Layton Sugar Company, and Layton Milling. He ended the month by going to Fish Creek in Nevada to look at sheep.

On December 2nd and 3rd he was at Herrin and helped weigh 217

beeves and steers and load them into train cars. Returning home, he spent more days in Ogden than in Layton, attended several board meetings, spent a few days at the sugar factory, participated in Layton Ward and Kaysville Ward's conferences, and attended a Layton meeting regarding Layton and Kaysville's flour mills. The day before Christmas he went to his aunt Grace Ellison's funeral. He spent Christmas Day at home.

His 1920 daybook, like almost all of his other daybooks, lists income, dividends, taxes, and tithing for the year, which figures provide a statistical picture of his financial "health." He listed as income for 1919—after taxes, depreciation, canal assessment, and railroad fees—$34,966.34. On this he paid $7,390.17 in income tax. He listed as his income sources

Ellison Ranching Company	$4,000
Layton Sugar Company	2,400
Ellison Milling and Elevator	1,200
Directors' Fees	1,016
Rents from Lands	9,544
Rents from water	1,100
Dividends	33,969

From most of the fourteen companies in which he owned stock, he received quarterly dividends, but some dividends were not that frequent:

Company	*Quarters*			
	1st	*2nd*	*3rd*	*4th*
Layton Sugar Company	2359	2022	2547	——
Knight Sugar Company	1536	1551	1551	1551
Ellison Milling and Elevator	1965	1965	1965	1965
Farmers Union	2011	——	——	——
Layton Milling and Elevator	348	348	348	348
Guardian Fire Insurance	230	288	288	288
Utah Ore Sampling	600	600	——	——
National City Bank	250	250	250	250
Cement Securities	168	112	168	168
Springville Sugar	100	100	100	——
First National Bank of Layton	75	75	75	75
Pingree National Bank	100	100	——	——
Beneficial Life	50	50	50	——
Winnemucca State Bank	50	——	——	——

Stake Presidency Work

E. P.'s 1920 daybook contains notations and figures related to his work as a counselor in the North Davis Stake presidency. Apparently he was the stake presidency member assigned to monitor tithe paying by stake officers, because his daybook contains a glued-in, typed list, apparently for 1919, that records the tithes paid by stake officers. E. P.'s tithing was just above $4,400. None of the thirty stake officers paid more than $745. Grandson Harold said that when his own father, James, was Layton Ward's bishop, he helped his dad with ward records. "I marveled at E. P.'s tithing," he said.[16] E. P's 1920 daybook lists tithing totals for the stake for the previous three years: $33,311.98 in 1917, 43,027.77 in 1918, and $43,857 in 1919. Another of his lists shows that the stake had 3,978 members in seven wards as follows:

Clearfield	512	Sunset	169
Kaysville	1,308	West Layton	448
Layton	708	West Point	291
Syracuse	542		

Daughter Marion said that soon after her brother James became bishop, the Church began using small, individual sacrament cups in place of the "common cup." E. P., she said, bought a set of little silver cups for the sacrament service. She recalls seeing James' wife Jane standing at the sink polishing the silver cups every week.[17]

When E. P. spoke to the high council or to other stake officers, one of his favorite topics was punctuality. An oft-told family story tells about a time when a high council meeting was held at E. P.'s home. A brother arrived quite late, so as soon as the man arrived, E. P., with his usual subtle humor, called on him to dismiss the meeting with prayer.[18] E. P. sometimes instructed on the need to keep confidences, "the necessity of keeping the work of these meetings private until the proper time." He sometimes spoke "of the necessity of observing the Law of tithing monthly," and "the necessity of observing the Sabbath Day and keeping the Word of Wisdom." E. P. told stake leaders that "he tries to keep the Word of Wisdom, generally observes family prayer and endeavors to put Church duty first when it is possible."[19]

A copy of E. P.'s remarks at the funeral services for Mrs. Mary A.

Streeper on August 12, 1920, records a talk that was short and nonscriptural. He reminded the audience that "we should not be surprised very much when accidents happen, because we have so many of them." "All is well with Sister Streeper," he said. "She has finished her work here, and my testimony is, that as far as I have known her, she has done it well." He said he trusted that the Lord "will bless Brother Streeper with His Spirit" and "will bless the children." He petitioned the Lord to bless the family "that they will acknowledge the hand of the Lord in all dealings." He asked a blessing upon them "by the spirit of the Lord." His concluding comment was, "by the authority of the Holy Priesthood, I ask the Lord to shower upon them his very choicest blessings. Amen."[20]

When he spoke at stake conferences, he always clutched his lapels as a way to steady the tremor in his hands. Grandson Harold Ellison said E. P. did not speak much in church meetings. When he did he was somewhat dry and matter-of-fact. "He wasn't long-winded at all." He spoke a lot about honesty, bore a good testimony, and presented stories applicable to everyday living rather than quoting or interpreting scriptures.[21]

(A rare record that does show some of E. P.'s speech characteristics, however, is the transcripts of the Pingree bank hearings that contain E. P.'s verbatim statements. His English, due to scanty formal education and to his farmer-rancher background, was occasionally grammatically awkward by present standards but represents fairly common usage among many prominent Utahns of that generation. For example, he told the judge: "They was endeavoring to get him to fix the matter up" and "these interests that I and Mr. Pingree was interested together." He said once that "me and Mr. Abbott were to go." When the judge asked him to look in his daybook to see if a particular meeting was in forenoon or afternoon, E. P. answered "It don't say." To questions about what time of day something happened, he checked his daybooks and answered "Don't state" or said that he didn't know "because my memory don't serve me.")

General Authority J. Golden Kimball of the Seventy, a beloved leader best known for his occasional profanity, once visited the stake and came to E. P.'s home for dinner after a meeting. E. P. asked Brother Kimball if he would give a blessing on the food. "No, Eph," the lanky ex-rancher said, "You do your own damn praying."[22]

Stake presidencies in those days received a small allowance from the Church to defray stake-related expenses. E. P. insisted that the stake presidency's allotment be given to Presidents Blood and Nalder, "it being Brother Ellison's desire that he does not draw anything." When E. P. was released from the stake presidency, he was called on to say a few words. He began with "I don't know how you folks think I am going to make a living now!"—typical of his sense of humor.[23]

Tribute in 1923

In 1923 the *Weekly Reflex* newspaper published a lengthy article, with pictures, about seven men outstanding in the development of North Davis County and of the state (see page 314). Those singled out for praise were E. P. Ellison and Senator Rufus Adams of Layton; John G. M. Barnes, Henry H. Blood, John W. Thornley, and Heber J. Sheffield of Kaysville; and Robert Miller of Farmington. E. P. was judged the most prominent of the seven. The report listed his many business involvements as president, officer, director, or stockholder. The article termed E. P. "a mass of vital energy in the seventy-third year of his life, still active, still working, still achieving, still giving of his talents, time and money, not for self but for the blessings of mankind and those who are to follow him. Who can say that this man is not outstanding among his fellow men? In him is the spirit which has made north Davis sufficient unto itself in developing its resources."[24]

Home Life

Regarding E. P., the 1923 biographical sketch said that, following Elizabeth's death in 1916,

> his home has been presided over by his widowed daughter, Mrs. Annette E. Stevenson, a woman who is not only a capable and hospitable hostess, but also a woman of rare business ability and a great aid to her father in his varied business interests. She is also chief accountant for the Farmers Union.[25]

Nettie was a blessing to her father in terms of making his home life hospitable and letting him entertain guests and relatives, and in helping him at his office in the Farmers Union. For many grandchildren born

after Elizabeth died, Nettie was the lady of the house whom they saw when they went to Grandfather's. Nettie was tall and dignified. She dressed beautifully and had fine taste in clothes. She was precise about things, whether it was the Farmers Union records or the Ellison house. She kept the house in "beautiful order" and seemed to some to be overly "fussy" about cleanliness. She was very business-like and kept everything in "perfect order."[26] Nettie, like E. P., Laurence, and Morris, had a very quick mind regarding math; they each found it easy to add up long rows of figures. Often Nettie did not have to look up a store customer's account because she "knew it in her head."[27]

"Work a full day" was a philosophy E. P. "pounded into Aunt Nettie and me," recalled granddaughter Lucille, who worked in the store with Nettie for two or three years. "We did not work eight or nine hour days, we worked until the work was done."[28] At times, other Ellison relatives lived at the Ellison home when Nettie was away. About 1920, son Evan and his wife Afton moved into the big house to help E. P. take care of the household. E. P. enjoyed having Afton in the home, because she was a happy, beautiful, personable young woman.

Nettie hired Mrs. Maude Walker to help with the housework several days a week. Maude was something of a character, having a gravelly voice and peculiar walk. She made soap, hauled wash tubs from the cellar to do the washing, ironed, and cleaned. She walked from her apartment above the Farmers Union to the Ellison home and, after a full day's work, walked back home. She was a hardworking, honest, dependable woman.[29]

After Elizabeth's death, E. P. and Nettie continued to host the family's annual Christmas dinner—and the giving away of silver dollars to the grandchildren. The Ellison children's families were growing, so the Ellison pantry shelves gained extra sets of dishes needed for family gatherings. Granddaughter Lucille said these stacked dishes had the appearance of a hotel pantry. The coal stove with its six burners continued to be used, but an electric Hotpoint range with a "high up" oven served the cooks well, too.[30]

The annual Christmas dinner was a very special occasion. Two large tables ran east to west. The children ate first. E. P. ordered oval chocolates from J. G. McDonald's Candy Company, which he and helpers hid.

Then, after Christmas dinner, the children scampered through the house hunting for the candy. This kept them busy, granddaughter Cleone recalled, while the adults ate dinner. After dinner, she added, E. P. loved to play dominoes with the adults. The children played upstairs. Then, by tradition, Santa Claus would come.[31]

Grandson Richard, Evan's boy, while his family was living in the Ellison home, received a Christmas gift of an erector set and a Lionel model train. He ran the track for the train from the library into his bedroom. Did this bother Grandfather? No, Richard said, E. P. did not mind as long as the train and track were picked up by the time he came home from work.[32] Richard's sister Lucille remembered sitting on the back porch swing with Grandfather Ellison when she was a little girl. They rocked but did not talk. She said she never heard him sing or whistle. Grandson Reed Ellison said his grandfather "wasn't the type who entered into playful exercise with the young grandchildren."[33]

Lucille retained a vivid memory of the linoleum in the kitchen. Every morning her family had family prayer and she knelt on the linoleum, which had grooves in it. These made impressions in the skin of her knees. "My knees would hurt so bad after getting up," she said. Lucille also recalled that when she was very young she rode her tricycle through the house. Mrs. Walker would load her up with ironed clothes and Lucille would pedal around the house "delivering the clothes."[34]

During the late 1920s, when E. P. came home from work he took his shoes off by the back door, and during the evening walked around the house shoeless. "All the Ellisons have this habit," grandchildren Richard and Lucille said. After E. P. took his shoes off,

> he would then go into the dining room and turn on the small radio outside the kitchen door and listen to the evening news. Then we had dinner. His dinner always started with a bowl of bread and milk, with sugar and cream, in a bowl with a blue rim on it. He actually preferred oyster crackers but felt he should not afford them. That was a luxury he did not need. He was frugal.

There was little talk at the dinner table, except for "Please pass this, please pass that." Granddaughter Cleone recalled her grandfather's routine when he was about eighty years old:

> During my teen years, I spent a good deal of time at Grandfather's. He sometimes wanted only bread and milk, hot, at night; however, other times a regular meal, after which, sitting in his rocking chair which was in the southwest corner of the kitchen, with the coal stove on the south and the electric stove on the west, he would read the evening paper. If the weather was cold he sometimes swung the chair around and put his feet on the oven door of the coal stove. Later, he would pull his watch from his pocket, and, if it were about 8 P.M. would remark that it was his bedtime, visit a moment about whether or not I was ready for bed, and go to his room, shutting the door behind him. Some evenings he would tell me stories about things which had happened, maybe an article in the paper would bring something up about which he would talk. He was interested in what I was learning in school. He liked cracked wheat mush for breakfast and we soaked and cooked it the night before as it took a fair amount of time to cook.[35]

E. P.'s bedroom, Lucille said, had two wardrobes and a brass bed. On his chest of drawers he had paperweights "that you tip over to make snow fall" and a nice silver brush and comb set. He had "a fairly good set of hair until he died." Off his bedroom was his bathroom, which, she judged, was "real nice" because it had tile on the floor, an outside door, and a very long bathtub. "The only thing we did there," she said, "was flush the boxelder bugs down the toilet."

A library stood off the hall with "a lot of fine books," including a series of Charles Dickens's writings, which books she liked when she was in high school.[36]

E. P. loved ice in his water. He used green tea when he did not feel well. One winter he became ill with what seemed like a severe case of the flu. Evan, Afton, and Nettie were there. They called Dr. A. Z. Tanner, but he said he could not come because the snow was too deep. "Do you have whiskey in the house?" he asked them. They said they did. E. P. was having a very hard time breathing, so the doctor said to give him some whiskey. Because practicing Mormons did not drink alcohol, Nettie refused. Evan refused. But Afton gave it to him, and he took it because it was medicine.[37]

Some grandchildren felt that E. P. seemed very reserved and somewhat stern. He always wore dark suits, dark neckties, and white shirts. In his pockets he kept a supply of "high priest mints"—little white or pink mints—to give to his young grandchildren when they came to the

Farmers Union. Sometimes his pocket produced horehound candies or nickels for the youngsters.[38] E. P., the lifelong Republican, was among officials who welcomed United States President Warren G. Harding when he passed through Utah on his train trip to the West Coast and Alaska. "Met President Harding & Party at Davis & Weber Co Line," E. P. pencilled in his daybook on June 26, 1923, "& went to S L City." Many local women, including some Ellisons, made a quilt that contained their names, and it was presented to the president by granddaughter Elizabeth (Tibby). Tibby, six years old, was invited by the president to ride on to Bountiful with his party, but declined the honor, to the mortification of her father, Laurence.

President Harding did not survive that trip, for after a visit to Alaska, he became ill and died of a heart attack (wrong rumors said food poisoning) in San Francisco on August 2nd. Vice-president Calvin Coolidge was sworn in as pPresident the next day.

Family Deaths

E. P. learned about the deaths of his sister, Margaret Jane (Mrs. William Riley) Taylor in 1925 in Loa, Utah, and of his brother, Matthew Thomas Ellison, in Salt Lake City in 1929. Closer to home, Morris's wife Margaret (Maggie) died in 1928. She started to feel ill during a trip to Canada with Morris, while he checked on Ellison Milling and Elevator matters in Lethbridge and then Vancouver. When they returned home in September 1928, Dr. Tanner treated her but could not determine what was causing her stomach disorders and pain. She died in December. An autopsy showed she had cancer. Son Reed, then nineteen, noted two unusual matters relating to her funeral.[39] First, Apostle David O. McKay, who had blessed her during the Flu Epidemic of 1918, was in California and could not attend the funeral. But he did write a personal letter of condolence to Morris. Second, because Morris recruited Japanese laborers to work in the Layton Sugar Company's beets, he and his family became friends with several Japanese people. When Margaret died, Mr. K. Ono, one of the Japanese leaders, came to Morris and asked if he could speak at the funeral. He spoke, and paid her a short personal tribute.

Morris, State Legislator

In 1928, Morris was elected to the Utah State Senate. His wife's death occurred about a month before he started his first term in January 1929. Because the state provided lodgings for legislators from outside Salt Lake City, Morris stayed in the Hotel Utah while the legislature was in session. His college student son, Reed, who was attending the University of Utah, moved into the hotel with him. Soon after that, Morris's widowed mother-in-law moved into his home in Layton and became his housekeeper.[40]

NOTES

1. Richard Ellison and Lucille Strong Oral History.
2. Marion Cowley Oral History.
3. Noble Warrum, *Utah in the World War* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah State Council of Defense, 1924), 98.
4. *Clipper*, June 22, 1917.
5. Ibid., Sept. 14, 1917.
6. Ibid., Oct. 26, 1917.
7. Ibid., Feb. 8 and March 8, 1918.
8. Ibid., August 2 and 30, 1918, Jan. 31, 1919.
9. Leonard J. Arrington, "The Influenza Epidemic of 1918–19 in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 58 (Spring 1990), 165–182.
10. *Clipper*, Oct. 10 and 25, 1918, and Jan. 31, 1919.
11. Reed Ellison Oral History.
12. *Clipper*, Oct. 27, Nov. 3 and 10, 1916.
13. Elizabeth Green Oral History Interview.
14. Unless otherwise indicated, all information about E. P. during the year 1920 is taken from his daybook for that year, original in EFA.
15. Oma Wilcox Oral History.
16. E. P. Ellison Daybook, 1920.
17. Marion Cowley Oral History.
18. Reed and Eva Ellison, and Oma Wilcox, Oral Histories.
19. Davis North Stake Executive Records, July 14 and 16, 1915; Feb. 25 and May 12, 1917; Aug. 20, 1922.
20. "Remarks of Elder E. P. Ellison: Funeral Services for Mrs. Mary A. Streeper, August 12, 1920," Typescript, 2 pp., EFA.
21. Harold Ellison Oral History.

22. Lucille Strong Oral History.
23. Oma Wilcox notes to the author.
24. *Weekly Reflex,* Dec. 20, 1923.
25. Ibid.
26. Oral histories of Oma Wilcox, Elizabeth Green, Harold Ellison, Richard Ellison, Lucille Strong, and others.
27. Lucille Strong Oral History.
28. Ibid.
29. Richard Ellison and Lucille Strong Oral History; Oma Wilcox notes to the author.
30. Richard Ellison and Lucille Strong Oral History.
31. Cleone Whitman's statement to author.
32. Richard Ellison Oral History.
33. Lucille Strong and Reed Ellison Oral history.
34. Lucille Strong Oral History.
35. Cleone Whitman, notes to the author.
36. Lucille Strong Oral History
37. Richard Ellison and Lucille Strong Oral History.
38. Every grandchild interviewed for this history mentioned the mints, and Oma Wilcox, in a note to the author, talked about the horehound candy.
39. Reed Ellison, Oral History.
40. Ibid.

PART FIVE

THE FINAL DECADE, 1929–1939

Ephraim Peter Ellison, ca. 1935.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

RANCHING AND SURVIVAL

Like all ranchers, E. P. Ellison knew that successful ranching requires that Mother Nature and national markets be reasonably kind.[1] But early in the 1930s, northeast Nevada's weather turned brutal at the same time that America was sliding to the bottom of the Great Depression. Badly wounded by drought, a killer winter, dramatic price drops for cattle and sheep, and banks too precarious or scared to make normal loans, Ellison Ranching barely survived. That it did not fail, as many Nevada ranches did, is due in great measure to wise and courageous business maneuvers E. P. and his family performed.

Drought and Low Prices

By the late 1920s, Ellison Ranching Company had three main ranch operations. The first involved the Kings River Ranch and ranches along the Quinn River—the Quinn River, Home, Buffalo, and Rebel Creek Ranches. The second was the complex of ranches the company purchased in 1917 from the Golconda Cattle Company, located near the Humboldt River between Tuscarora and Winnemucca, and to which acreage was added. These were the Blossom, Fish Creek, Cottonwood, and Squaw Valley ranches. The third major venture was the Spanish Ranch north of Tuscarora, obtained in 1925.

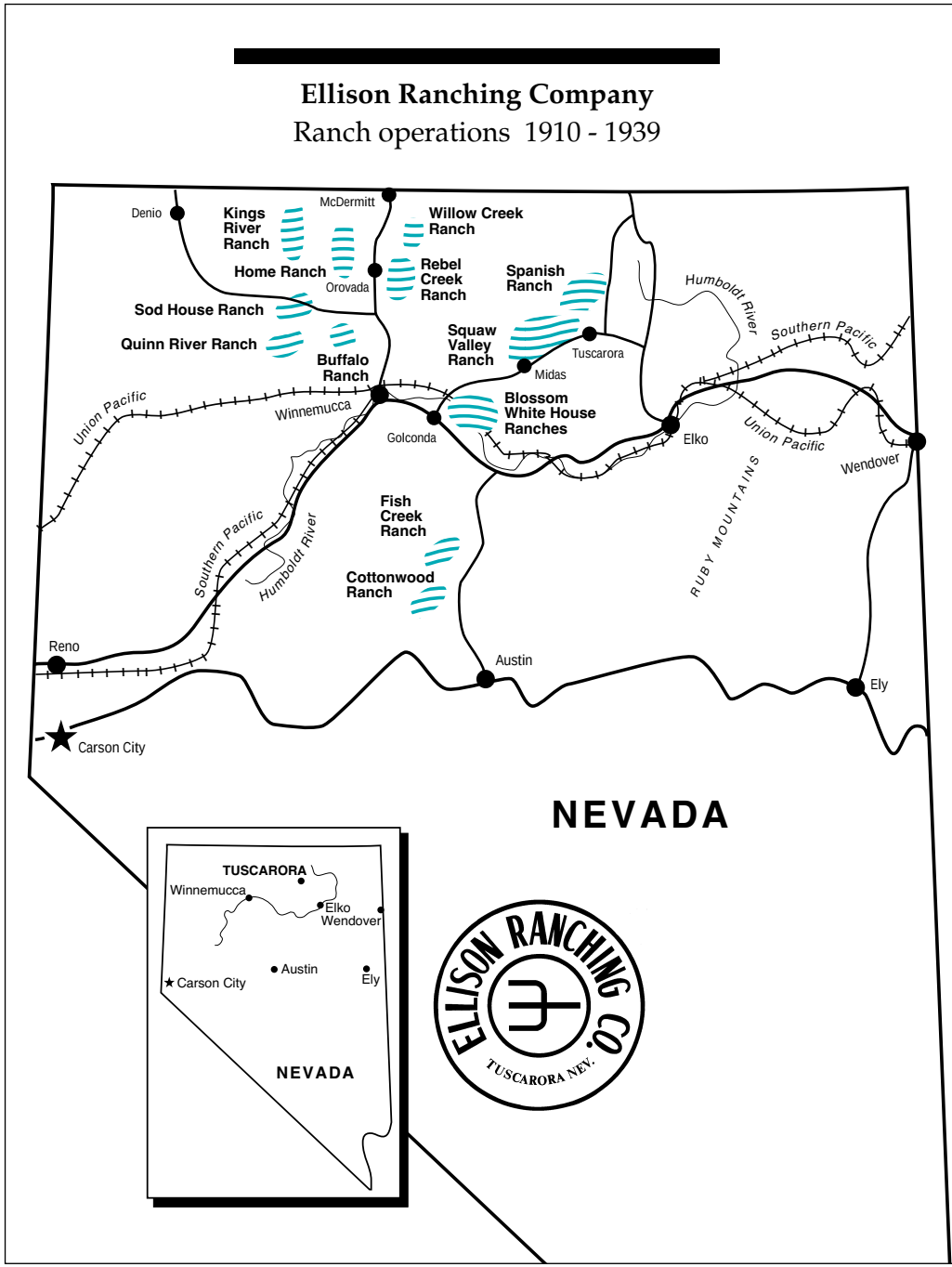
The years 1929 and 1930 were peak years for the company in terms of sales. Between 1910 and 1939, these two years were the only ones when the company sold more than $200,000 worth of animals—$264,900 in 1929 and $232,694 in 1930. These were not high-profit years, however. Net worth of the ranches peaked in 1930 at $2,078,892, up $600,000 from the year before and about $700,000 more than in 1931. However, from this high point in the company's history, the next movement was a steep downhill fall.[2]

During the last week in June 1930, E. P. visited the ranches. By Bamberger Electric Railway and Western Pacific, he arrived in Elko at 7

The Spanish Ranch, 1934.

A.M., and reached the Spanish Ranch four hours later. After one day there, he went on Wednesday to Rebel Creek, where son Parl and family lived. Parl was still the foreman of that ranch as well as the Kings River, Buffalo, and Quinn River Ranches.[3] At Squaw Valley, E. P. visited several sheep camps on Thursday, and the next day he was "Looking over field at S. Valley & at River Ranch." (Apparently E. P. liked to refer to the Blossom Ranch, through which the Humboldt River ran, as the "River Ranch.") On Saturday he returned home.

By then he knew, as he reported two weeks later to Ellison Ranching Company stockholders, that the summer of 1930 was both sweet and bitter for the company. Stockholders and ranch employees liked his news that grazing was top-notch that season, "the best it has been for several years." That was the sweet part. But despite the fact that E. P. said about three-fourths of the wool had been sold at Boston for 25.5 cents per pound, predicted beef and lamb prices were wrapped in uncertainty. Other business saw the stockholders approve John G. M. Barnes as a director to replace John Flint, who had died.[4]



In May 1931 E. P. had Evan drive him to the ranches. Perhaps this trip was when an episode, recalled by granddaughter Oma Wilcox, took place. On the ranch, she said, an Indian was helping with the shearing of sheep. E. P. followed him and found a gallon of whiskey the Indian had set down. E. P. hid it in Evan's car. After the shearing was finished, E. P. told the Indian, "I have something that belongs to you," gave him the whiskey, and said, "You go and have a good time and come back and help us with the hay." But the Indian said, "I will not work for a SOB who will steal my whiskey."[5]

Sometime during 1931, Parl and a crew were shearing sheep at Rebel Creek. Parl's dog started snapping and acting mean, so Parl shot it. They found out the dog had rabies and presumed it had caught the disease from coyotes.[6]

Nature's moist benevolence of early 1930 dried up and the weather turned malevolent. During the winter of 1930–31, very little snow fell in the mountains. Spring and then summer brought no rain. Northeastern Nevada livestock interests "suffered seriously." Ranchers produced but a 20 percent hay crop, forcing them to ship hay in and cattle out.[7] In mid-summer of 1931, E. P. inspected Ellison Ranching's vast rangelands and the scattered livestock. Late on Monday, July 13, a Western Pacific train took him to Battle Mountain, Nevada. For three days he checked matters at Squaw Valley and Spanish Ranch, then returned home Saturday by truck and Western Pacific. During his inspection tour, he found shriveled feed instead of healthy growth. Sensing a crisis, he warned Ellison Ranching directors in August about the "extremely dry season." Cattle, he said, "would be thin and there would be very little hay." The company must sell 3,000 to 4,000 cattle, and all unsold cattle "would have to be wintered on cottonseed." Meanwhile, prices for wool fell from about twenty-five cents per pound in 1930 to fifteen cents in 1931.

At this point, the ranch's executive board was E. P., son Morris, and John G. M. Barnes.[8]

Deadly Winter, 1931–1932

January and February 1932 swept bitter cold and deep snows across northeastern Nevada ranges. During a typical winter, the snow in meadows between Spanish Ranch and Elko left only the top wire in the fence showing, but this winter was worse.[9] Deaths by freezing and hunger cut swaths through the herds and flocks. Despite his eighty-one years, E. P. went to the ranches during the first week of February. At Blossom Ranch he looked at a cattle drive. Then he went to Battle Mountain to the sheep flocks. He accompanied the men moving sheep to Fish Creek. His daybook notes that on Friday, February 12, he "Left Fish Creek for Battle Mt, on Road & in truck, all day & all night," a venture he called "a hard trip." He went to Blossom Ranch Saturday and returned home Sunday, distressed by the numerous dead livestock he had seen.

E. P. met in emergency session with the board on February 22nd. "We have already suffered severe losses," he announced. He urged that the company buy and ship immediately to the ranches $10,000 to $15,000 worth of emergency feed for the animals, which was done.[10]

In 1932, Morris's son Stanley Ellison joined the company staff as an assistant secretary, to help his father during the crisis. This started what became for Stanley a fifty-six-year career operating the Ellison ranches. On March 3, Morris went to Nevada to help feed starving stock. He took three train car loads of cottonseed cake to feed sheep at Fish Creek. But the deep snows stopped the cars, which then sat out the winter many miles from the town of Battle Mountain. Trying desperately to save the sheep, Morris hired three sheepherders to stomp snow and make trails on the range so the sheep could be moved.[11]

E. P. revisited the ranches late in March and counted cattle. In April and May, he spent several more days checking stock losses and range conditions. Company inventories for 1931 and 1932 starkly show the losses (late 1931 sales account for perhaps 10,000 of the sheep):

Year	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Hogs	Total	Value
1931	598	10,722	30,849	41	42,210	727,330
1932	529	5,702	5,631	36	11,898	260,392

Ellison Ranching's official history puts the death count at 15,000 sheep and half of the cattle.[12] Ellison wool production fell from 179,443 pounds in 1931 to a mere 24,243 pounds in 1932. However, even a grand production of wool would have brought disappointing income, because wool prices had plummeted from fifteen cents to seven cents per pound.[13]

Nationally, newspapers and magazines made no mention of the killer winter in Nevada or the Western States, but the trade journals for the cattle and sheep industry paid closer attention. *The Cattleman*, for example, reported "exceptionally heavy" sheep losses in some states.[14] A history of northeast Nevada gave full attention to the tragedy. "With little hay raised on ranches during the summer and banks pressed beyond limits, ranchers could not afford to buy feed," it said. "Cattle starved and the livestock business in Elko County collapsed."[15] A dry summer, a severe winter, extended credit, bank failures, low prices, and the national depression combined to create a disaster:

> Cattlemen might have weathered any one of these, but the combination proved insurmountable. As savings evaporated, mortgages foreclosed, livestock sold, the cattle picture became more desolate and disastrous. Cattle prices dropped with steers selling at five cents a pound and cows as low as three cents a pound. Sheep were liquidated by receivership at seventy-five cents a head. Banks took over some ranches and forced austerity measures; other ranchers went through bankruptcy; some outfits survived the crisis by self-denial and frugality. All of Elko County's livestock world was affected. Those ranches liquidated at a fraction of their worth carried with them work and toil of three generations. Banks, deluged with defunct ranches, sold to speculators with cash at sub-prices.[16]

Federal Relief Programs

President Herbert Hoover's main vehicle for pumping federal money into troubled sectors of the nation`s economy was the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, or RFC. Created in January 1932, within two weeks it was making a hundred loans per day to banks, railroads, farm credit institutions, and farmers. These short-term loans were tax exempt and government guaranteed. RFC loan agencies opened in thirty-three locations, including Salt Lake City. Congress expanded the RFC to include a system of twelve Regional Agricultural Credit Corporations (RACC) to help farmers refinance outstanding obligations and sustain their businesses. Among the 1.2 billion dollars loaned to various agencies were sizeable sums to federal land banks, joint stock land banks, livestock loan companies, agricultural credit corporations and credit unions.[17]

Saving the Company

In 1932, like dominoes falling in a row, one ranch problem triggered another. These compounded misfortunes tested E. P. and his sons' financing skills. E. P. was then eighty-two, and would live another seven years. No doubt watching his ranches collapsing financially caused him serious physical, mental, and emotional stress. Starting the chain reaction of troubles was the devastating loss of income caused by livestock deaths. Dead animals produced zero income (other than hides), no matter how high or low livestock prices moved. Ellison Ranching officers needed every dollar they could find to pay for normal ranch operations: county taxes, interest on some $300,000 worth of bonds, principal on bonds maturing that year, cattle feed, salaries, and maintenance. By early 1932, the company faced not only these normal costs but also expenses for emergency feed bought during the killing winter and for livestock replacements. By early 1932, Ellison Ranching Company badly needed to be rescued.

So to avoid financial disaster, the board sought funds. They agreed to call in bills owed the ranching company; to borrow from other Ellison businesses; to borrow from banks with which they already had loans, by pledging their personal property, bonds, and stocks; and to try to sell ranch parcels. Seeking to assist E. P., the board urged him to hire an assistant manager, a general superintendent, and "any other help he may need," and to set salaries for such.

Mr. Burrows, an employee of Edward L. Burton of First National Bank of Salt Lake City, the major lender to Ellison Ranching, years later told Tibby Ellison Simmons in a letter about a visit E. P. paid to Mr. Burton to discuss the ranch's finances:[18]

> Your grandfather was greatly troubled as he was afraid the bonds would go into default and they could not pay the interest. He came into Mr. Burton's office to see what could be worked out. He wanted to be certain the bondholders would be protected. He had such faith in the future of the ranching business that he was sure that with a little time, the situations could be resolved.

During the conference, E. P. said, "If it would help, I would personally guarantee that the new bonds would be paid." Burton said, "Mr. Ellison, we don't need your personal guarantee. Your word, your character, and

your good faith is better than anything you could put in writing so far as I'm concerned." When a guarantee plan was agreed upon, E. P. left. Burton then said to Mr. Burrows, "You can depend on Mr. Ellison. Someday the bondholders will get their money in full." And Mr. Burrows added,

> Mr. Burton's faith in your grandfather was more than justified. Those who stayed with the Ellison Ranching Company received payment on the bonds in full and their stock is worth many times the original investment. Your grandfather was a great man—a man of integrity and ability. He left his children and his grandchildren a heritage such as few descendants have.

E. P. pledged his personal assets, apparently in writing, to help shore up the ranch's faltering finances. Mr. Burton advised against this and warned E. P.

> that he could lose everything he had accumulated, including the First National Bank of Layton, the sugar and milling companies, the Farmers Union, and all of his other assets. E. P. said that he was willing to lose it all and that he would never hide behind the corporation.[19]

Worried ranch directors held a special meeting on April 21, 1932, for "considering the financial affairs" of the company. Money problems were worsening.[20] The company needed to borrow immediately about $80,000 to pay ranch and livestock operating expenses and to repay a $5,000 advance, with interest, received from Zions Savings and the First National Bank of Salt Lake City. E. P. listed company loan debts already owing at that point:

First National Bank, Salt Lake City	$ 35,000
Same	15,000
First Security Bank, Provo	30,000
Ogden State Bank	5,000
Layton Sugar Co	15,000
Same	30,000
Commercial Security Bank Ogden	4,000
Barnes Banking Co	1,900
Zions Savings Bank and Trust	47,000
Sylvia Briggs, Estate Loan	3,000
Amos Cook	3,000
First National Bank of Layton	7,000
	$195,000

Ellison Ranching owed nearly half of this debt to the First National Bank of Salt Lake City and to Zions Savings Bank and Trust. Both banks were demanding repayment. The board, admitting that "an emergency exists," agreed to offer property, stock, water rights, and grazing permits as collateral for obtaining new loans to be used to pay the debts. They had 44,088 acres of Nevada land, with cattle and sheep, "all free from encumbrance"—not part of the December 1, 1928, trust deeds whereby Zions Savings Bank and Trust issued for Ellison Ranching $400,000 worth of ten-year, 6 percent first mortgage serial gold bonds, the collateral being the Spanish Ranch (see Chapter 19). Board members voted that E. P. borrow $80,000 from Bankers Livestock Loan Company, through an RFC government loan program.[21]

Previous creditors needed to approve and be party to this RFC loan. E. P.'s daybook indicates that between April 26 and 30 he met daily in Salt Lake with Mr. George Spencer of Zions Savings Bank and Trust Company, trustee for the bonds, and with the First National Bank of Salt Lake City. He gave Mr. Spencer official notification of the company's resolution showing the necessity of a mortgage on ranch cattle to Bankers Livestock Loan Company. By May, E. P. had negotiated a short-term loan, using the ranches near Winnemucca as collateral, to be issued June 1st.

First National Bank of Salt Lake City, the major creditor, apparently required that its people assume control over the Ellison Ranching board of directors. So in early May, three men representing the bank came aboard: Willard R. Smith replaced Morris Ellison, who resigned; Stewart Cosgriff replaced John G. M. Barnes, who resigned; and R. E. Allen became Ellison Ranching's vice-president in place of J. Will Knight. James E. Ellison, however, replaced J. Will Knight on the board. Smith, Cosgriff, and Allen, all of First National Bank of Salt Lake City, and Edward I. Rich, who supported the Ellisons' interests, became the executive committee. E. P. continued as company president. At this reorganizing meeting, E. P. gave his annual report, which noted that the sheep and cattle were doing well and that a good hay crop was expected.[22]

In mid-May 1932, E. P. spent a week at Spanish Ranch, Squaw Valley and Blossom ranches, Winnemucca, and Rebel Creek and Home ranches. On June 1, Lester Mangum resigned as a director, and was replaced by Clyde R. Hupp, representing the Ogden State Bank. That day, Mr. Grover

Rich of the Bankers Livestock Loan Company met with the board to complete arrangements for the RFC loan, which he promised to issue the next day.[23] Ellison Ranching obtained the RFC loan for $80,000, the collateral being all its livestock in Elko and Humboldt counties. It deposited the money in the banks to whom it owed money, but then it used most of it to restock the ranches.

Ranch executives went to Current, Nevada, near Ely, and bought "a string" of 500 head of cattle from Frank Calloway. These were branded on the right hip with a "K." Lacking money to pay for shipping the cattle, Ellison hands drove them 200 miles to the Spanish Ranch.[24] On June 13, ranch executives agreed to pay some obligations: $900 to E. P.'s Layton bank, $2,000 to the Farmers Union for recent advances, and $2,500 each to First National Bank of Salt Lake City and to Zions Savings.[25]

But the company still needed to pay back the loans of about $190,000 (see list above), and it needed to repay Eisenmann Brothers of Boston for an advance received for the 1932 wool clip that Ellison Ranching failed to ship due to the sheep losses. Directors used 44,088 acres, unencumbered by loans, to borrow $195,000 from First National Bank of Salt Lake City for four months, payable September 1. As security for the loan, Ellison Ranching pledged its real and personal property, meaning its unencumbered non-livestock assets, in Nevada. The bank also loaned $8,771.66 to repay the Eisenmann Brothers' advance. These loans bought but a very short time for E. P. and the board to find long-term solutions for the debts.

First National Bank of Salt Lake City's goal was to receive its money back, not to operate a ranch. But anticipating that Ellison Ranching could not pay back the loan within four months, bank officers prepared plans to sell the the mortgaged ranches. Over President E. P.'s objections, the directors employed Frank Rickey on June 3 to be Ellison Ranching's supervisor in charge of selling the ranches.[26]

E. P. disliked having to work with Mr. Rickey. He challenged Mr. Rickey's facts regarding a shortage of grazing acreage. He blocked Mr. Rickey's request for a two-year appointment as ranch supervisor. Mr. Rickey tried to move the ranch's headquarters from Layton to Winnemucca, a move which E. P.'s son Morris helped to block. Over

E. P.'s dissent, the board employed Rickey at $5,000 per year "while on duty," but agreed that Rickey's entire services were to be under E. P.'s direction.[27] The committee asked the secretary to purchase a "Ford coach" for Mr. Rickey's use. The official ranch history tells one story, not flattering, about Mr. Rickey. It claims he liked to say regarding the ranch hands that "if we can keep them broke, they're better men. Take them to town to let them drink. The best man is a broke one."[28]

On June 29, 1932, the directors learned of an offer to buy Rebel Creek and Buffalo ranches, so they directed Mr. Rickey to pursue the inquiry (no sale was made). That day the executive committee decided against E. P. in his power struggle with Mr. Rickey and released E. P. as manager. At the meeting, E. P.

> stated that it seemed impossible for him and Mr. Rickey to get along, that Mr. Rickey was employed as Superintendent of Ranches under him but that Mr. Rickey claimed he was the manager and that Mr. Ellison had no authority in the matter of management. He read a detailed statement of his experience with Mr. Rickey and the matter was then discussed at length. Mr. Cosgriff stated that he had considerable information from Mr. Rickey and the President asked that it be presented to the Board but Mr. Cosgriff preferred not to present it.

Mr. Cosgriff's implication was that E. P. had misused funds or had handled funds in a questionable manner. But the committee would not explain what they had heard.

> Mr. Cosgriff, Mr. Smith and Mr. Allen felt that they should give Mr. Rickey further opportunity to show what he can do. Dr. Rich felt we should release Mr. Rickey at once. James E. Ellison had decided Mr. Rickey was not the right man for Superintendent of Ranches. Mr. Cosgriff, Mr. Allen and Mr. Smith asked E. P. Ellison for his resignation as Manager. His resignation was thereupon presented.

Of the executive committee, three voted for E. P.'s resignation, and only he and good friend Edward Rich voted against it. James Ellison abstained in order to avoid a deadlock. Rickey became the manager, but his days were numbered, for E. P. was bound and determined to regain control of the company.[29]

Stockholders, Ellison loyalists, came to their annual meeting on July

21 fired up for battle because of E. P.'s removal.[30] Mr. Allen's motion that the present board be elected by acclamation triggered "considerable opposition." Bondholders who owned the 1928 bonds wanted a representative of their own on the board. Bond trustee Edward L. Burton argued that banks with less than $200,000 worth of Ellison bonds had four members on the board but holders of $325,000 worth of the 1928 bonds had none. Other stockholders agreed. Rather than demand that Mr. Hupp of Ogden State Bank be dropped from the board, stockholders elected the nominated board with the understanding that bondholders could replace one of them with their representative when desired. When the dust settled, the Ellison Ranching board members were

E. P. Ellison	C. R. Hupp
James Ellison	Edward I. Rich
R. E. Allen	Willard R. Smith
Stewart Cosgriff	

A second conflict smoldered concerning Mr. Rickey, who had replaced E. P. as ranch manager.

> President Ellison stated he had resigned as manager as he had been requested to do so by certain members of the Board. He stated he felt keenly his obligation to the Stockholders and said that notwithstanding the heavy losses of the Company because of the severe winter following the drought that if properly managed all the creditors would be paid and the Company saved but that it is imperative that we rid the Company of its present manager who is untruthful and unreliable.

However, the board, because of the First National Bank of Salt Lake City's financial stake in Ellison Ranching affairs, lacked authority to fire Mr. Rickey.

As a third item of heated concern, E. P.'s friend, John G. M. Barnes, challenged the rumor that E. P. had been dishonest with company funds. Someone suggested to him that E. P. was short $10,000 of company funds, which was unaccounted for. Barnes "resented the statement and knew and everybody else knew Mr. Ellison was not short any funds that belonged to the Company and eulogized Mr. Ellison for his past service as President and Manager." He said that E. P. had made many sacrifices for the company. At Mr. Barnes's suggestion "the stockholders expressed

their appreciation and thanks to Mr. Ellison." Morris, as company secretary, also defended E. P. He said that a thorough audit had been made of the company's accounts every year since its organization, except for one year when the auditor was paid for work but did not do it. Morris explained that "there was no shortage at any time in the history of the Company."

After the stormy stockholders meeting adjourned, the directors held their own meeting. They elected the following officers:

President	E. P. Ellison
Vice-president	R. E. Allen
Secretary and treasurer	Morris Ellison
Asst. Secy. and Treas.	Stanley C. Ellison
Exec Comm:	Willard R Smith
	R. E. Allen
	Stewart Cosgriff

When the executive committee met, they voted that Frank E. Rickey could sign company checks, that group insurance be discontinued, that employees receive compensation insurance, that the service of Dunn and Bradstreet be discontinued, and that Mr. Rickey be placed under $10,000 bond, which Laurence Ellison would arrange.[31]

On September 1, the First National Bank of Salt Lake City's note for $195,000 came due. Ellison Ranching could not pay it. Board members faced an ominous situation when they met a month later.[32] Bondholders, having more to lose than the banks if Ellison Ranching Company failed, arranged for their man, Edward L. Burton, to replace C. R. Hupp on the board. For First National Bank of Salt Lake City, Mr. Cosgriff pushed to foreclose on the 44,000 acres near Winnemucca and some of the livestock on them. E. P. challenged that action. He said he had been "given the impression by the banks before and since the mortgage was given that it was not their intention and would not be to foreclose but to continue the business." Burton and the company's attorney, Paul Ray, agreed. Mr. Ray understood that lands, machinery, and horses would not be sold during the year. How could First National Bank of Salt Lake City take over Ellison Ranching, someone asked, without the consent of Bankers Livestock Loan Company? Mr. Cosgriff countered that Bankers Livestock would not renew its $80,000 loan if the bonds issued by the First National

Bank of Salt Lake City were in default. Mr. Cosgriff claimed that buyers of the bonds wanted the foreclosure. But Mr. Burton countered that bondholders probably would give the directors a few years to run the ranches and make them profitable. During the debate, E. P.'s men reminded Mr. Cosgriff that Ellison Ranching was not insolvent, but had assets worth about $900,000, only half of which bondholders had claims upon.

Ellison Ranching needed a three-part solution: to pay off the Bankers Livestock loan, to transfer to the First National Bank of Salt Lake City enough property to retire the mortgage it held, and to convince bondholders to wait for their payoffs. Compromises and careful negotiations produced a workable bail-out plan.[33] To repay the bank its two loans for $195,900 and $8,771.86, Ellison Ranching arranged a property transfer. But it could not transfer property until the Bankers Livestock loan was repaid first. So First National Bank of Salt Lake City agreed to pay Bankers the $80,000 in exchange for the collateral that backed the note—livestock, goods, wares, and merchandise. Then, needing grazing grounds for the livestock thus obtained, First National Bank of Salt Lake City agreed to lease part of the Ellison Ranch's east ranges for a very short term, until December 31. The board approved this transaction at its October 31, 1932, meeting.

Properties transferred to First National Bank of Salt Lake City included almost all sheep and cattle, all hay, grain, and crops on the land, "also all horses, farm and ranch machinery implements, tools, goods, wares, and merchandise located in West Ranches, also horses, mules, buckaroo and sheep outfits, salt, corn, cottonseed cake and barley on east Ranches, but not the standing crops." Also transferred were a large camp tent, dutch ovens, hammers, cooking utensils, 12 pack saddles, 30 saddle horses, pitchforks, tents, brooms, 7 canteens, and from Fish Creek, Squaw Valley, Blossom, and Spanish Ranches a total of 14,000 pounds of stock salt, 7.5 tons of cracker corn, 552 sacks of cotton seed cake, and 64 sacks of barley.

Bondholders' Agreement

This deal cleared the Ellison Ranching Company of its obligations to First National Bank of Salt Lake City and to Bankers Livestock, so the company quickly dropped non-Ellison men from the board of directors.[34] Even E. P. Ellison resigned from the board, and was replaced by Ellison Ranching's attorney, Paul Ray. E. P. also surrendered the presidency, temporarily, and the board chose his friend Edward I. Rich as president and William A. Dawson vice-president. The new board members were

Edward I. Rich
Harris A. Ellison
William A. Dawson
Reuben Kilfoyle
J. Isaac Adams
E. J. Skeen
Paul Ray

E. P. and James Ellison removed themselves from the board, apparently so the board could legally make a deal with the holders of the 1928 bonds that would protect and repay the Ellison family's personal costs incurred in saving the company. Also, Ellison Ranching's agreement with First National Bank of Salt Lake City and Bankers Livestock had to receive approval from 76 percent of the bondholders, who must become parties to the agreement. The company's situation was summarized in a later audit report:

> In the fall of 1932, substantially all of its properties, including a large part of its ranches, which were not pledged to secure outstanding bonds, were sold in satisfaction of notes due to banks, leaving practically no livestock or other productive assets, except the remaining ranches, with which to continue its operations from which it might expect to meet obligations for principal and interest falling due on its serial bonds, the principal amount of which was $325,000.[35]

Holders of the 1928 bonds, wanting to cooperate, contracted with Ellison Ranching "to resume possession of its east ranches and again engage in sheep and cattle business thereon" if stockholders and Ellisons would "restock the ranches" by drawing upon their own resources. Ellisons agreed to "take possession of all lands covered by said deed," with machinery, equipment, and animals available, "and will carefully operate all of the same with a view to provide means to liquidate the said bonds." The company agreed that "by June 1, 1933, they will at own expense procure and place on premises not less than 3,000 head sheep and 2,000 head cattle" and would keep their range, grazing and forest

rights permits by grazing approximately 5,300 head of sheep. Further, because the First National Bank of Salt Lake City would place livestock, implements and equipment with the Ellisons on the east ranches, the Ellisons agreed that when that was done, they would give George S. Spencer as trustee a chattel mortgage covering all of said livestock, implements and equipment so received, and permits, "which chattel mortgage shall secure all of the bonds secured by the Deed of Trust hereinbefore mentioned."[36]

E. P., James, and Morris promised the board they would join with the company in executing the bondholders' agreement. On November 9, 1932, the ranch company's new board approved the bondholders' contract, and then voted to indemnify E. P., James, and Morris for costs or damage each might sustain because of the agreements just negotiated with the bondholders. The bondholders' deal was made possible because the Ellison creditors had agreed not to include in it several unsecured ranch debts owed to them totalling just over $84,000:

E. P. Ellison	$65,976.50
J. P. Ellison	5,304.00
L. E. Ellison	503.03
Farmers Union	2,943.78
Kaysville Layton Milling Company	2,283.28
Layton Sugar Company	7,237.04

The Ellisons agreed to pay $2,000 in other debts if the holders pressed for them, and also promised to pay ranch taxes due for 1932 and for 1933.

Bondholders in turn agreed not to demand or enforce any principal of the bonds or to commence foreclosings until two years from the time the bonds were due and payable. The agreement was valid for two years, until October 1934.[37] Stockholders approved the contract on November 11, 1932, at the Farmers Union. Of the 8,707 shares represented, E. P. held one-third (2,947) and Knight interests another third (3,020).

Restarting the Ranches

On March 9, 1933, the board was reorganized again and new officers chosen:

Old Board	New Board
Edwin J. Skeen	E. P. Ellison
Reuben Kilfoyle	J. William Knight
Harris A. Ellison	Edward L. Burton
Paul Ray	George J. Cannon
William A. Dawson	Frank E. Bagley
J. Isaac Adams	James E. Ellison

E. P. resumed the presidency, replacing Edward I. Rich, and Rich became the vice-president. The new executive committee became three Ellisons—E. P., James, and Morris—along with Frank Bagley, representing the bondholders.[38]

Needing more time to fulfill their bonds contract, the company on July 11, 1933 gained an extension from the bondholders.[39] The new board applied for and received loans for $11,250 and $26,000 from the Regional Agricultural Credit Corporations in May and July 1933.[40] These borrowings let Ellison Ranching purchase livestock. On August 10, E. P. told the board the company had purchased 262 cows, 25 two-year-old heifers, 20 yearlings, 114 two-year-old-steers, 30 three-year-old steers, 10 bulls, 20 fall calves, 129 spring calves—a total of 610 head, for $12,300. The company had also bought 14,498 wethers, ewes and lambs for $30,805.

E. P. advised the board that the company "was very much in need of funds," so they discussed making a capital stock assessment. This meeting was historic because the board here appointed Morris H. Ellison to be the new manager of the company. The company obtained a second supplement to the bondholders' agreement, which made the Ellisons personally responsible for the ranches' taxes.[41] Facing a money deadline, stockholders agreed on September 7, 1933 to pay an assessment on their stock of three dollars per share. This would pay operating expenses and reimburse E. P. for taxes and for advances made to purchase stock. Stockholders also agreed to free their own private property from liability for corporate obligations.[42]

When dust kicked up by the complicated dealings settled, what could be seen clearly was that Ellison Ranching had been saved by a family effort. E. P. and sons James and Morris maintained at their own expense some 8,000 sheep and 2,500 cattle. Stanley Ellison worked many years on the ranch with little or no salary. Morris labored very closely

with E. P. to find funds for the ranch. To help the company clear its debts and continue in business, Morris arranged for the three dollars per share assessment. Delinquent stocks, for which assessments had not been paid, went on the auction block--5,667 shares. Morris bought the shares by paying the three dollar assessment on each. Parl, to help ease the company's financial distress, agreed in 1933 to buy four of the original ranches from Ellison Ranching: Rebel Creek, Buffalo, Quinn River, and Kings River.[43]

On November 9, 1933, the board authorized E. P. or Morris to borrow up to $300,000 to refinance or discharge the current bonds—$325,000 in bonds were then outstanding, plus interest—and to cover costs for restocking, managing, and operating the ranches. When directors met on February 9, 1934, they learned that the RACC had agreed to extend the company's $60,000 loan for one year and to grant an additional $22,000, backed by mortgages on livestock and hay crops.[44]

By late spring in 1934, Ellison Ranching's debt to the RACC was $54,280.01.[45] On December 6, 1934, directors approved an extension of the bondholders' agreement for two years, to October 11, 1936. Then, as a supplement, it was agreed that the moneys E. P. had advanced since October 11, 1932 for livestock, taxes, and operating expenses, which totalled about $14,000, should be paid back with interest, from company income prior to payment of the bonds or bond interest.[46]

While directors juggled finances, day-to-day ranch work went on: herding, branding, shearing, breeding, feeding, changing ranges, hay cutting, fixing fences, keeping reservoirs working, buying and selling. Always there were dangers to avoid, especially toxic plants and animal sicknesses. Sometime before 1935 at Fish Creek Ranch, rabbits became afflicted with encephalitis, a contagious and deadly disease. They died everywhere, including in the hayfields. When hay was put up, dead rabbits were baled with it. When this hay was fed to livestock that winter, Stanley Ellison recalled, "It killed every horse and burro at Fish Creek."[47]

Turning the Corner

A sale of the Blossom Ranch, located between Battle Mountain and Winnemucca, proved to be the turning point which let Ellison Ranching

Company right itself financially. The federal government needed it in order to build the projected Rye Patch Reservoir.[48] On January 17, 1935, the board ratified E. P.'s execution of a land and water rights purchase contract with the government and the Pershing County Water Conservation District of Nevada.[49] The board authorized his borrowing $7,000 to pay Blossom Ranch's taxes for 1933 and 1934 and to cover costs incurred while selling the ranch. The board requested that George S. Spencer, trustee of the bonds, release from the bondholders' deed the 18,600 acres in Blossom Ranch. With this deal underway, stockholders approved the sale on February 5, 1935.[50] For the Blossom Ranch, Ellison Ranching received $105,000.

At this meeting, stockholders empowered the officers to refinance the company by redeeming the bond issue, paying off indebtedness, entering into a new deed of trust, issuing new bonds, and executing mortgages, notes or other instruments, or issuing treasury stock.[51]

So that summer, some serious financial restructuring took place. On July 1, 1935, directors met at the Utah State Capitol building in the governor's office. There, E. P. and son James, with Governor Blood and William A. Dawson, accepted the resignations from the board of Edward L. Burton, George J. Cannon and Frank B. Bagley. Ellison friends replaced them—David E. Layton, Virdl Cook, and George W. Layton. Of more importance, the board accepted the new trust deed tentatively approved by the bondholders and bond trustee. Officers negotiated a new trust deed for $162,500 — a mortgage of real property, equipment, horses, milk cows, range rights, forest permits, and all other property the company owned then or in the future, excepting the cattle and sheep and their increase as covered by the chattel mortgage dated March 8, 1935, in favor of Utah Livestock Production Credit Association. Three weeks later, directors approved the new financing.[52]

By it, bondholders would be paid $81,250 of funds from the sale of Blossom Ranch and from treasury stock held by the company, to be issued to each bondholder at 7.5 shares of stock for each $1,000 worth of bonds held by the bondholders. E. P. reported outstanding indebtedness against the company of approximately $85,000. This would be paid by issuance to creditors from treasury stock of the company one share of stock for each $100 of principal indebtedness, not including interest.

Also, company funds would repay E. P. approximately $14,000, plus interest. In connection with this refinancing, par value of capital stock of the corporation was reduced from one hundred dollars per share to fifty dollars per share, thus halving capital stock from $1,000,000 to $500,000. E. P. explained the whys and wherefores to stockholders:[53]

> President Ellison then took up the first order of business—the refunding of the bonded indebtedness and the refinancing of the Company. He explained that as a result of the financial conditions thru which this particular locality and the United States in general had been passing during the last five years, the company had been unable to meet its bonded indebtedness or the financial demands made upon it; that the officers of the company for a period of a year or more had been trying to work out a plan whereby they could prevent the foreclosure of the trust deed or mortgage given as security for the outstanding bonded indebtedness and take up the other outstanding obligations due from the company; that recently they had been able to effect a sale of the Blossom Ranch to the United States Government for the sum of $105,000; that with this fund as a basis they had succeeded in getting the bondholders, as represented by their committee, to accept in cash the sum of 25c on each 1.00 of outstanding bonded indebtedness, new bonds in the total amount of $162,500 and capital stock from the treasury of said company on the basis of 7.5 shares for each $1,000 of outstanding bonded indebtedness.

E. P. told stockholders the board had authorized him "to carry out and execute a new trust deed and issue bonds" to refinance the company's indebtedness. Terms of the Blossom Ranch sale, he said, gave Ellison Ranching the right to perpetual occupation and use of the land and improvements as though the company still owned them. Stockholders gladly approved the proposals.

From this point on, the future of Ellison Ranching brightened as it steadily healed from the severe wounds inflicted on it by the Great Depression and the terrible 1931–1932 winter. That the company survived is remarkable—most Nevada ranches failed during this period. Without the tenacity of the Ellison family, Ellison Ranching would have failed by 1935.

According to manager Morris Ellison's annual report in April 1935, the ranch had 3,994 cattle and 10,275 sheep. Ellison livestock, he felt, probably could be sold for enough money to pay off current debts of $162,000 in

bonds bearing interest at 5% and about $100,000 owing the Bankers Livestock Loan people. Morris reported that the livestock loan with the RACC was being transferred to Utah Livestock Production Corporation.

During 1935, the board approved the purchase of 3,000 sheep from Parl and Stanley Ellison. By year's end the board bluntly but correctly accused First National Bank of Salt Lake City of altering the October 31, 1932, contract by one month to intentionally cheat Ellison Ranching of funds. When confronted, the bank apparently paid what it owed.[54]

On January 21, 1937, the board made a key management decision. Morris said he wanted to resign, but the board would not let him. Instead, it voted to keep him as manager and to pay $500 per month to be divided between him, Stanley Ellison, and Parl, "it being understood that J. P. [Parl] Ellison on account of sickness would not be required to give his services." Ranch matters from then until E. P.'s death in 1939 were routine, except for a rough winter during 1937–1938, Stanley Ellison's replacing Parl as the company's resident agent, and the relocation of ranch headquarters from Rebel Creek to the Spanish Ranch.[55]

Ellison Ranching's annual statistics track the dramatic fall and gradual rise of the company during the 1930s. Numbers show that the company's comeback by 1939, while notable compared to the bad years of 1931–1933, fell more than halfway short of where the company was in 1931, its last "normal" year. By decade's end, the company owned only 60 percent of the number of cattle and sheep it was running when the decade opened. However, the company had sold off its ranches near Winnemucca and the Blossom Ranch, so proportionally, the 1939 ratio of animals to acres probably compared well with the pre–1932 situation.

Year	*Horses*	*Cattle*	*Sheep*	*Total Animals*	*Value Animals*
1931	598	10,722	30,849	42,210	$727,330
1932	529	5,702	5,631	11,898	260,392
1933	325	626	—	976	35,325
1934	346	3,029	9,186	12,586	134,373
1935	346	3,026	11,684	15,096	112,556
1936	367	3,487	17,222	21,125	143,431
1937	366	4,808	16,585	21,810	158,778
1938	366	6,169	16,746	23,321	183,990
1939	354	7,221	17,355	24,970	249,970

Company financial ledgers likewise chart the tragic losses Ellison Ranching Company suffered, and then its gradual recovery:

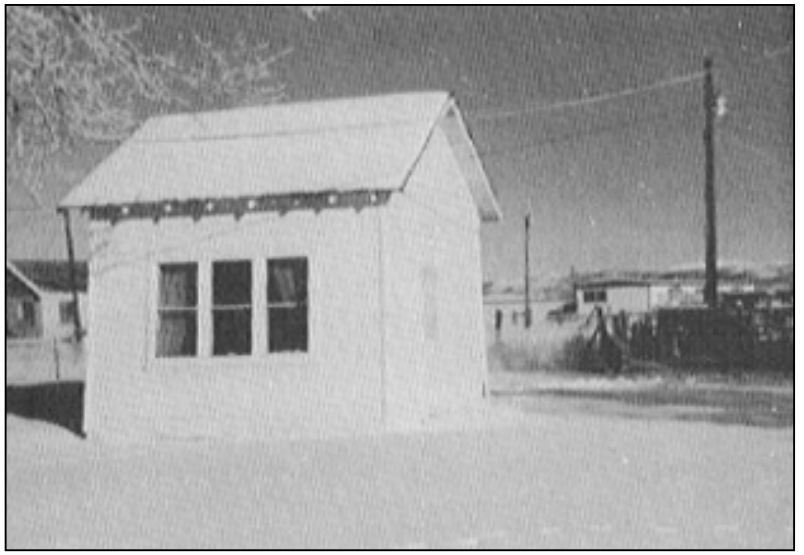
Year	*Net Profits*	*Net Worth*
1928	123,756.21	1,486,446.62
1929	24,125.54	1,423,807.83
1930	37,397.83	2,078,891.95
1931	–75,285.96	1,348,994.04
1932	–509,458.49	838,740.59
1933	–512,058.13	–510,253.45
1934	44,133.21	337,567.24
1935	225.89	337,793.13
1936	730.28	500,903.59
1937	12,305.79	518,043.91
1938	554.75	518,528.66
1939	5,255.78	523,854.44

E. P.'s 1938 Ranch Visit

One of E. P.'s last visits to his cherished ranches was in 1938, when grandson Harold Ellison and his wife Florence drove him there. Although E. P. "was a little forgetful by then," Harold recalled, "he would never divorce himself from the ranch and his responsibilities." At that time, New Deal farm programs were paying ranchers to destroy their animals to reduce supply so that demand and prices would rise. "When we drove into the yard of the Spanish Ranch," Harold said, "we saw a fellow up there with a rifle, and he was shooting cattle" to comply with the government program. But the shooter "didn't pick out old crippled cattle, he picked out the choice ones." This upset E. P. "I've got to get out of here," E. P. told Harold; "I can't watch this." Harold said that E. P. had no use for any program that wasted wealth, especially livestock.[56]

According to Harold, the Spanish Ranch then contained about 50,000 acres and was headquarters for most of the buckaroos and hired help. From there, he drove E. P. past Tuscarora on dirt roads down to Squaw Valley Ranch, which then covered about 25,000 acres. One end of it had a reservoir, which E. P. had been instrumental in building. It stored Willow Creek water, and from it irrigation waters flowed to the company's alfalfa. "Harold," E. P. said to him, "I've always made it a practice to water."

Spanish Ranch Cookhouse.



Spanish Ranch School.

Harold then drove E. P. to the Blossom Ranch, about twenty miles west of Battle Mountain. It covered about 20,000 acres. Most of the Ellison sheep were grazing there, with some cattle. The Humboldt River ran through the ranch.[57]

Harold said that during the rough drive through the ranches, E. P. was very solicitous about Harold's car, a new DeSoto sedan. In Nevada towns "he was very careful to see that we pulled into service stations and had gas, oil, and everything checked on the car. He was very methodical that way." Harold noticed, with pride in his grandfather, that "everybody" knew E. P., especially in Elko.[58]

Another family story links an automobile adventure with E. P. out on the range. At one of the ranches one day, E. P. received a telephone call and decided he needed to be back in Utah as soon as possible to take care of some urgent business. Most of the employees were out in the fields working, but E. P. found "Mide" Barnes and asked him if he could drive an old car that was parked in the yard. "Mide" said he didn't know; he had never driven it. "Get in and see if you can make it work. I have to get to Elko and catch the train." They started out, and several times E. P. ordered, "See if you can make it go a little faster." Then, before they reached Elko, E. P. told the already uneasy driver, "Don't pay any attention to me, just keep driving as fast as you can," and stepped out onto the running board of the car. Standing full length, he waved his handkerchief at a train that was about to pass on the track not far away. When the crew saw him, the train stopped and E. P. walked over and boarded it. "Mide" said he was never so frightened in all his life. "If anything had happened to Mr. Ellison I think I would have killed myself," he reportedly said.[59]

NOTES

1. For a good discussion of the fragile nature of northeast Nevada's ranch landscapes, see James. A. Young and B. Abbott Sparks, *Cattle in the Cold Desert* (Logan, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1985).
2. Ellison Ranching Company, Annual Reports, Spanish Ranch Vault, Tuscarora, Nevada.
3. Kane, *History of the Ellison Ranching Company*, 27.

4. Ellison Ranching Company, Directors Minutes and Stockholders Meetings, July 12, 1930, Records Vault, Spanish Ranch, Nevada. Cited hereafter as ERC Minutes without differentiation between the two meetings except as the text indicates.
5. Oma Wilcox, conversation with author, notes in EFA.
6. Kane, *History of the Ellison Ranching Co.*, 35–36.
7. Edna B. Patterson, *Nevada's Northeast Frontier*, (Reno, Nevada: University of Nevada Press/Northeast Nevada Historical Society, 1991 [1969]), 241.
8. ERC Minutes, July 12, 1930, and Aug. 21, 1931.
9. Kane, *History of the Ellison Ranching Co.*, 81.
10. ERC Minutes, Feb. 22, 1932.
11. E. P. Ellison Daybook, March 3, 1932; Kane, *History of the Ellison Ranching Co.*, 149–152.
12. Kane, *History of the Ellison Ranching Co.*, 141.
13. ERC Official Audit, 1932, Spanish Ranch, Nevada.
14. "Sheep and Wool Outlook," *The Cattleman* 19 (August 1932), 27.
15. Patterson, *Nevada's Northeast Frontier*, 241.
16. Ibid., 241–242.
17. James Stuart Olson, *Herbert Hoover and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, 1931–1933* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1977), 42, 55, 62, 86, 87, and 91, and Edward C. Kirkland, *A History of American Economic Life* 4th ed., (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969), 497.
18. J. A. Burrows to Mrs. Roy W. Simmons, March 30, 1978, in Ellison Ranching file, EFA.
19. Peter Ellison, Talk at Ellison Family Reunion, 12 August 1985, Elko, Nevada, copy in EFA.
20. ERC Minutes, April 21, 1932.
21. Ibid.; First National Bank of Salt Lake City, chartered in 1890, was an LDS Church bank. "Banking and Finance," in Allen Kent Powell, ed., *Utah History Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 31.
22. ERC Minutes, May 12, 1932.
23. E. P. Ellison Daybook, May, 1932; Minutes, June 1, 1932.
24. Kane, *History of the Ellison Ranching Co.*, 59.
25. ERC Minutes, June 13, 1932.
26. ERC Minutes, June 3, 1932.
27. ERC Minutes, June 5, 1933.
28. Kane, *History of the Ellison Ranching Co.*, 32.
29. ERC Minutes, June 29, 1932.
30. ERC Minutes, July 21, 1932.
31. Ibid.
32. ERC Minutes, Oct. 7, 1932.
33. ERC Minutes, Oct. 31, 1932.
34. ERC Minutes, Oct. 31, 1932.

35. ERC, Audit Report, 1935.
36. Copy of agreement is in ERC Minutes, p. 168, after Oct. 31, 1932, entry.
37. E. P. and sons James and Morris signed the document for the ranch, and Edward L. Burton, Frank E. Bagley and George J. Cannon signed for the bondholders committee.
38. ERC Minutes, March 9, 1933.
39. Supplemental Agreements with Bond company, July 11, 1933, Spanish Ranch Records Vault.
40. ERC Minutes, May 20 and July 13, 1933.
41. July 12, 1933 agreement between four parties: Ellison Ranching, the Ellisons (E. P., James E. and Morris H.), the bondholders committee, and RACC, copy in KIC Papers.
42. ERC Minutes, September 12, 1933.
43. Kane, *History of the Ellison Ranching Co.*, 22, 24.; ERC Minutes, Nov. 9, 1933; and Peter Ellison Talk, 1985.
44. ERC Minutes, Nov. 9, 1933.
45. ERC Minutes, June 4, 1934.
46. ERC Minutes, Feb. 20, 1935.
47. Kane, *History of the Ellison Ranching Co.*, 35.
48. Peter Ellison Talk, 1985.
49. The agreement is dated October 3, 1934.
50. Board members then were E. P. Ellison, George J. Cannon, James E. Ellison, Henry H. Blood, Edward L. Burton, William A. Dawson, and Frank E. Bagley.
51. ERC Minutes, February 5, 1935.
52. ERC Minutes, July 1 and 16, 1935.
53. ERC Minutes, July 26, 1935.
54. ERC Minutes, April 22, 1936, Dec. 22, 1936, and Jan. 21, 1937; and Morris Ellison to J. Will Knight, May 2, 1936, KIC Papers.
55. Kane, *History of the Ellison Ranching Co.*, ERC Minutes, June 27, 1938.
56. Harold Ellison Oral History Interview.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Oma Wilcox note to the author.

TWENTY-THREE

EXECUTIVE IN HIS EIGHTIES

From a pool hall window, several men watched their friend, obviously drunk, cross Main Street and stumble and fall several times trying to get across the railroad tracks that ran through Layton east of the bank. They laughed at the poor man's plight. But across the street and a few doors down, E. P. Ellison looked out of the Farmers Union window, saw the man fall, and did not laugh. Elderly, and his hands and head shaking slightly, as usual, he immediately stepped out the door, walked to the man, raised him to his feet, and then helped him walk across the street. One of the young men in the pool hall later told E. P.'s granddaughter about this, admitting that "we were so embarrassed we didn't know what to do, to think we had made fun of the man but that your grandfather, an old man, would go out and help him."[1]

E. P.'s office in the Farmers Union let him see and keep in touch with much that happened in Layton. It gave him a comfortable center from which to check on his many businesses. There, his daughter Nettie and son Morris managed the store. There too, Morris managed aspects of the Ellison Milling company in Alberta and the Ellison Ranches, managed into the 1930s by son Parl. E. P.'s Layton Milling and Elevator Company—sometimes known as Layton Milling Company or Layton Roller Mills—stood next to the store to the south. The First National Bank of Layton, with son Laurence in charge, was directly across Gentile Street from the store. The Layton Sugar Company factory, managed by son James, was about one-and-one-half miles to the west.

With his Farmers Union office as base, E. P. experienced a final decade of life that was exciting and taxing of his and his family's business skills. For the American economy, the Great Depression was like a storm at sea that sank some boats, swamped others, and stopped or rolled back the progress of most of the rest. High numbers of businesses failed,

many more suffered reverses and heavy losses, and unemployment was widespread. Prices fell, but so did consumer spending. Banks had trouble calling in loans. Borrowers had trouble finding lenders. Fortunately, when the Depression set in and deepened, the Ellisons were involved in more than one business—merchandising, sugar manufacturing, milling, banking, and ranching — and they were operating their businesses conservatively at a reasonable risk level. By marshalling family and business resources, and by drawing on contacts long established with other banks and enterprises, the Ellisons kept afloat on the choppy Depression seas.

If the times had been uneventful, E. P. might have considered some kind of formal retirement. But during those turbulent years, he took a leading role in maintaining businesses and protecting stockholders, despite his being between eighty and ninety years old.

Personal and Family

Inside E. P.'s 1931 daybook is pasted a page of philosophical thoughts that evidently were important to him, including these:

To talk health, happiness, and prosperity to every person we meet.
To be so strong, that nothing can disturb our peace of mind.
To make all our friends feel that there is something good in them.
To look on the sunny side of everything and make our optimism come true.
To think only of the best, to work only for the best, and expect only the best.
To be just as enthusiastic about the success of others as about our own.
To forget the mistakes of the past and press on to the greater achievements of the future.
To wear a cheerful countenance at all times, and to have a smile for every living creature.
To give so much time to the improvement of ourselves that we have no time to criticize others.
To be too large for worry, too noble for anger, too strong for fear, and too happy for the presence of trouble.
To think well of ourselves, and to proclaim this fact to the world, not in loud words, but in great deeds.
To feel that there are more men starving in the world for friendship and companionship than for bread.
To apply the element of justice and mercy in all matters of human contact.
To keep in mind the fact that the germ of defeat is in every selfish thought.

To exalt Conscience above Expedience, Vanity, and Cowardice.
To be sure that culture is the process by which a man becomes all he is capable of being.
To live in faith that the world is on our side so long as we are true to the best that is in us.
To incorporate in our lives the three great cardinal principles: Intelligence, Beauty, and Simplicity.

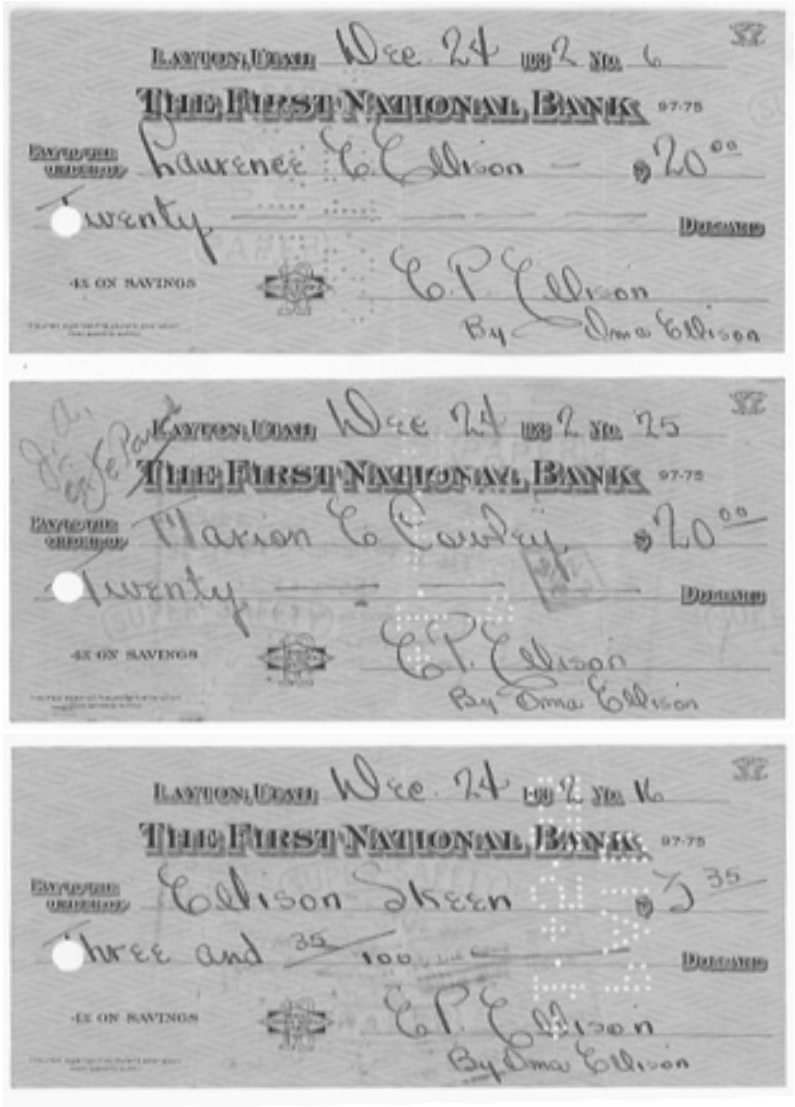
Jean Elizabeth Ellison Skeen, the fifth child of E. P. and Elizabeth, lived in Ogden. She married a lawyer, William Riley Skeen, and became the mother of six children born between 1907 and 1923. Jean was a very popular aunt among her nieces and nephews. In the latter part of February 1931, she became very ill, suffering from blood poisoning. She died on March 9th, at age forty-six, and was buried in the Ellison plot in the Kaysville Cemetery, close to her namesake mother.

Jean Elizabeth left behind a husband and six children, who were devastated by this loss. She had been a very caring person who showed great compassion and loved to help people. She was reserved and quiet, refined, deeply religious, and very spiritual. She was a fine homemaker and cook and an immaculate housekeeper.[2]

In 1934, E. P.'s sister Mary Alice Wallace began to have poor health. He visited her at Brigham City a few times. On New Year's Day, 1935, he went up again. She died within a day or two. He attended her funeral on January 6 in Brigham City. Her husband, William Wallace, had disappeared back in 1901, and she had raised her two children by herself.

Early in the 1930s, grandson Harris Ellison was in Washington D.C. and called on Justice George Sutherland, a friend of E. P. Mr. Sutherland was an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court and had served as a member of the U. S. House of Representatives and as a senator from Utah. Because of high regard for E. P., he invited Harris to lunch with him and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., also an associate justice. Harris tried but failed to turn down the invitation because he had a date with a girl he wanted to be with. The luncheon proved to be one of the most enjoyable hours in his life. "What a tragedy it would have been if I had not gone," he later acknowledged.[3]

When E. P. was eighty-two, in 1932, a severe blizzard covered Layton's east-west roads with snowdrifts. Quincy Adams tried to get his



Christmas check for family members from E. P., 1932. A $20.00 check was given to each child and spouse and $3.25 to each grandchild.

horse through to break a trail for E. P., but E. P. had already cleared a path with his shovel, so he could walk to work. When he arrived at the store, he phoned back to daughter Nettie, who was his housekeeper, and granddaughter Helene, and said: "Now, you two can't make it." Nettie was furious and said, "How much older than he is does he think I am?" E. P. then walked home for lunch and back, to make sure Nettie and Helene were all right, even though he could have phoned.[4]

Stake President Henry H. Blood became Utah's governor in 1932, which required that he move to Salt Lake City. Nevertheless, he continued to be the North Davis Stake president, which meant he had to rely on E. P., his first counselor, and second counselor Arnold Miller to carry much of his work for him. President Miller enjoyed those days when he and E. P. had to lead the stake at times: "I always found him wise and considerate whenever he had instructions to give us in the capacity that we—myself and others—were laboring in at that time."

Stake President Blood decided that "it would be well, if it met with the approval of President Ellison, that we meet in his home for our counsel meetings." So President Miller said that for several years "we met in the home of President Ellison very often and there we were always welcomed, with that fine, genuine, generous hospitality" with which E. P. was endowed. Because E. P. did not drive, even though he owned a car, President Miller often gave him a ride to stake meetings. "It was an honor to me to call at his home frequently and pick him up and take him over this part of Davis County to fill the appointments that it was necessary for us to fill." E. P.'s "ideals and standards were above reproach."[5]

In the mid–1930s, grandchildren Richard and Lucille Ellison went with father Evan and E. P. once to the Squaw Valley Ranch. They were told by someone at the ranch that E. P. was a good shot with a rifle or shotgun, and that he always shot from the hip.

E. P. took a vacation and business trip to southern Utah and Nevada in June 1935. He did sight-seeing at Bryce and Zion National Parks. Then he attended a bankers convention in Las Vegas. Having keen interest in dams, he inspected the huge Boulder Dam, which was nearing completion in the Black Canyon of the Colorado River, not far from Las Vegas. The dam was completed and became operational the next year.

According to E. P.'s 1936 daybook, he kept a fairly busy schedule

despite his eighty-six years. Taking one week in November for a sample, on Sunday he attended a stake meeting in the morning and a ward meeting in Clearfield at 3 P.M. He spent Monday at his office in the Farmers Union, Tuesday at a mill meeting in Kaysville, Wednesday again at Farmers Union, Thursday at the funeral of a Dr. Rich in Salt Lake City, Friday at Farmers Union and the sugar factory, and on Saturday he attended a canal company meeting.

In 1937, Morris, a widower for nine years, married his deceased wife's sister, Gladys Cowley. She was in her forties and had never been married. "It was a good thing for both of them," son Reed said. Morris and Gladys made frequent trips to Lethbridge, staying six weeks to three months at a time, while Morris supervised Ellison Milling and Elevator business in Lethbridge and in British Columbia.[6]

E. P. lost another sister, Susannah Ellen Robins, in 1938. The mother of nine children, she died in Kaysville.

For years, E. P.'s shakiness, or palsy, had been very evident. Richard and Lucille recalled that he walked around holding his suit lapel, pulling it forward, putting pressure on his neck to stop the shaking. His penmanship in his last daybooks is extremely wobbly. Although his tremor was a hindrance and at times embarrassing, Dr. Dean W. Tanner observed that in Layton it was a mark of distinction.[7]

People urged E. P. to attend Davis County's annual Old Folks Day. But he never did.

Farmers Union Expansion

Early in 1930, Farmers Union directors declared a moderate 8 percent dividend, and then voted to expand the building. The company built an addition on the north side and modernized the other parts of the store. Most of the decorative architectural elements were removed. Also removed were poplar trees along Gentile Street in front of the store and several hitching posts once used to secure buggies, wagons, and horses. The company converted the upstairs into apartments, adding to those already there. Tenants included a dentist, Dr. R. C. Robinson of Farmington. Next to the store on the south and then along Gentile Street

to the west were the coal shed, implements shed, lumber yard, stock corral, and scales.[8]

Two pictures taken in 1931 show the store's two sections. In one a "Red and White Stores" sign hangs above the meat department at the end of the store. Along walls running from that end are shelves filled with canned and packaged food items. Display cases are free-standing in the middle of the room. A weighing scale sits on top of one of the cases. Two racks displaying Holsum and Wonder bread products stand in the middle section, too. The second picture is of the dry goods section of the store. Cloth, clothes, and shoes are most visible. Display cases and counters, in the middle and along the walls, are lined with stocked shelves. In both pictures the store clerk is wearing a white apron, like a butcher's apron.

Store letterhead for 1933 lists Morris Ellison as manager of the "Farmers Union of Layton, Dealers in General Merchandise," a store capitalized at $50,000, with a surplus of $25,000. The letterhead advertised that the store sold such items as

Lumber	Meats
Sash	Groceries
Cement	Hardware
Plaster	Drygoods
Farm implements	Notions
Tractors	Clothing
Threshers	Shoes

Items not listed within the letterhead design, but which the store also sold, included

Jewelry	Carpets
Silverware	Fabrics
Dishes	Buggies
Cut glass	

Farmers Union was in the habit of extending credit to many people "not deserving of it," according to Morris's son Reed. Morris, reticent by nature, was reluctant to press those who could not pay their bills. This created problems for the store because, due to the Depression, perhaps 40 to 50 percent of the customers could not or did not pay their bills. The store had but three or four full-time employees, and although none was laid off, some took pay cuts. In September 1931, the board instituted a

Interior views of the Farmers Union Store.

new policy "that we place our business on a cash basis beginning Tuesday, September 15, 1931, but that the management may use discretion in the matter of building materials."[9]

In November 1930, the stockholders approved an increase in the company's stock from $50,000 to $75,000 by issuing 2,500 new ten dollar shares, bringing the total to 7,500 shares. Only 1,550 shares sold during the sixty-day sale period, mostly to E. P., who purchased 1,252 shares. Because of the Depression, E. P. offered to buy any company stock that hard-pressed stockholders felt they needed to sell.[10]

In 1936, Ray J. Dawson became the company's manager. That year, E. P. was once again elected president. When Nettie Stevenson resigned as secretary-treasurer, Laurence Ellison's daughter, Oma Ellison Wilcox, replaced her. The board minutes contain an expression of thanks to Nettie for her twenty-eight years "of excellent service." In that era of male dominated businesses, Nettie never served on the board of directors, nor did any other female. Directors elected in May 1936 were[11]

E. P. Ellison
John W. Thornley
David E. Layton
Joseph E. Flint
William E. Gailey
James E. Ellison
Ray J. Dawson

New manager Dawson secured for the store a dealership for John Deere farm implements.[12]

E. P. last attended a Farmers Union executive meeting on March 7, 1938. He was reelected as company president that year and again in 1939, not long before his death.[13]

Bank That Did Not Fail

In 1930, Laurence owned forty shares of First National Bank of Layton stock, and E. P. twenty-five. That Christmas the bank gave bonuses to employees Annie Brown, Vird Cook, and Ruth Layton and to these board members:[14]

E. P. Ellison
Rufus Adams
Jesse M. Smith
Geo. W. Layton
R. D. Ware
Chester C. Flint
L. E. Ellison

Banks with big sums of money loaned out suffered as much as any business did during the Depression. Many banks in Utah, seeing their investments lose value and their loans not being repaid, were caught in an "economic strait jacket."[15] Bank manager Laurence's daughter Oma completed an LDS mission to the Eastern States Mission in 1930, and his son Harris concluded his German-Austrian mission about the same time. Laurence, comparing notes with his daughter, determined that the Depression was worse in the East than in the West.[16] Nevertheless, the First National Bank of Layton had to navigate the Depression seas very carefully. Of Utah's 105 banks, 32 failed by 1933.[17]

Oma, who worked in the Layton bank during the Depression, said that the bank survived without too much difficulty. It was, she said, an "honor bank" because of its high ratio of surplus to capital. Depositors had no fear, she said, for the safety of their money or the solvency of the bank.

On March 5, 1933, newly inaugurated President Franklin D. Roosevelt declared a "Bank Holiday" that closed banks to give them time to evaluate their financial status. Local merchants, however, became fearful because they had no safe place to deposit their money and no place to obtain needed currency and change with which to transact business. So while the Layton bank complied with the holiday officially, unofficially it stayed open, using a temporary set of books. Laurence and Oma worked at the bank during this two-week "closure." After the bank holiday ended, only banks which demonstrated fundamental soundness were allowed to reopen. First National Bank of Layton was one of them. Seeking to help the economy get started again, President Roosevelt took the nation off the gold standard, a revolutionary action. Until then, gold was a recognized medium of exchange.[18]

While Oma was working in the bank, a Japanese man came in, distraught. He had buried his paper currency in a can, for safe-keeping. When he dug up the can he found that water and mice had ruined the bills. Upset, he brought the can and money to show to his banker. He was such a reliable man that Laurence checked with the Federal Reserve Bank for him. They said for the man to bring in affidavits attesting to his reliability. He did, and the bank gave him new currency in the amount he claimed he once had.[19]

Several grandchildren assert that E. P. Ellison tried very hard to not allow the bank to foreclose on anyone during the Depression.[20]

Increasingly, the Layton Bank had to deal with the effects of national problems and federal solutions. President Hoover's administration created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) to pump government moneys into banks and other institutions. The Layton bank's board voted on March 30, 1932, to apply for an RFC loan of up to $60,000. Nine months later, it passed a similar resolution, seeking up to $40,000 in loans from the RFC.[21]

On March 8, 1934, E. H. Gough, Deputy Comptroller of the United States Treasury, wrote to the directors of the First National Bank of Layton to report that a February 6 examination of the bank showed estimated losses of $11,700. So he ordered the bank to eliminate those losses from its assets by June 30th. Regarding slow or doubtful loans, Mr. Gough warned of the "unsoundness of a loan policy that is based on land values that are excessive according to ready sale values." Consider that carefully, he urged.[22]

Bank directors responded by letter to the Comptroller of Currency, on April 2, 1934. They requested an extension of time on the loss items because they expected some liquidation of these shaky loans through refinancing and from crop sales between June 30 and year's end. "It is our desire to conform to a sound loan policy on real estate values," they pledged; "also to abide by sound banking practices and to avoid particularly taking action that would, in our opinion, be quite contrary to the recovery program." They said that "our position is being strengthened from month to month."

In reply, Mr. Gough granted them no extension. He insisted that they must cut their unpaid notes from their asset list by June 30th. "This office cannot sanction the continued carrying of losses as good assets," he explained. He asked the directors for the status of the loss items as of May 31st and for a report of any improvements in the bank's condition. The board responded with a list showing which of the questioned loans seemed like good bets and which ones they were writing off.[23]

Utah's bank commissioner asked the First National Bank of Layton to reduce the rate of interest it paid on time deposits, which the bank did.[24] In the heart of the Depression, on June 28, 1933, directors were able

to declare a reasonably healthy 6% annual dividend. At some point, however, directors reduced the salaries of their four employees by 20 percent for a while.

On July 26, 1933, directors promised the RFC that, in consideration of the August 6th renewal of a loan to the bank, the bank would not increase compensation of officers or employees to any amount which the RFC might consider unreasonable.

As part of the loan-renewal deal, the bank agreed to let the Comptroller of the Currency and the Utah State Banking Department disclose or exchange with each other the names of borrowers from the bank as well as the character of and amounts of collateral for the bank's loans. The board agreed to send both agencies copies of examiners' reports regarding the bank's business affairs.[25]

Late in 1933, the Town of Layton wanted to buy the Layton Water System, so an election was held to win voter approval for issuing bonds. The Town asked First National Bank of Layton directors if they were interested in taking stock in payment of obligations or in buying some of the bonds. The bank basically agreed to cooperate.[26]

On December 27, 1933, Jesse M. Smith, vice-president of the bank, disposed of his bank stock and therefore had to step down.[27] One prominent customer of the bank through the years was LDS Church Apostle David O. McKay.

On March 28, 1934, the bank's board met and voted to accept Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation bonds in lieu of cash on government loans to pay off present indebtedness of borrowers.

Letterhead crowning a November 13, 1934 letter states that "The First National Bank of Layton" had capital of $25,000 and surplus of $75,000. A note in the bank's board minutes lists indebtedness of the executive officers to other banks. E. P., it said, owed $73,500 and Laurence Ellison $8,400.[28] By this point in time the bank was turning down loan renewal requests and taking over and selling several properties used as mortgage securities.[29]

On October 25, 1939, the board minutes contain a farewell resolution honoring E. P., who had died five days earlier.

Watching Weather and Two Dams

During E. P.'s final years as President of the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company, the company's main concerns were to put the new Echo Canyon Dam's waters to good use while maintaining the East Canyon Dam and the company's lengthy system of canals. In 1932, Mr. D. D. Harris, manager of the Weber River Water Users Association, rented at WRWUA's expense an office in the downtown Eccles Building and hired clerical help to be used by both the Weber River Water Users Association (WRWUA) and the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company (DWCCC).[30]

During the hard winter of 1931–1932, heavy snows were a curse for the Ellison ranches in Nevada but a boon and blessing to the DWCCC reservoirs. On March 8, 1932, Mr. Harris reported four feet of snow at East Canyon Reservoir and seventy inches at Holiday Park near the head of the Weber River. By then, the water executives knew that both of their reservoirs would be filled that season.[31]

On July 8, 1932, E. P. participated in the formal dedication of Echo Dam. During the program, E. P. presented an engraved watch to Mr. Buttars, a long-time employee of the canal company, to honor his retirement after thirty-seven years of service for DWCCC. In Mr. Buttars' place the company employed Tom Carter as caretaker of East Canyon Dam. It also hired Mr. L. H. Durrant to be a watchman at that dam.[32]

Late in 1932 the WRWUA's members asked the federal government for a moratorium of the entire first payment for Echo Dam due on December 1, because "they did not believe the farmers under their system could pay the necessary assessment this year." This extension required Congressional approval, which was granted.[33]

Stockholders at the DWCCC annual meeting on November 19, 1932, learned that the company had delivered nine acre-feet per share during 1932, or 86,000 acre-feet total—the largest quantity ever delivered by the company. Because director John G. M. Barnes had died, the board selected Herbert J. Barnes as his successor.[34] Late in 1933, the company felt pressure building for water users to have water only when they wanted it instead of all having their share all the time. The board discussed the "possibility of arranging some system whereby stockholders

DWCCC stock certificate, November 17, 1933. The signature of E. P. Ellison as President shows signs of his advancing age.

could take their water as and when needed by them and, if not needed, the water not to be used."[35]

By early 1934, poor winter snowpack promised a "great shortage of water this year." By mid-May, director Harris had visited Governor Blood and appealed for a share of federal funds that had been appropriated for drought relief, to help defray DWCCC's water distribution expenses. Governor Blood thought that the company's application would be approved, but the result is not recorded. Despite low water, board members found "a good attitude among the water users," most of whom were satisfied with water distribution that season. Through cooperation among various water users, the water situation by early June was "well in hand."[36]

But by summer's end, stockholders trooped before the board to plead for water to irrigate and for their cattle:

> President Ellison explained the Canal Company's position, stating that the Company had exhausted its storage water and had no water available at this time other than sufficient to protect the concrete sections of the Canal System. Mr. Harris stated that it would be impossible to make delivery of any water at this time to irrigators, even a small stream.[37]

In 1934, the company's fifty-year charter expired, so the board amended it to read 100 years, instead of reincorporating.[38]

Thinking they could obtain a grant from the Federal Emergency Relief Agency, the company explored the possibility of building a reservoir near the terminus of the South Branch Canal. But they learned that the site they picked for the reservoir was unable to hold the 5,000 to 6,000 acre feet of water they wanted. So the effort died.[39]

The company provided 9.93 acre feet per share in 1936, and 9.22 in 1937.[40]

A milestone in company history happened in the fall of 1937. At the annual stockholders' meeting held on November 20th, Mr. Barnes "regretted to report that Mr. E. P. Ellison, after many years of service as a member of the Board of Directors and President of the Company, had expressed the desire to be released from further service." E. P.'s letter of resignation, dated October 4, 1937, reads:

Gentlemen:

I think I should advise you now of my intention to give up the Presidency of your company at the next stockholders meeting and that should I be reelected as has happened many times in the past against my own personal wishes, I shall have to decline to accept the office.

I have been President of your company for some thirty-odd years and it has been a real pleasure and privilege to have served in such capacity. I feel also that through our mutual respect we have obtained some lasting benefits for ourselves and our communities.

I find now however that other interests are requiring more of my time and attention, and it therefore seems best that I give them my first consideration.

If at any time I may be of assistance to you in a personal capacity, please advise and oblige.

Yours very truly,
E. P. Ellison

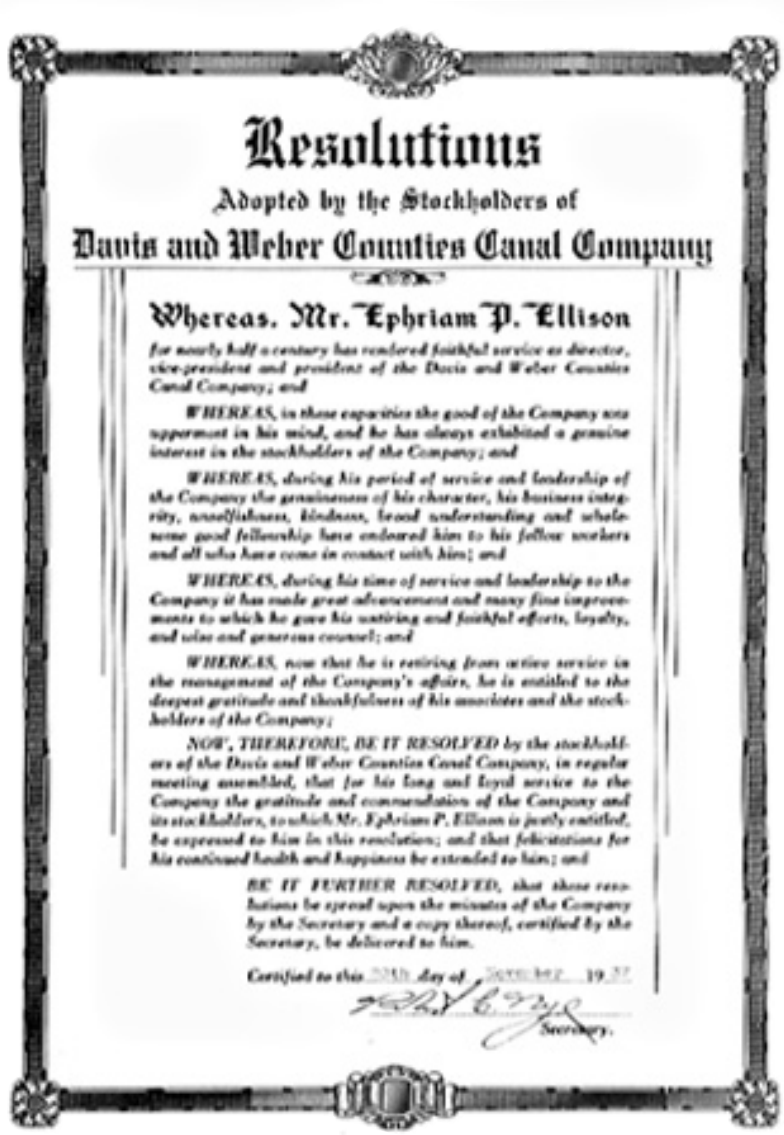
E. P. was first elected to the company's board in 1889, and he had served as president since 1898—thirty-nine consecutive one-year terms. While accepting his resignation, the board praised him for nearly a half-century of faithful service to the company. They praised him for always having the customer uppermost in his mind, and for the "genuineness of his character, his business integrity, unselfishness, kindness, and broad understanding and wholesome good fellowship" that "endeared him to his fellow workers and all who have come in contact with him." H. J. Barnes replaced E. P. as president, and E. P.'s son James joined the board and became DWCCC's vice-president.

During E. P.'s presidency, the company became a corporation with more than $3 million in assets. It had built the East Canyon Dam, which by then impounded 28,000 acre feet of water, and owned 31,000 acre-feet in the Echo Reservoir. By the time E. P. retired, DWCCC waters were servicing 40,000 acres of land in southern Weber and northern Davis counties.[41]

Unstable Sugar

A court document connected with E. P.'s estate after he died referred to the vigor he showed in 1930 in behalf of his sugar company:

June 13, 1930, he was witness before Board of Tax Appeals in SLC re petition of Layton Sugar Co then pending before said body. He was on



Resolutions

Adopted by the Stockholders of

Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company

Whereas, Mr. Ephriam P. Ellison

for nearly half a century has rendered faithful service as director, vice-president and president of the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company; and

WHEREAS, in those capacities the good of the Company was uppermost in his mind, and he has always exhibited a genuine interest in the stockholders of the Company; and

WHEREAS, during his period of service and leadership of the Company the genuineness of his character, his business integrity, unselfishness, kindness, broad understanding and wholesome good fellowship have endeared him to his fellow workers and all who have come in contact with him; and

WHEREAS, during his time of service and leadership to the Company it has made great advancements and many fine improvements to which he gave his untiring and faithful efforts, loyalty, and wise and generous counsel; and

WHEREAS, now that he is retiring from active service in the management of the Company's affairs, he is entitled to the deepest gratitude and thankfulness of his associates and the stockholders of the Company;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the stockholders of the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company, in regular meeting assembled, that for his long and loyal service to the Company the gratitude and commendation of the Company and its stockholders, to which Mr. Ephriam P. Ellison is justly entitled, be expressed to him in this resolution; and that felicitations for his continued health and happiness be extended to him; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Company by the Secretary and a copy thereof, certified by the Secretary, be delivered to him.

Certified to this [illegible] day of [illegible] 19[illegible]

[illegible]
Secretary.

DWCCC Resolution.

Stock Certificate; Layton Sugar Company.

witness stand for several hours. While testifying it became known it was his 80th birthday [3 days before]. Mr. Phillips, member of board hearing case, "marveled at Mr. Ellison's mental clarity and very good nature under cross examination, and congratulated him from the bench upon reaching such a ripe old age, and in keeping full possession of all his faculties and his rare good nature."[42]

James Ellison's annual Layton Sugar Company report for 1930 noted that "at the present time the sugar market is lower than for many years, and no great improvement in the very near future is anticipated." Sugar prices fell sharply during the Depression, hitting a low of three cents per pound (compared to six cents in 1929).[43]

E. P.'s 1931 daybook contains a clipping about the sugar season just ending in December. It said the factory received beets from 500 growers who were paid seven dollars per ton for their beets. This totalled $560,000 paid to local farmers. The factory that season was employing between 250 and 300 men during its ninety-day run. The run was expected to manufacture about 200,000 one-hundred pound bags of sugar.

James Ellison noted that the company's sales allotment for 1934 was

269,934 bags, "practically all of which was marketed." The company paid $4.15 per ton, but if sugar prices held, he said, it would give an added payment to the beet growers. But in 1935 it suffered its worst year ever, according to James E. Ellison's annual report to the board:

> On account of the short crop we did not operate our factory and shipped what beets we had to the Garland factory of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company for processing. Our crop failure was caused by drouth, White Fly, etc., the ground being so dry in the spring, a great amount of the seed did not germinate.
>
> The Agricultural Adjustment Act went into effect June 8th, 1934, and on all sugar sold since that date, we have paid 53 1/2 c per cwt [hundredweight] to the government for Processing Tax. Sugar prices have been lower than they were during the previous year; until recently they have advanced.

In terms of numbers of beets processed and of bags of sugar manufactured, the decade of the thirties looked like this:[44]

Year	Beets/tons	Bags 100#
1929–30	66,500	183,522
1930–31	75,326	195,505
1931–32	59,664	164,148
1932–33	107,534	294,054
1933–34	100,500	283,715
1934–35	———	5,931
1935–36	58,113	144,548
1936–37	———	———
1937–38	73,881	192,726
1938–39	95,881	232,419

In 1939, a few months before E. P. died, the *Deseret News* praised Utah's beet industry for being "the state's biggest, strictly home enterprise." It paid workers some 2.5 million dollars while bringing in twenty million from sales of sugar outside the state. "The leading firms now are the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, Amalgamated Sugar Company, Layton Sugar Company, and Gunnison Sugar Company."

Marketing Canadian Flour

In Canada, the Depression damaged Ellison Milling. Expansion of the Lethbridge facility and other company expenses required it to issue

debentures to the Bank of Montreal for $250,000. A poor crop year in 1931 hurt the industry, and Ellison Milling's accounts receivable were plagued by delinquencies. Banks wanted their loans to Ellison Milling paid up, so they pressed the company to collect its overdue accounts. As a result, the company was forced to foreclose on mortgages it held, two of which were the Woman's Bakery and the London Bakery in Vancouver. The flour mill ran only half time. Wages were reduced and reduced again. Directors met with the Bank of Montreal and decided to "try to ride it out."[45]

Morris' son, Reed, decided to get married in 1933. When he brought his fiance, Eva Rasmussen, to meet E. P., he said, "Grandpa, this is the girl I'm going to marry." E. P. extended his hand to her and, with his head shaking a little, he looked at her and didn't even smile while he said: "So you think you are going to get into this family, do ya?" He meant it as dry humor, but it scared her. He had a stern expression and cold gray eyes, she recalled of that occasion.[46]

In 1933, Reed and Eva went to Alberta, where Reed would work for Ellison Milling. Reed had been in law school, but when he learned he was being hired as a chemist for the mill, he spent many days after school going to a flour mill in Salt Lake City to learn "cereal chemistry." When the couple reached the Canadian border, customs officials turned them back because they did not want Americans taking jobs in Canada that Canadians could fill.[47]

E. P. lobbied with government officials in Ottawa in Reed's behalf. He argued that Ellison Milling was a family firm which had pumped much money and many jobs into the Canadian economy, and that Reed was a stockholder in the company and therefore should be allowed to work there. Permission came within two weeks, so Reed and Eva began a long residence in Canada.[48]

One of Reed's first major assignments was to go to Vancouver to try to collect debts owed the company by the bakeries there. By his efforts, he managed to put the London Bakery into decent financial condition. Its operators were using horse-drawn wagons for house-to-house delivery and were selling bread for five cents a loaf or sometimes three-for-a-dime during bakery "bread wars." Many customers had fallen behind up to two years in their payments. Reed worked on the accounts receivable

and eventually helped the bakery be salable. It was sold to Safeway Stores. Reed and Eva then remained in the Vancouver area until 1940 to help run the wholesale flour and feed business at the Ellison Milling warehouse.[49]

Will Knight, at E. P.'s funeral, paid particular tribute to E. P's leadership of Ellison Milling and Elevator in Alberta:

> He was a factor not only in the United States in doing big things, and known throughout the United States, but he was a great factor in Canada. Some of his products are going to the Orient today through the Ellison Milling Company, a great institution. Little is heard about it, no stock being peddled on the market, trying to run a business successfully, giving employment, no contention with the labor element.[50]

In time, Ellison flour was being sold all across Canada and exported to England, Scotland, Norway, and Hong Kong. George W. Green managed Ellison Milling until he retired in 1935. Morris H. Ellison succeeded him. Morris had been a company director since his 1903 assignment to become resident manager of the Raymond sugar plant at age twenty-two. Officially he was the milling company's assistant manager, but actually he was the main manager. After he moved to Utah, he had made trips back to Canada in the interests of Ellison Milling.[51]

On the eve of E. P.'s death, the milling business was booming in Canada. Morris wrote to Will Knight on September 7, 1939, to say how hectic his week had been. Everybody wanted flour immediately, he complained, and the company was not in a position to buy wheat. "We have orders for about fifty car loads of flour and 25 cars of feed. We are running twenty-four hours per day making about 160,000 lbs. of flour, but we can't get the order out half fast enough."[52] In a September 14 letter, Morris told Will: "I believe we have a good organization—if anything should happen to me it would seem that we are prepared to go on." The letter's masthead noted that Ellison Milling had branches in Vancouver, Nelson, and Calgary, the mill at Lethbridge, and elevators in southern Alberta.

Demise of the Knight Companies

In early 1931, E. P. was reelected to serve as vice-president of the Knight Sugar Company, of which Ray Knight was president.[53] A list of

stockholders in early 1933 shows that the company was basically a Knight Investment Company and LDS Church operation. Knights had 6,328 shares of stock and the LDS Church 1,306, while E. P. owned 27 shares, James 27, and Morris 10.[54] By 1933, Knight Investment Corporation could not pay its creditors, even after the Knight family had exhausted their personal fortunes to make good on obligations. Among debts, they owed First National Bank of Layton $5,000, a drop in the bucket compared to the $300,000 they owed to Zions Savings.[55]

Likewise, the Knight Sugar Company in Canada was in trouble by early 1934 because it could not sell its lands or collect on land contracts, which meant it could not pay delinquent taxes or retire a sizeable debt owed to the Bank of Montreal.[56] Financial problems forced the parent Knight Investment Company to dissolve, along with Knight Sugar in Canada. E. P., Laurence, and other Ellisons, whose businesses had weathered the Depression, were saddened to witness the termination of the Knight operations, with which Ellison manpower and money had been intertwined for more than three decades.

Properties in Millard County

Few details have been found regarding land purchases E. P. made in Millard County, Utah. On April 10, 1930, he purchased a quarter-section, or 160 acres, in that county, which added to his previous holdings there. Tax valuation records for the county in January 1932 identify twenty-three land parcels E. P. had to pay taxes on. Most of them were small, the largest being 640, 240, and 160 acres. In total, E. P. paid tax on 4,924.58 acres that had a taxable value of $8,575. Very likely the small parcels, not contiguous but scattered through five or more townships (townships are thirty-six square mile entities), and which together amounted to but seven square miles of land, were mining claims.[57]

NOTES

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3. Oma Wilcox note to the author, EFA.

4. Ibid.
5. "Funeral Services of Ephraim P. Ellison," typescript, EFA.
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7. Richard Ellison, Lucille Strong, and Oma Wilcox oral history interviews.
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11. Farmers Union Minutes, May 7, 1936.
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13. Farmers Union Minutes, 1938 and 1939.
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19. Oma Wilcox Oral History.
20. Lucille Strong, Richard Strong, and Oma Wilcox oral history interviews.
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24. FNBL Minutes, May 31, 1933.
25. Ibid., July 26, 1933.
26. Ibid., Dec. 27, 1933.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., Sept. 25, 1935.
29. FNLB Minutes for the year 1935.
30. Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company, Board Minutes, Feb. 9, 1932, cited hereafter as DWCCC Minutes.
31. Ibid., March 8, 1932.
32. Ibid., May 10, June 14, and July 9, 1932.
33. Ibid., Nov. 15, 1932, and Nov. 18, 1933.
34. Ibid., Nov. 19, 1932.
35. Ibid., Oct. 6 and Nov. 18, 1933. The board of directors then were E. P., A.P. Bigelow, Herbert J. Barnes, P.A. Dix, D.D. Harris, Thomas J. Thurgood, and Ronald Wadsworth.
36. DWCCC Minutes, June 12, 1934.

37. Ibid., Sept. 13, 1934.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., March 13, 1935.
40. Ibid., Nov. 21, 1936 and Nov. 20, 1937.
41. "Retires as Water Official," newspaper clipping with E. P.'s picture, no source indicated, copy in EFA.
42. "Memo re Mr. Ellison's Activities, 1935–1939," dated August 27, 1942, in E. P. Ellison Trust Papers, First National Bank of Layton.
43. Bachman, *The Amalgamated Sugar Company.* One New Deal response to too much unsold produce was to pay producers to reduce their output. An amendment to the Agricultural Adjustment Act dealt with sugar production and reductions. It set quotas and prices for sugar, divided the country into domestic and foreign supplying areas with set quotas, levied a tax on processors of sugar cane and beets to pay growers for reducing their output, and promised an equitable division of sugar returns among processors, growers, and farm workers. But the Supreme Court soon declared the AAA unconstitutional for taxing processors.
44. Layton Sugar Company, Annual Reports, in Layton Sugar Company file in U and I Sugar Records, Brigham Young University Archives. Cited hereafter as LSC.
45. Ellison Milling and Elevator Company, Ltd., Corporate Minutes, originals in possession of Ellison Enterprises, Ltd.; see minutes for meetings on May 4 and Sep. 14, 1931; Apr. 12, Oct. 19, and Dec. 3, 1932; January 18 and Apr. 6, 1933. Christofferson, ""Ellison Milling and Elevator," 12–13.
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47. Ibid.
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50. "Funeral Services of Ephraim P. Ellison," typescript, EFA.
51. Eva Ellison, Mill History, 50.
52. Morris Ellison to J. William Knight, Sept. 7, 1939, KIC Papers.
53. KSC Minutes, April 6, 1931, Glenbow.
54. Ibid., February 18, 1933, Glenbow.
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CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

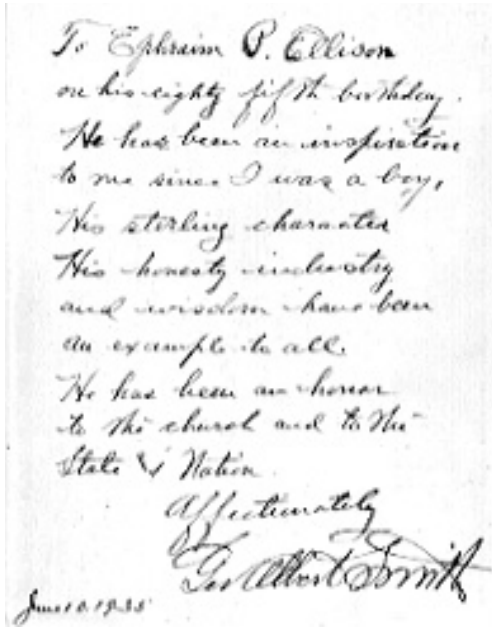
PASSING OF THE PATRIARCH

E. P. Ellison lived a long life—eight months shy of ninety years. He outlived his wife, Elizabeth, by twenty-three years, almost a quarter of a century. His passing elicited much praise of him and of his family. He had prepared his assets and his business interests for the eventuality of his death, so the companies in which the family was heavily involved were already very functional without him. Most of the businesses in which he was deeply involved are still viable businesses today, some unchanged in name, others modified (see Appendix Two).

As part of his preparations, a trust fund was set up in 1936 to handle his businesses and property and to be a vehicle for transferring them to his heirs.[1] The trust involved about 200 acres of land in Davis County and most of his stock.[2]

Unwilling to Retire

Even in his eighties, E. P. kept busy.[3] During 1935, for example, he presided at directors' and stockholders' meetings for Layton Sugar, a directors' meeting for Ellison Ranching, and at eight of eleven Layton bank board meetings. On June 10, 1935, he enjoyed a celebration held in honor of his eighty-fifth birthday. More than 600 guests—relatives, friends, business associates—came to the reception at his home. A local newspaper reported on the event.[4] E. P. was "in excellent shape and spirits on that occasion and was on his feet until late in the evening greeting the callers and recognizing every one who came." (Less than a week before this social event, he had attended a convention of the Utah State Bankers' Association in Zion National Park, evidence that he was still able to get around quite well.) As a gift to honor E. P.'s birthday, LDS Apostle George Albert Smith (who ten years later became President of


To Ephraim P. Ellison
on his eighty fifth birthday.
He has been an inspiration
to me since I was a boy.
His sterling character
His honesty, industry
and wisdom have been
an example to all.
He has been an honor
to the church and to the
State & Nation.
Affectionately
George Albert Smith
June 10 1935

An 85th birthday tribute to E. P. Ellison from Apostle and future LDS Church President George Albert Smith.

the Church) gave him a book, in the front of which are handwritten these words:[5]

> To Ephraim P. Ellison
> on his eighty fifth birthday.
> He has been an inspiration
> to me since I was a boy.
> His sterling character
> His honesty, industry
> and wisdom have been
> an example to all.
> He has been an honor
> to the church and to the
> State and Nation.
> Affectionately,
> George Albert Smith
> June 10, 1935.

In 1936, E. P. presided at three ranch directors' meetings, two sugar company directors' meetings, and one sugar stockholders' gathering. In May of that year, he was reelected president and director of the sugar company.

Not until 1937, when E. P. was almost eighty-seven, was he released as a counselor in the North Davis Stake presidency. Age was not the reason for his release: stake president Blood was released, which by LDS Church practice automatically released his counselors, including E. P. Local Latter-day Saints honored the released stake presidency at a social on March 29th.

During 1937, E. P. presided at four ranch directors' meetings, and at one of them he was reelected as a director and as Ellison Ranching's president. He presided at six of the nine bank board meetings he attended that year.

In 1938, he presided at bank, ranch, and sugar directors' meetings. That year, he made an eight-hundred-mile trip to Canada by car in less than two days. Shortly after his return, he went to Nevada to inspect ranches and livestock. During 1939, the year he died, he presided at a bank stockholders' meeting at which he was reelected as director, at the bank directors' meeting at which he was elected president, and at the sugar company's stockholders and directors meetings, where he was reelected president, director, and a member of the executive committee.

E. P. had no interest in not working. Son Morris observed that E. P. believed that being alive was synonymous with being able to work:

> Father was very humorous and did not become discouraged, but he had no hobby or recreation except as he enjoyed it out of his work. That was true all his life. He did . . . get a great deal of joy out of doing things—was always optimistic.[6]

J. William Knight, the non-Ellison business associate who worked more closely and longer with E. P. than anyone else did, related a conversation he had with E. P. about work and play:

> I said to him once, "Brother Ellison, do you ever have any recreation or pleasure?" Brother Ellison said of himself, "I love recreation. I like pleasure. I like to go to games of all kinds, and am surprised at the man never thinking of a ball game or a horse race or a foot race, seemingly no part of his life." And I said, "Why don't you take a day off and have a little rest?" He said, "It would be no rest for me, Brother Knight. I am doing the thing that brings me the most happiness and that is to go on working on these problems. They bring me real pleasure. I would be unhappy if I went to these

things you speak of." I never knew him to take a day off as a day of recreation.

Last Days

During his final two years, although presiding over and helping to direct corporations, E. P.'s activity level did decline. His memory starting weakening, so others became more solicitous of his observable slippage. Daughter Marion cared for him in his declining years. She was "patient and untiring and careful" while helping him "in a cheerful manner and in a way that would meet the approval of all."[7]

According to Marion, E. P. became "very nervous" and frail in his last days. As an example of this, she described the time she had to drive him to Canada, to return a relative there. E. P. and Marion rode in front, Bishop David E. Layton and the relative in back. At their destination, while they were eating their first dinner there, E. P.'s face looked as white as snow, showing that the day had been hard on him. "We can't go to Raymond in the morning unless he is better," Marion told Bishop Layton. She feared E. P. might be dying. However, he improved, so they drove to Raymond.[8]

Granddaughter Cleone took E. P. for a ride not long before he died. They visited with her Aunt Ella Dawson and drove down Gentile Street. E. P. talked to her about the people who had lived in the various homes they were passing.[9]

During E. P.'s last few months, he suffered from poor health and was confined to bed for several weeks.

E. P. died on October 20, 1939, of "natural causes." He had suffered a cerebral hemorrhage five days prior to his death.[10] Many newspapers in Utah, Alberta, and Nevada printed extensive articles about his passing.

Great Life Eulogized

A stranger passing by the Layton Ward chapel, 195 E. Gentile Street, on Monday afternoon, October 23rd, could tell by the size of the funeral crowd that somebody important had died. Newspaper estimates say 1,500 people crowded into the church to pay their respects for E. P. and to his family. Someone counted 129 floral bouquets that attenders and


The Salt Lake Tribune

Hitler Denies New Peace Plan; It's 'War to End'

Press Declares Allies Lost Chance of Truce

Britain Accused of Fanning New War Flames in Balkans Through Turkish Pact

A Potential Life Line

Hull Ponders Britain's Mail Seizures

German-Bound Matter to Go Through Italy

British Planes Rout Nazi Coast Raiders

Invaders Fly High Over Forts of Forth

War Moves Reviewed At a Glance

Rain, Political Maneuvering Keep War Confined to Sea

Pioneer Utahn

Retired Trade Leader Dies in Layton

Senate Nears Close of Arms Debate

Col. Lindbergh Draws Fire Of Republicans

E. P. Ellison's death is front page news in the Salt Lake Tribune, *21 October 1939.*

florists placed on and around the pulpit area. On the list of some ninety honorary pall bearers were "prominent men from various parts of the State and Canada, representing all lines of business as well as church."[11]

If positive comments about the deceased voiced at funerals could enhance his position in the hereafter, praises speakers paid to E. P. would have qualified him for the top step in heaven's staircase. E. P.'s eulogizers were men of prominence in community and church affairs, and their tributes were genuine and heartfelt. They sprinkled their remarks with assessments of E. P.'s personality, character, and contributions, as well as stories from his life; so it is appropriate here, as this biography of E. P. concludes, to sample several of their comments.

Bishop William A. Dawson conducted the funeral. Bishop David E. Layton, during his invocation, mentioned to the Lord that E. P. was "one of Thy great noblemen," a man who "kept the faith," a "great, outstanding character," and a promoter of the Lord's work as well as secular enterprises. He prayed that none of E. P.'s large family would "ever lower the standards that have been set by this great parent of theirs," and that every family member "may not do anything that would grieve their father."

Appropriately, the Layton Ward Relief Society Chorus sang "The Builder," a hymnal version of the story about the old man who crossed a vast chasm and then built a bridge so that youth who might follow after him would not get lost. As the first speaker, President Arnold D. Miller of the stake presidency recalled experiences from the days when he and E. P. were stake presidency counselors together. "I travelled with him and slept with him and ate with him, and he was always that splendid open-minded, generous, free-hearted, fine man. Nothing held back—open and frank and honest with you at all times." Miller found E. P. to be "kind and generous, thoughtful and considerate, devoted and true, slow to speak, but wise in counsel; lovable in affection; fearless, but humble; busy always, but always on time; humorous, but clean; a lover of children; an unfaltering faith in God and His works."

Next to speak was J. William Knight, son of Jesse Knight and longtime business associate of the Ellisons. He praised E. P.'s business acumen. "There is no other man that I can think of that I would rather have his judgment than E. P. Ellison's on business problems." Mr. Knight

Crowd at the home of E. P. Ellison the day of his funeral.

Pallbearers carrying the casket with the remains of E. P. Ellison.

explained that the relationship enjoyed by the Knights and Ellisons was like a family relationship:

> As time went on our association became closer. The family of Brother Ellison and our family all feel like the same family, so far as I have been able to judge. Our affections for each other have been very dear and lasting, I hope. So that I have never heard criticism on any occasion, and I have never heard him speak a word of dissatisfaction with our associations together. It seemed like everything was just as though one man were speaking when he said what he thought ought to be done. Now, during this association, you folks and other folks have had the benefit of his wise judgment and counsel.[12]

After Dorothy E. Cowley sang a vocal solo, "Ave Maria," one of the best-known men in Utah spoke, ex-Governor and former North Davis Stake President Henry H. Blood, with whom E. P. had served as a business associate and stake presidency counselor. E. P.'s name in Layton, Blood said, was "synonymous with honesty and fair dealing with his fellowmen." Throughout Utah, neighboring states, and in the Dominion of Canada, he added, E. P. "has so conducted himself personally, and his business, that his word was in very fact equal to the value of his bond." E. P. was both "a father and a friend" to him, Blood said. "He came into my life as an exemplar and a friend." Continuing, he quoted to the congregation his telegram to James Ellison upon hearing of E. P.'s death:

> In the passing of such a great and good man as your Father, the State loses a valued and patriotic citizen; the Church, a faithful member—one devoted as well as faithful; the community, a man of vision, initiative and courage—a builder in very deed; and I have lost a real friend and a counselor, whose judgment was always trustworthy.

President Blood explained that E. P. "always gave his unbiased, honest opinion on matters, straight forward, nothing hidden, and then you knew where he stood." When Blood became governor and moved to Salt Lake City, he was not released as stake president and therefore traveled back to Davis County to do his Church duties. "President Ellison would always say when we parted, 'Now, if there is anything you want done, just let me know and I'll see to it.'" And, the speaker added, "he would, and always did. And, even though he was getting along in years, he was still very active and did not like to think he could not do the things to which he had been accustomed."

Inez Robinson Preece sang "There Is No Death." Then Elder David O. McKay, second counselor in the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, arose and explained that he was substituting for the prophet, President Heber J. Grant:

> He wished me to explain that, had it been possible for him to postpone the important meeting of several days' standing, and had it not been for another duty which came up at the last moment, he would be here, members of President Ellison's family, to express his own admiration of your father and brother, and to give you his personal sympathy. I extend that in his behalf on this occasion. Also, President Clark's [J. Reuben Clark, first counselor in the First Presidency] and other members of the Council of the Twelve who are unavoidably detained.

President McKay quoted a line from Shakespeare that he felt applied to E. P.: "His life was gentle, and the elements so mixed in him that all Nature might stand up and say 'This was a man.'" President Ellison was "a great man" in his eyes:

> He is one of many entitled to this tribute of whom the world never knows, of whom it never hears, men and women who perform noble acts, express great thoughts, bear unflinchingly heavy burdens. As we have heard today, President Ellison is known in a general way throughout the Western States of America, and even beyond the boundaries of this Country. However, with his real worth and nobility, only a few are acquainted.

President McKay pointed out that greatness usually is attributed to a man for some particular achievement or accomplishment, or to a great general, artist, sculptor, scientist, historian, or novelist. But E. P. was none of these, he said. "In none of these, either, is Jesus of Nazareth considered great." But in the realm of character, President Ellison "was a true disciple of Christ." In President McKay's eyes, E. P. "was never ostentatious, naturally retiring, never obtrusive, was tender and compassionate. He had faith in his fellowmen and loved to serve mankind. He was ever at ease with his conscience," such that "when alone, he was always in good company."

President McKay listed four other "fundamental virtues" E. P.

exhibited: sincerity, industry, loyalty, and reverence. E. P.'s industry? President McKay as a boy knew the old sandridge in Layton. It then was a barren looking place. He praised E. P. for having vision to find a way to bring water to "make it blossom." With pride E. P. "told how much water was coming down that cemented canal to go out into these orchards." E. P. was a builder, President McKay said: "to build, to create, to produce something that wasn't in the world before—that was his greatest joy. It touches the realm of the Creator himself."

E. P.'s sincerity? "If sincerity is to speak as we think, to do as we pretend and profess, to perform what we promise and really to be what we would seem and appear to be, then President Ephraim P. Ellison was the personification of sincerity." Loyalty? President McKay noted E. P.'s loyalty to family, coworkers, and church. Regarding the fourth trait, reverence, he "never heard Ephraim P. Ellison or any of his sons or daughters ever speak lightly or irreverently of sacred things."

Other eulogizers mentioned E. P.'s "business probity and conservatism," his "unlimited energy," and praised him as "a great giver," "a true tithepayer," and a "helper."

Dorothy E. Cowley played a violin solo, "Oh Dry those Tears," after which Bishop J. William Burton gave a benediction.

At the grave site in the Kaysville-Layton Cemetery, on a "beautiful afternoon," E. M. Whitesides dedicated the grave. E. P. was laid to rest beside the remains of Elizabeth.

A *Deseret News* tribute noted that "He leaves a good name in the earth—something rather to be chosen than great riches."[13] *The Weekly Reflex*'s editorial honoring E. P. offered a long list of his business accomplishments and then said: "Long after his material accomplishments have been forgotten, E. P. Ellison will be remembered as the father of fine men and women."[14]

E. P. was survived by eight of his nine children—Jean Elizabeth Skeen had died in 1931; by his brother Joseph Ellison of Cardston, Alberta, Canada; and by thirty-two grandchildren and several great-grandchildren. His oldest child, James, was then sixty-six years old, and Marion Cowley, the youngest, was forty-five.

E. P.'s estate was tied up in the trust fund he had created for the family. The trust ran into some tax difficulties before it could be dispersed.[15]

State and federal attempts to impose inheritance taxes failed, and by 1944 courts determined that the trust's primary purpose—to pay off obligations of E. P. after his death—had been fulfilled. The court then allowed the liquidation and distribution of the trust to proceed.[16]

Two Postscripts

In Layton, today, the Ellison name has practically disappeared. Grandsons with the Ellison name do not live there, although grandchildren with non-Ellison last names do. Layton has an Ellison Street. However, most residents today do not know about E. P. Ellison and the Ellison family's role in Layton's development.

Granddaughter Cleone Adams Whitman bought the old Ellison home about 1950, including two acres of land, a barn, and outbuildings. Much remodeled, the home still stands at 770 Rosewood Lane.

An Assessment of the Man

Though E. P. lived a quarter-century past what our generation considers retirement age, he took no time and felt no urgency to write down or dictate any details of his life story. To his way of thinking, the present was too consuming of his energy and concentration for him to devote them to the past. Had Elizabeth not died so soon, perhaps she would have encouraged him to record some of his recollections. In his case, none of the people who make life histories happen in other families convinced him to write his—not his children or grandchildren, not a newspaper reporter or editor, not a historian or librarian, not a Church official.

E. P.'s three dozen daybooks served him much as day planners do for our generation, and were not meant to be a personal diary. He jotted down short, crisp, sometimes cryptic entries, reminder words and lists, but not sentences. Good sense, thank goodness, caused him to save those pocket books and not toss them out. As a result, those jottings, often hard to decipher and make sense of, serve like a dot-to-dot panorama of more than half of his adult life. By connecting the dots, we can discern the lightly visible profile of E. P's life.

That numerous sections outlined by those dots can be filled in at all is due to corporate, government, church, newspaper, and grandchildren's

Crowd and floral pieces at the Kaysville Cemetery at E. P. Ellison's internment.

records. Such records provide biographical details but not his personal feelings and thoughts. They let us know *about* him but do not let us see inside him. Nevertheless, given what is known, a few assessments of his busy life and accomplishments are possible.

Primarily, E. P. Ellison was a businessman. Businessmen seek to make their businesses succeed—which means the enterprises "deliver the goods" while profiting investors. In America, many businesses fail or have short lifetimes. For the businesses E. P. engaged in, the success record is extremely high when compared with that of other businessmen of the period. His efforts earned him and his family, and many investors, a lot of money. So one assessment seems clear: E. P. Ellison was a successful businessman.

But why was he successful? How did he succeed? As the histories of his various business involvements told in the previous chapters show, several factors worked together to explain his good results:

(1) He learned from an early age how to work hard. Cause and effect became clear to him: labor, smartly applied, brought results. He first learned from farming that proper seeds, soil, water, and care produced successful wheat, hay, fruits, and vegetables. Working with livestock, he discovered that wise care and careful breeding produced sheep, cattle, and horses that could be sold for a profit.

(2) Rather than use profits for personal consumption, luxuries, hobbies, or travel, E. P. invested them in his current businesses or to help start new ones. He became a successful capitalist during a time when America was riding on capitalism's fast track.

(3) E. P. chose to engage in businesses that were fundamental to the society surrounding him, not ones that were speculative or faddish: farming, banking, ranching, selling merchandise, manufacturing sugar, milling. In his time and place, these were solid enterprises for which there was reasonable demand and ones in which success depended on good basic business sense regarding capitalization, production, and marketing. At the request of LDS President Joseph F. Smith, he nearly single-handedly started what is today a multi-billion dollar wheat and flour milling industry in southern Alberta.

(4) Relatedly, he responded to people's needs. Layton needed a store, so when he had the chance, he invested in one. Layton, including his store and other businesses in which he was involved, needed a bank, so he helped start one. When sugar factories were proving profitable, such that capitalist friends of his were investing in them, he entered the business. Farmers in his section badly needed irrigation water, so he helped organize an early canal company, then accepted challenges to make the system work, and maximized what that canal company could deliver—by helping create two of Utah's finest dams and reservoirs, whose waters are still extremely valuable to northern Utahns.

(5) He stayed within his areas of expertise, which expanded as time went on. From childhood, he learned much about livestock. His Canadian sugar factory labors involved him in vast Knight-owned ranches. By 1910, when he and the Knights started up Ellison Ranching, E. P. knew the ranch business extremely well. By 1915, when he helped create the Layton Sugar Company, he was an expert on sugar beets, refining processes, and marketing.

(6) In terms of personality, he was an assertive person. He was decisive. He was firm. He held strong convictions. He seemed unafraid to take command. Despite a reservoir of dry humor, he appeared to most people to be a serious, matter-of-fact, let's-get-down-to-business, no-time-for-frivolity type man with little tolerance for small talk. He did not waste time or enjoy "leisure" time. He was punctual almost to a fault.

(7) He linked himself with successful business people. He understood

that "who you know" does make a difference. He developed a network of friends and associates who had financial and political connections that helped him at many points in his career. His most important contact was Jesse Knight. Hindsight suggests that Jesse Knight and E. P. Ellison were a business team "made in heaven." His becoming a banker connected him with other bankers who at critical times helped him and his business concerns with loans that funded expansions or made restarts possible.

(8) He effectively utilized his family members in running and staffing his businesses, and they proved to be good learners and capable employees. Being his flesh and blood, they felt strong commitment and loyalty to the well-being of the enterprises, and in return he showed confidence in and even dependence on their judgment.

(9) He entered business at a time and in a place where men of enterprise and modest means could become "self-made men." He dealt with parts of America and Canada that were just leaving the frontier settlement stage, and stood on the verge of developing their natural resources. Layton had people, houses, roads, and schools, but did not have a store, a bank, a flour mill. LDS settlements in Alberta had barely broken the prairie into farms, so they lacked flour mills, any and all industries, and an abundance of livestock. He was fortunate to come of age when localities were still underdeveloped and needed people like him to develop them.

Beyond being a businessman, E. P. was a family person. He did not "go it alone" in life but had a wide and strong network of relatives, both his and Elizabeth's, that were close by. He was close to his parents and to Elizabeth and the children. He and his family mutually helped and benefited each other. His business involvements provided job opportunities for his children and other relatives. He retained the family home after his children reached adulthood, and his children liked to visit and sometimes stay there for awhile.

Nevertheless, adhering to expectations of men in his day, he left to Elizabeth almost the entire responsibility for nurturing and raising the children. He kept so busy that he rarely took his family on vacations, short or long. By more recent standards, he was reserved about openly expressing love and affection for her or the children. His husbandly and

fatherly role, as he saw it, was to provide a good living for his family, to see that they adhered to his faith, and to teach them basic values like honesty, responsibility, work, and caring for others, not by words or preachings but by example and by giving them hands-on experiences by his side or in his business ventures. His children became responsible and capable adults (see Appendix One). After E. P.'s funeral, *The Weekly Reflex* published an editorial honoring him. It listed his many business accomplishments and then said: "Long after his material accomplishments have been forgotten, E. P. Ellison will be remembered as the father of fine men and women."[17]

To his core, E. P. was a religious man, embracing the practical side of religion perhaps more closely than the doctrinal side. He prayed. He lived a good life. He attended church. He expected his family to adhere to religious standards. He contributed toward the building of churches. He paid generous tithes and offerings. He served in church callings. He helped out high church leaders and knew many of them personally.

Oftentimes, businessmen forsake religious behavior while pursuing success and profits. Others, as epitomized by novelist Sinclair Lewis's ugly portrait of small town businessmen (contemporary with E. P.) in *Main Street*, participated in church not from belief but to gain acceptability to further their fortunes. But E. P. was a sharp contrast to those two types. Religion motivated him to seek business success in order to improve his communities, to provide employment to others, and to generate income for his friends and associates. J. William Knight said of E. P.: "This man believed the Gospel, believed in counsel and advice, and when he got it he took it to heart and carried it out. And, the truth that it is right is [proved by] the success he has had in life, with his family, with his friends, with the community."[18]

There is absolutely no indication in the records and reminiscences, not even a hint, that egotistical pride or vanity drove him to succeed. He did not seem to need to prove anything to anybody. In simple psychological terms, he was "inner directed," not "other directed."

People who knew him said he had a sense of humor that sometimes came out from behind his normally serious facade. Stanley Ellison once brought a girl to the Ellisons' Christmas gathering and introduced her to E. P. "Grandpa, this is Mabel Foote." "That's a low-down name," E. P.

said straight-faced while spoofing the "foot" in her name, and then was very gracious to her.[19] Sometimes when grandchildren came to visit, E. P. entertained them by making shadow figures of animals and creatures on the wall, using his hands.[20]

Apparently, E. P. rarely became angry. Grandson Richard Ellison recalled an incident that happened when he drove E. P. out to one of the ranches. Because they were there during Pioneer Day, the 24th of July, Richard and his cousin Calvin threw some firecrackers under the steers. E. P. came out to them and said, "I don't like that noise." But he never raised his voice. Sometimes he became a bit antagonistic, although never to the point of calling anybody names, such as when he chided people for their seeming idleness.[21]

On one occasion, Afton Ellison, his daughter-in-law, bothered him. She was in the Farmers Union with her little daughter, Lucille. Lucille saw a kids' spoon and fork in the store and wanted it. Afton said no, so Lucille fell to the floor, kicking and bawling. Afton took her outside into the car and spanked her. But that night, E. P. saw to it that Lucille had the little spoon and fork, which made Afton "mighty put out" at him.[22]

To manufacture good sugar requires a number of ingredients, properly mixed and refined. But what ingredients and processes work together to produce a successful person? E. P. answered that question during a talk he delivered at the funeral of his good friend, John G. M. Barnes, who died on July 26, 1932.[23] Because E. P.'s tribute praised virtues and traits that he admired, the typescript record of it capsulizes much of his personal beliefs regarding what matters most in life. His comments let us glimpse something of his inner soul.

E. P. admired Brother Barnes, he said, for being "a hard worker, an industrious, honorable, straight-forward Latter-day Saint, a trusted associate, a man whose word was accepted as the truth." He praised the man for avoiding the nonessentials in life and not spending his money for such; "he has been prudent and wise in that direction." Sometimes people say "a man's success is luck," E. P. said, but "I don't believe it." He then spelled out what his "honest convictions" told him produce success: "I believe it is diligence. I believe it is being prompt. I believe it is in being truthful, and [it is] through the blessings of the Lord. All these things together make a man successful."

Being successful was E. P.'s main measuring stick for determing what life was all about, so he admired Brother Barnes for succeeding in life:

> He has been successful with his family; he has raised a large family; he has raised a good family. He has been successful financially. He has been successful religiously. . . . I think from every point of view he has been a success, and has been a great factor in the success of many of us who have been successful.

When E. P. directed his closing remarks specifically at Brother Barnes's family, he identified expectations of them that he held for his own children and posterity. "We expect very much from you because of your parentage," he said. "We expect service. We expect faith." He praised the deceased for example and teachings which E. P. testified "were good, they were wholesome, they were prompted by the blessings of the Lord and may He bless us and help us to keep his commandments to be good neighbors, good business associates, and good citizens."

Traits which E. P. admired in Brother Barnes are like sturdy threads from which remarkable lives can be woven. Of such threads did Ephraim Peter Ellison weave his own long, richly patterned, successful life.

During eighty-nine years, the baby boy born in St. Louis in 1850 lived a useful, productive, honorable life. Or it could be said, given his jam-packed life of strenuous work and creative endeavors, perhaps E. P. lived the equivalent of two or three lives before he headed off to discover new pastures and possibilities.

NOTES

1. Deed of Trust, June 19, 1936, carbon copy, EFA. The trust deed is recorded in County Recorder Book 1-N of Deeds, p. 501.
2. Unsigned, to John T. Greene [Internal Revenue Agent], Feb. 10, 1952, in E. P. Ellison Trust Papers, First National Bank of Layton.
3. "Memo re Mr. Ellison's Activities, 1935–1939," Aug. 27, 1942, in E. P.'s Trust Papers; "Ephraim Peter Ellison," *The Deseret News*, October 23, 1939.
4. *Weekly Reflex*, June 13, 1935.
5. The inscribed book, *Joseph Smith, the Prophet-Teacher* by B. H. Roberts, is in the possession of great-grandson Gregory P. Christofferson in Tustin, California.

6. Morris H. Ellison to Laurence E. Ellison, Nov. 9, 1943, in E. P. Ellison Trust papers, First National Bank of Layton.
7. "Funeral Services of Ephraim P. Ellison," typescript, EFA.
8. Marion Cowley Oral History.
9. Cleone Whitman notes to the author, EFA.
10. Laurence E. Ellison to E. D. Homewood, Oct. 20, 1939; Unsigned to John T. Greene, Internal Revenue Agent.
11. Laurence Ellison to Edythe Sloan, Oct. 31, 1939.
12. "Funeral Services of Ephraim P. Ellison," typescript, EFA.
13. "Ephraim Peter Ellison," *The Deseret News*, October 23, 1939.
14. *Weekly Reflex,* Oct. 25, 1939.
15. See *State Tax Commission of Utah v Administrators of E. P. Ellison Estate*, copy in EFA.
16. Judgment and Decree, March 17 and 24, 1945, Judge Charles G. Cowley, 2nd District Court for Davis County, and Gustin and Richards to E. A. Owen, March 27, 1945, in E. P. Ellison Trust Papers, First National Bank of Layton.
17. *Weekly Reflex*, Oct. 25, 1939.
18. "Funeral Services of Ephraim P. Ellison," typescript, EFA.
19. Oma Wilcox Oral History.
20. Marion Cowley Oral History.
21. Richard Ellison Oral History.
22. Lucille Strong Oral History.
23. E. P. Ellison, talk at John G. M. Barnes's funeral, typescript, no date, 3 pp., copy in EFA. Barnes's death date is given in his obituary in the *Salt Lake Tribune* (July 28, 1932).

APPENDIX A

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE ELLISON CHILDREN

James Edward Ellison[1]

James was born on September 9, 1873. He married Jane Watt on February 17, 1897, in the Salt Lake Temple. They became the parents of eight children. The first six were born in Layton, the last two in Raymond, Alberta. The children's names, birthdates, and spouses names are

	Born	Spouse
John	Nov. 14, 1897	(d. as child Oct. 28, 1898)
Elizabeth	Jan. 16, 1899	Otha K. Green
Beatrice	Sep. 12, 1900	William P. Dunn
Edward James	Nov. 06, 1901	Oneita Rees (d. Sept. 11, 1942) Helen Eardley
Alean Watt	May 25, 1903	Leonard H. Layton
Harold Ephraim	Nov. 29, 1904	Florence K. Cooley
Isabel	Jul. 31, 1909	Howard C. Adams
David Joseph	Jul. 26, 1911	Hazel E. Blood

During his lifetime, James was a businessman like his father. While working in Canada for Knight Sugar Company, helping to run the Raymond sugar factory, he briefly served as an LDS bishop. When he returned home to Layton, he was almost immediately called to be a bishop, in which position he served for almost twenty years. He was the Ellison family member most directly involved in the Layton Sugar Company, which he helped organize. He was the company's manager from 1915 until he retired in 1957, and also had served as president of the firm.

In time he became vice-president and manager of the United States Sugar Manufacturers Association, based in Washington D.C. His other executive positions included serving as president of the Park Bingham Manufacturing Company, vice-president of the Layton Water System,

James Edward and Jane Watt Ellison

president of the Utah Manufacturing Association, and vice-president of Keith O'Briens (clothing store).

He served on the board of directors for the Domestic Sugar Company of Chicago, Bonanza Mining Company, Park Galena Mining Company, Knight Sugar Company, Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, Ellison Ranching Company, Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company, Echo Reservoir Company, the First National Bank of Layton (which he helped found), and Farmers Union of Layton.

Jane was the daughter of George D. and Elizabeth Golightly Watt. Her grandfather Golightly owned and operated the first bakery in Salt Lake City, where he did some baking for the family of Brigham Young. Jane developed a reputation as an excellent cook. Governors, presidents of the LDS Church, and even "tramps" asking for handouts at her door benefited from her wonderful meals. Likewise, she was adept at handiwork, such as knitting and braiding rugs. For nearly twenty years she was a bishop's wife, offering much assistance and kindness to her ward members. On July 11, 1952, Jane died at home of a lingering illness; she was buried in the Kaysville-Layton Memorial Park.[2]

In April 1955, James was badly injured in an automobile accident and was hospitalized for a long time. He had to learn to walk again after months in a wheelchair and on crutches.

Mary Annette and Warren Samuel Stevenson

James died on October 5, 1967, at his home at 434 W. Gentile Street in Layton. One tribute paid him was that he was a "Sugar Beet Industry Pioneer." He was buried in the Kaysville-Layton Memorial Park.[3]

Mary Annette Ellison Stevenson

Nettie, as the family called her, was born on August 28, 1875. She married Warren Samuel Stevenson on February 2, 1898 in the Salt Lake Temple. They had one child, who was born in Layton:

	Born	Spouse
Joseph E.	Dec. 25, 1898	Helen A. Ward (d. Apr. 1971) Edith J. Eades

Nettie and her husband Warren made their home in Layton. Warren was interested in a number of enterprises, among which was the Burton Improvement Company of Ogden. He died on January 3, 1906 in Los Angeles, where he had gone two weeks before in hopes of improving his health. He was buried in the Kaysville-Layton Memorial Park.[4]

After Warren's death, Nettie and young Joseph moved into the Ellison family home and helped manage household affairs for her parents. She became an active businesswoman in Layton, serving as secretary-treasurer for the Farmers Union store for more than forty-five years, until her retirement in 1953. She was also an accountant and buyer for the store. She participated in the LDS Church, serving as a Sunday School

teacher and ward organist and in the North Davis Stake Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association for twenty-nine years. She participated in music circles and traveled extensively.

She died on December 19, 1961, in Ogden; her funeral was in the Layton First Ward Chapel. She was buried in the Kaysville-Layton Memorial Park.[5]

Laurence E. Ellison

Laurence was born on April 27, 1879. He married Catherine (Katie) Maria Adams on June 12, 1907, in the Salt Lake Temple. They had six children, the first four born in Layton and the last two in Ogden:

	Born	Spouse
Harris Adams	Feb. 20, 1908	Elizabeth Jane Weber
Oma	Apr. 20, 1909	George B. Wilcox
Elizabeth	Sep. 14, 1916	Roy W. Simmons
Bonnie Rae	Sep. 20, 1923	Haven J. Barlow
Carol	Jan. 04, 1926	John S. Morgan
Kate	Jun. 11, 1928	Robert B. Anderson

Laurence became prominent as a Utah banker and livestock promoter. When the First National Bank of Layton opened in 1905, he became the town banker and continued as such for sixty years. He was elected president of the Utah Bankers Association for 1941–42, then served in 1942 as president of the Independent Bankers Association of the Twelfth Federal Reserve District, which had 171 member banks.

Active in civic affairs, he was elected as Layton's first mayor, and was reelected five times. While serving as mayor he was instrumental in the planning and construction of the first paved highway in Davis County. He was a member of the Davis County Welfare Board and of the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce.

In the LDS Church he was a member of North Davis Stake high council and served on the stake's Young Mens MIA board. He was a member of the executive board of the Bonneville Council, Boy Scouts of America; and for his devotion to scouting, he received one of scouting's highest honors, the Silver Beaver Award.

He was always active in promoting agriculture and the livestock industry in Davis County and throughout Utah. He became the only

Laurence Ephraim and Catherine Maria Adams Ellison

man from west of Nebraska to "top" the Chicago cattle market in fifty-two years. In 1929 his traincar load of first grade Hereford steers, averaging 1,450 pounds, brought seventeen cents per pound, "the highest price paid that year." He was president of the Salt Lake Union Stockyards at the time of his death. He was noted for sponsoring young men in the livestock business.

Laurence, a graduate of the University of Utah, served as president of the University's Emeritus Club.

Katie, born in Kaysville (now Layton) on January 31, 1887, was a daughter of Elias Adams Jr., and Elizabeth Rose Harris. She grew up in Layton. She was an active member of the LDS Church in the Layton First and Fourth Wards. She worked as a counselor in the North Davis Stake YWMIA for twenty-five years. She served as the first president of the Layton Elementary Parent-Teachers Association and as a social service worker—a "Gray Lady"—in the Red Cross. She was a member of the Sorosis Alumnae, the Bay View Club, and the Utah Federated Women's Club. She worked as a delegate to the Utah Women's State Legislative Council.

Katie died on July 24, 1951, in an Ogden hospital after a two-week illness. She was buried in the Kaysville-Layton Memorial Park.[6]

Laurence married again, on September 24, 1952, this time to Anna C. Erickson Bean. Anna, born in Manti on March 27, 1881, to Carl and Mary Magdalene Bergman Erickson, was the widow of Lionel Bean and the mother of two sons, Lionel and Leland Bean. She resided in Salt Lake City for thirty-one years, where she was a school teacher. She operated an insurance business in California prior to marrying Laurence. Anna was an accomplished musician. She died on December 10, 1961, at age eighty of a heart ailment.[7]

Laurence had a slight case of palsy, a tremor of the hands, similar to that of his father. On August 2, 1964, Laurence died of pneumonia in an Ogden hospital. He was buried in the Kaysville-Layton Memorial Park.[8]

Morris Heber Ellison[9]

Morris Heber Ellison was born on October 20, 1881, at Layton. He attended public school in Layton and three years at the University of Utah, but claimed he received most of his education from his everyday work. From his early childhood, he was put to work by his industrious father, herding sheep, rounding up cattle, farming, clerking in the store, and doing many other chores. He grew up to be an industrious son with his father's qualities of honesty and integrity, and his mother's gentleness, modesty, and genuine concern for others.

In 1903, E. P. sent Morris, then twenty-two years old, to Canada where the Knight Sugar Factory was being constructed in Raymond. E. P. wanted Morris to set up the office and assume responsibilty for managing the company when E. P. was not there. Morris also became a director of the Raymond Milling and Elevator Company, later renamed Ellison Milling & Elevator Company, Ltd.

Early in March 1905, he returned to Utah to marry Margaret Jane Cowley in the Salt Lake Temple on March 22. Margaret was born on September 7, 1884, the daughter of William J. and Margaret Olson Cowley. Following a wedding reception and dinner, Morris and Maggie traveled for three days to Canada, where they set up housekeeping in the small back room of the sugar factory. The following year they moved

Morris Heber and Margaret Jane Cowley Ellison

back to Layton, where Morris became the manager of the Farmers Union store when his brother, James, was called on an LDS Church mission. Morris and Maggie had two sons, both born in Layton:

	Born	Spouse
Stanley C.	June 08, 1906	Mae C. Evans
Reed C.	Dec. 28, 1909	Eva Rasmussen

After he moved to Utah, he made many trips back to Alberta in the interest of the milling company. In 1935 he became the manager of the operation, with headquarters at Lethbridge, Alberta, and spent considerable time in Canada, yet maintaining his Layton residence.

Maggie was a devoted wife and mother and of great clerical service to Morris in his business enterprises. An ardent church worker, she served as president of the Layton Ward Primary and was a teacher in the Relief Society. Maggie contracted intestinal cancer and died at the age of forty-four at the Dee Memorial Hospital in Ogden on November 22, 1928.[10]

In 1937 Morris married Maggie's sister, Gladys Wilhelmine Cowley. Gladys was educated in Davis County schools and attended the LDS Business College and Southwestern University in Los Angeles. She was a milliner for ZCMI, for Slaters in Salt Lake City and for Blackstones in Los Angeles. Morris and Gladys established their residence in Lethbridge.

After the death of E. P. Ellison, Morris became the President of Ellison Milling and Elevator Company, Ltd. He held the position of general manager until 1942, when the managership of the mill was passed to his second son, Reed. Morris and Gladys moved back to Layton, but they made occasional trips to Canada.

Morris was also instrumental in organizing the Ellison Ranching Company. In 1933 he became very involved in the management of the company, and is credited, with his father, for saving this company during difficult times caused by the national economic depression, bank moratoriums, and severe cattle losses. He became the president of the company when E. P. died in 1939. His first son, Stanley, devoted his business life to this venture and became president and general manager at Morris's death.

Morris left his home and two young sons to fill a mission for the LDS Church in California and Arizona from November 1915 through December 1917. During his adult years he was a faithful worker in several auxiliaries, and was best known for being an outstanding Sunday School teacher for many years.

Vitally interested in civic and governmental affairs, he served in the Utah House of Representatives, 1928–1932.

In his later years, he was an investment consultant, income tax advisor, and cattle buyer. Through his sons he kept his hands in both the Ellison Milling and Ellison Ranching companies. When he lost the sight in his one good eye, he had to restrict his activities. Like his father, E. P., and his siblings, Laurence, Parley, and Nettie, Morris suffered from palsy in later years.

After Gladys and Morris married, she continued to work actively in the LDS Church. In Canada she was a stake YWMIA worker. In the Layton Fourth Ward she was a Gleaner leader, director, and secretary, and was a member of the North Davis Stake Relief Society Board.

Morris died on May 11, 1970, in a Bountiful hospital of natural causes, and was buried in the Kaysville-Layton Memorial Park.[11]

Gladys died in her home at 376 W. Gentile on May 20, 1975, after an illness. She was buried in the Kaysville-Layton Memorial Park.[12]

Jean Elizabeth and William Riley Skeen

Jean Elizabeth Ellison Skeen[13]

Jean was born on April 28, 1884. She attended public schools in Layton and the University of Utah for two years. Because of her devotion to her mother, who was crippled by arthritis, she returned home to help care for her. Jean was the organist for the Layton Ward Sunday School. She became an accomplished pianist and often played duets with her sister, Alice. Jean served in the ward's YWMIA presidency.

She married William Riley Skeen, whom she met while attending the University of Utah. Riley was born on August 4, 1881, in Plain City, Utah, the son of Lyman S. and Electa Dixon Skeen. He attended public schools in Plain City and Ogden. They married on December 21, 1905, in the Salt Lake Temple.

Riley completed college work at the University of Utah and, while Jean stayed at home and helped care for her afflicted mother, he completed an LLB (Bachelor of Law) degree at the University of Chicago Law School in 1909. In 1910, the Skeens moved to Ogden, where Riley established his law practice. They built a new home at 2436 Jackson Avenue.

In Ogden, Jean was active in Relief Society and other organizations in the Ogden Twelfth Ward. Jean and Riley had six children, all born in

Ogden but the first, Ruth, who was born in E. P. and Elizabeth's home in Layton:

	Born	Spouse
Ruth E.	Jan. 19, 1907	Albert L. Bott
Paul E.	Jul. 14, 1910	Thelma Valentine
Merrill E.	Aug. 15, 1912	Lavon Holbrook (div.)
Kathryn E.	Sep. 21, 1915	Howard Hess
Richard E.	Jun. 12, 1921	Margaret Badger
Ellison R.	Dec. 17, 1923	Wanda G. Peterson

Jean possessed a modest, conscientious disposition. She was quiet, retiring, unselfish, humble, and charitable.

She became very ill on February 27, 1931, and died March 9, 1931, at age forty-six, when a tumor burst and caused blood poisoning. Speakers at her funeral in Ogden included Stake President Henry H. Blood and Apostle David O. McKay.[14]

Riley continued to practice law in Ogden and was active in church work, serving in the seventies quorum of the Ogden Sixth Ward. Riley died on February 27, 1940, in Ogden, and was buried near his wife in the Kaysville-Layton Memorial Park.[15]

John Parley Ellison[16]

Parl, as he was called, was born on October 14, 1886. He spent his early life in Layton and attended county schools. Parl filled an LDS mission to the Western States Mission from 1908 to 1910. He moved to Rebel Creek Ranch, Nevada, in 1911, where he became a rancher. He married Chloe Elizabeth (Bessie) Larkins on January 3, 1920, in Salt Lake City, Utah. They were later sealed, on March 29, 1951, in the Salt Lake Temple. Bessie was born in Kaysville, the daughter of James Howard and Elizabeth Seal Larkins. Before marrying Parl, she had worked as a Davis County deputy clerk and been employed at the state capitol in Salt Lake City.

Parl and Bessie lived at Rebel Creek Ranch for many years, where Parl served as livestock manager in the Ellison Ranching operations, raising both cattle and sheep. They had four children:

John Parley and Chloe Elizabeth Larkins Ellison

	Born	Spouse
John L.	Sep. 22, 1920	(d. Sep 26, 1920)
Lyle L.	Jun. 01, 1922	Josephine Frink
Claude L.	Nov. 14, 1924	Joyce Weber Lois Taylor
Melba E.	May 17, 1928	Clarence W. Jackson

The family lived a long distance from an LDS church, with no paved roads, so they did not attend very often. Parl served as a Humboldt County commissioner, a school board member, and in other civic and state activities.

Parl was about 5′ 7″, on the thin side, and had dark hair, slightly auburn. He wore Levi's most of the time but no cowboy hat. He and Bessie had reputations for being very honest and for helping people. He was frugal. Ranching is hard work, and Parl never took time to relax. During the 1930s, needing to ease back on his work load due to heart trouble, Parl bought several of the Ellison ranches in order to have his own operation so he could stay home more. Parl, like E. P. and Laurence, was afflicted slightly with palsy.

After an extended illness, Parl died at age fifty-nine on January 29, 1946, at Rebel Creek.[17]

Bessie, besides being a ranch wife and mother, was the postmistress


Alice Louise and Jabez Samuel Adams

for Orovada, Nevada. She had a ranch home there and was head of a land and livestock business in Nevada. She died at LDS Hospital in Salt Lake City of a heart ailment on March 16, 1953, and was buried with Parl in the Kaysville-Layton Memorial Park.[18]

Alice Louise Ellison Adams[19]

Alice was born on January 22, 1889, in the family home on Fiddlers' Creek (Holmes Creek) in Layton. After attending grade school and high school locally, she attended the University of Utah. She learned to play the piano, and she and her sister Jean played piano duets at many religious and social functions. Later, she studied art and her fine paintings are treasured by the family and others. And she became a "most capable seamstress," making beautiful quilts and doing fine embroidery work.

In 1906, at choir practice, she met a young man who had returned that day from an LDS mission in England, Jabez Samuel Adams. They married five years later, on June 1, 1911, in the Salt Lake Temple. Jabez was born in Layton on April 16, 1884, a son of Elias Jr. and Elizabeth Harris Adams. Jabez, called Jabe, was the brother of Catherine Maria Adams—the wife of Alice's brother Laurence. Alice and Jabe made their

home in Layton and lived there the rest of their lives. They had four children:

	Born	Spouse
Helene	Mar. 01, 1912	Noall Z. Tanner
Cleone E.	Jun. 15, 1914	Robert M. Whitman
Wendell E.	Jun. 17, 1918	Ramona Shepherd
David E.	Aug. 30, 1920	Margaret Anderson

Jabe was connected for a time with the Layton Sugar Company. He was an agent for the American Fork Loyalty Insurance Company for thirty-five years. He served on the Layton City Council, and was the Davis County chairman for the Republican Party. He held several church positions, including North Davis Stake high councilman. He was a leader in the Boy Scouts of America, and belonged to the Layton Kiwanis Club and the Sons of the Utah Pioneers.

Alice was active in church work, serving in Relief Society and YWMIA presidencies; she was a visiting teacher and a choir member.

Jabe died in Ogden on August 6, l965.[20]

Alice died in her Layton home on January 24, 1982. She had just observed her ninety-third birthday two days before. Jabe and Alice were buried in the Kaysville-Layton Memorial Park.[21]

Evan Lewis Ellison

Evan was born on July 13, 1891. He was educated in the Davis County schools and at the University of Utah. He married Afton Bourne on September 19, 1917, in the Salt Lake Temple, the same day his sister Marion was married. Afton was born August 28, 1895, in Farmington, the daughter of Charles Henry and Sylvia Van Fleet Bourne. She was a graduate of LDS High School and the University of Utah.

Evan and Afton became the parents of three children:

	Born	Spouse
Lucille	Jun. 26, 1920	Allen Layton Strong
Richard	Jun. 25, 1924	————
Gary Scott	Jan. 25, 1934	————

Evan and Afton were lifelong residents of Layton. Evan went to work for his oldest brother, James, at the Layton Sugar Company factory. For


Evan Lewis and Afton Bourne Ellison

many years Evan was a superintendent at the factory. He belonged to the Layton Kiwanis Club.

Afton served as the Layton PTA president for four years, was vice-chairman of the Davis County Republican Party for many years, was chairman of the American Red Cross of Davis County, a member of the Davis County Welfare Board, and a member of the Utah Tuberculosis Association. She was on the Davis County Fair Board. During World War II she served on the Volunteer Housing Board and was in the Grey Ladies Corps. As a church worker she was president of the East Layton Ward Primary for six years and a board member of the North Davis Stake Primary. She also taught Sunday School.

Afton died on March 3, 1971, in a Salt Lake City hospital, of natural causes. At the time of her death, she was vice-president of the Ellison Investment Trust Company of Layton.[22] She was buried in Farmington City Cemetery.

Evan died on January 4, 1981, and was buried in the Farmington City Cemetery.[23]

Marion Whitesides Ellison Cowley

Marion was born on November 27, 1893. She married Murray Waldamer Cowley on September 19, 1917, in the Salt Lake Temple, the


Marion Whitesides and Murray Waldamer Cowley

same day her brother Evan married. Murray was born on June 26, 1891, in Draper, Utah, a son of William J. and Margaret Olson Cowley. He was a army veteran of World War I. Murray was a brother of Margaret and Gladys Cowley, both of whom Marion's brother Morris had married.

Murray and Marion had three children:

	Born	Spouse
Dorothy	Jul. 31, 1918	Gerald M. McDonnel
Francis E.	Dec. 30, 1919	Marie Folsom
Calvin E.	Oct. 08, 1923	Virginia D. Anthony

Murray worked as a Union Pacific railroad station agent in Layton, and his career spanned fifty-five years. He also had a car sales agency at one time. He never did work for E. P. Ellison or in the family's businesses.

Marion was a housewife and did not work out of the home. She was a member of the Ladies Literary Club of Salt Lake City, the Culture Club of Salt Lake, and the Acacia Club of Ogden.

Murray died at home of heart failure on March 12, 1976, and was buried in the Salt Lake City Cemetery.[24]

Marion died on February 14, 1990, in Tremonton, Utah, of natural

causes, at age ninety-six. Her death ended a family generation—she was the last surviving child of E. P. and Elizabeth Whitesides Ellison. She was buried in the Salt Lake City Cemetery.[25]

NOTES

1. "Sketch of James Edward Ellison," in J. Orvin Hicken, et al., eds., "*Roundup*," (Lethbridge, Alberta: Lethbridge Herald Company, 1967), 53–55.
2. Obituaries in *The Weekly Reflex*, July 17, 1952:1, and *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 13, 1952:C11.
3. Obituaries in the *Ogden Standard-Examiner* Oct. 6, 1967, 6C, and *Salt Lake Tribune* Oct. 6, 1967, B10.
4. Obituaries, *Ogden Standard* Jan. 4, 1906:5, and January 8, 1906:7.
5. Obituaries in *Deseret News*, Dec. 20, 1961:C8, and *Salt Lake Tribune*, Dec. 21, 1961:33.
6. Obituaries in *The Weekly Reflex* July 26, 1951:1; *Deseret News* July 26, 1951:B6; and *Salt Lake Tribune* July 25, 1951:12.
7. Obituaries in *Deseret News* Dec. 11, 1961:B10; *Salt Lake Tribune* Dec. 12, 1961:24.
8. Obituaries in *Deseret News*, Aug. 3, 1964:B12; and *Salt Lake Tribune* Aug. 3, 1964.
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10. Obituaries in *The Weekly Reflex* Nov. 22, 1928:1, and *Salt Lake Tribune* Nov. 23, 1928:25.
11. Obituaries in *Deseret News* May 11, 1970:B4; and *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 12, 1970:22.
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13. Skeen and Bott, "Jean Elizabeth Ellison," typescript; Bott, "Jean Elizabeth Ellison," typescript.
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15. Obituaries in the *Deseret News* Feb. 28, 1940:18, and *Salt Lake Tribune* Feb. 29, 1940:23.
16. Melba Jackson Oral History.
17. Obituaries in *The Weekly Reflex* Jan. 31, 1946:1, and *Salt Lake Tribune* Jan. 30, 1946:17.
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19. [author unknown], "Alice Louise Ellison Adams," typscript, 2 pp., copy in EFA.
20. Obituaries in the *Deseret News*, Aug. 6, 1965:B2, and *Salt Lake Tribune* Aug. 7, 1965:24.

21. Obituaries in the *Kaysville Weekly Reflex*, Jan. 28, 1981:10, and *Salt Lake Tribune*, Jan. 26, 1982:B3.
22. Obituaries in the *Davis County Clipper*, March 12, 1971, and *Salt Lake Tribune* March 5, 1971:B4.
23. Obituaries in the *Kaysville Weekly Reflex*, Jan. 15, 1981:13, and *Salt Lake Tribune* Jan. 6, 1981:B10.
24. Obituary in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 13, 1976:D2.
25. Obituaries in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, Feb. 15, 1990:C4, and *Standard-Examiner*, Feb. 15, 1990:C18.

APPENDIX B

ELLISON BUSINESSES SINCE 1939

Farmers Union

The Farmers Union store continued in operation for almost two decades after E. P.'s death.[1] Official board minutes for the store outline some major developments during the 1940s and 1950s. After 1936, Ray J. Dawson was the store's manager. As of May 28, 1940, Morris had replaced E. P. on the board, and John W. Thornley became company president, James E. Ellison vice-president, and Nettie Stevenson secretary-treasurer. James and Evan both served briefly as president in the 1940s.

In 1948 arrangements were made to remodel the store by building a southwest addition and rearranging and redecorating the interior. In 1950 directors worried about a widespread business decline. Competition forced the store to lower its profit margin on products, making store profits drop lower than in the past. The store's implement business was off by some 50 percent. Ray Dawson resigned as manager that year. In 1952 Nettie was elected president. During the next two years, to pay off debts, no dividends were paid to stockholders. By then, directors debated whether or not to expand the building, and they questioned the wisdom of staying in the John Deere implement business.

When Nettie retired in 1953, all departments of the store showed profits except for groceries and meats. In 1954, I. Haven Barlow bought the inventory, rented the building from the company, and disposed of much of the inventory that did not interest him. In partnership with Ray Dawson, the business was operated as Mayfair Country Store for two years; then the inventory was sold to Cannery Sales, which operated the store. Meanwhile, Richard Ellison had become company president in 1955. A resolution to dissolve the company was approved by directors in

1956. Richard resigned in 1957, by which time losses and debts had caused stockholders to try to sell the store. The store finally closed its doors on January 29, 1957. Until then, the upstairs rentals had continued and had served at least fifty-seven different tenants. For years, Dr. R. C. Robinson's dental office had occupied the upstairs units. "For 75 years, the Farmers Union served as a store, meeting place, commercial center, social center and political rallying place for the people of Layton," the *Weekly Reflex* newspaper eulogized on February 15, 1979.

The old building had periods of vacancy; then I. Haven Barlow operated the Family Furniture store there. In 1974 the First National Bank of Layton purchased the building. Five years later the eighty-nine-year-old building, "dilapidated, decaying, and an eyesore,"[2] was placed on the National Register of Historic Places. As a result, tax incentives made restoration an attractive option. In 1980–81 the building was renovated and much restoration work was completed with the aid of original 1892 blueprints, photographs, and drawings. The outside of the building was restored to resemble its appearance in 1929. Costs were close to one million dollars.

The building then became the home of the First National Bank of Layton, opening in the summer of 1981. That fall the Utah Heritage Foundation presented an Award of Merit to architect Wallace N. Cooper II and Oma and George Wilcox. George was president of the bank at the time, and he and Oma were the prime movers behind the project. The building was called "an example of a strikingly successful restoration project" by the Utah State Historical Society.[3]

Layton Sugar Company

By the 1950s the Layton Sugar Company, marketing sugar under the Mountain Sugar brand name, was having trouble obtaining enough beets to stay in business. From the 1958 beet crop, the factory had produced some 250,000 one-hundred pound bags of sugar. Growers under contract to Layton Sugar cultivated some 3,000 acres of beets in Weber and Davis Counties. But competition for the beets meant that not all sugar factories could stay in business.[4]

In 1959 Layton Sugar Company was sold to the corporate giant, Utah

Kaysville-Layton Milling and Elevator Company now Deseret Mills and Elevators

and Idaho Sugar, for about half a million dollars. U and I company closed the Layton factory, and channeled beets grown by the local farmers to the Garland sugar plant and to one in Idaho Falls.[5]

Kaysville-Layton Milling and Elevator Company

During the Depression, Kaysville-Layton Milling operated the mill that stood near Farmers Union and the newer one in Kaysville. The company produced several brands of flour, including Red Bar, White Swan, Velvon, a finer baker's flour called Tolerant, and another one strictly for Fisher Bakery in Salt Lake City. The flour mill imported hard Turkey Red Wheat from northern Utah and Idaho. Kaysville-Layton employed seven or eight men. Clifford Strong was the mill manager for a time.

When the mill became unprofitable, it was put on the market. In 1943 the LDS Church bought the concrete Kaysville mill to use as part of its Welfare Program. The Layton mill built by the Farmers Union burned down.

The Kaysville mill shut down briefly, until the Church brought in Binden B. Cottrell, on March 27, 1944, to manage it. He had worked for

Ellison Milling, Lethbridge

Kaysville-Layton Milling before and knew the mill well. Deseret Milling and Elevator built new elevators in 1949 and 1959, giving the mill a combined grain-storage capacity of 230,000 bushels.

In 1975 an additional mill was completed that was capable of producing livestock feed at a rate of 300 tons per twenty-four hour period. Feed from the mill was distributed to welfare projects in a 700-mile radius. A new elevator, with a 350,000-bushel capacity, gave the Kaysville operation a total grain storage capacity of 580,000 bushels.[6]

Ellison Milling and Elevator Company[7]

After E. P. died, his son Morris became president and general manager of the Canadian mill operations. Morris had his son Reed move to Lethbridge in 1940, and in 1946 Reed took over as managing director of the company. During World War II, Reed developed a process whereby the wheat germ was retained in the milling process of white flour, responding to the Canadian government's call for more vitamin B in the flour. After the war, Ellison Milling Company donated its facilities for

local Latter-day Saints to produce, using donated wheat and labor, cracked wheat for hungry Saints in war-ravaged Germany. Three train car loads were shipped.

With the war over, the company started an extensive building and modernizing program. By 1955, new machinery from England was installed in the mill and ten new concrete elevators were added. Ellison Milling pioneered the planting of new grains. Through Reed's encouragment, farmers raised Durum wheat, which is especially suited for pasta flour, which the mill started to produce. This prompted a large Quebec firm, Catelli's, to build a pasta plant adjacent to the Ellison mill. Ellison Milling successfully promoted the growing of mustard seed, which the mill cleaned and marketed in eastern Canada, the United States, and Europe. Needing a softer flour for pastry, the company was responsible for persuading farmers to plant and grow Soft White Spring Wheat in Alberta. Since then, Soft White Wheat has become a major crop in the area.

As the decade of the 1970s began, concerns about the future of the company increased. Profit margins were slim. Except for government-aid, foreign markets were non-existant. Domestic business was extremely competitive. The mill was operating far below normal capacity. There was an acute shortage of available laborers and constant labor union demands for higher wages. It became more difficult to compete with the larger national firms. Reed felt greater profits could be realized by selling the assets and investing the proceeds in other ventures. On August 1, 1975, the flour and feed mills at Lethbridge and the 18 country grain elevators in Southern Alberta were sold to Parrish & Heimbecker Ltd. of Winnipeg. At the buyers request the mill continued to operate as the Ellison Milling Company. The company continues today, renamed Ellison Enterprises, Ltd. It is headquartered in Lethbridge and managed by Lynne Ellison Sherwood. Its assets are invested mainly in Canadian stocks and operating companies. Reed Ellison died on January 11, 1991, at age 81.

Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company

The DWCCC continues to deliver water to residents of the two counties. It had company headquarters in downtown Ogden, sharing

Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company office in 1997.

office space with the Weber River Water Users Association. On October 1, 1993, its handsome new headquarters building in Sunset was dedicated. Both the Echo Dam and its Echo Reservoir and the East Canyon Dam with its East Canyon Reservoir continue to play vital roles in providing water and recreation for Utahns.

First National Bank of Layton

When Laurence Ellison died in 1964, he had been Layton's chief banker for sixty years.[8] The bank had not missed paying a dividend since the first dividends were distributed in 1906.[9] Son-in-law George B. Wilcox continued in the bank until the early 1980s. The First National Bank is the oldest Layton business still in operation and today has passed its ninety-year mark. It has three offices in Layton, and offices in Clearfield and Bountiful. With a goal of personal service and friendliness to its customers, it expects to expand into other community locations in the future. Total assets currently are over $90,000,000.[10]

Farmers Union/Bank

Ellison Ranching Company

Morris Ellison was elected president of Ellison Ranching in July 1941, and served in that position until his death in 1970. At that time, Stanley C. Ellison was elected president and general manager.[11] In the 1940s, a fire at the Spanish Ranch headquarters burned down the dairy barn, two other barns, and the implement shed. Replacement buildings were constructed of cinder block. It became necessary for the company to incorporate in Nevada instead of Utah, so Morris directed this change, which took place on May 31, 1952.

In 1969 the company bought the Upper and Lower Clover Ranches, closing the gap between Squaw Valley Ranch on the north and the White House and Fish Creek ranches on the south, "making the Ellison Ranching Company the largest in the state of Nevada." A description published in the 1980s said that Ellison Ranching Company was considered "one of the oldest, largest, and healthiest ranching companies you could find." When the ranch moved its sheep from their summer range near the Idaho border to the winter range down near Austin, Nevada, on

Ellison Ranching Company

highway 50, the sheep trailed nearly 300 miles without ever leaving the ranch.[12]

> Its [Spanish Ranch's] combined land holdings, plus land leased from the Bureau of Land Management, may well make the Ellison Ranching Company of Tuscarora, Nevada, the largest cattle empire in America. Between the Squaw Valley, White House, and Spanish Ranches, Ellison controls millions of acres. While other ranches in Nevada have been increasingly parceled-up by BLM mandates for additional fencing, Ellison has managed to keep his ranches almost rid of wire. It's been said that a man on horseback can ride for a couple hundred miles in one direction across Ellison land and not open a single gate.[13]

In 1995 Ellison Ranching sold and traded the Squaw Valley, Upper and Lower Clover and Whitehouse Ranches to the Barrick Gold Corporation, obtaining in return the Seventy-one Ranch southeast of Elko, near Halleck, Nevada, and about $4,000,000 in cash.[14] The directors of Ellison Ranching Company in 1997 include Peter K. Ellison, Roy W. Simmons, Deloyd Satterthwaite, Robert Jones, Kay Littledike, Todd Morgan and Bill Evans.

Commentary

Of the seven major businesses in which E. P. Ellison had interest and some control, the two which have not survived—the Farmers Union store and the Layton sugar plant—lasted for two decades after his death. The Layton milling business has continued to operate but has changed ownership hands at least twice since the Ellisons owned it. But Ellison Milling in Canada, Ellison Ranching in Nevada, the First National Bank of Layton, and the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company continue to prosper a half-century after E. P.'s death, a lasting tribute in many ways to his life and labors as a successful businessman in Utah, Canada, and Nevada.

NOTES

1. Farmers Union, Board and Stockholders Minutes, First National Bank of Layton vaults, entries for the 1940s and 1950s,
2. *Weekly Reflex* Feb. 18, 1979.
3. *Utah Heritage Foundation Newsletter* (March 1981), 1, and (Sept. 1981), 1–2; *Utah State Historical Society Newsletter* 33 (1983), 3.
4. Harold Ellison Oral History.
5. "Layton Sugar Board Change after Sale," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 3, 1959, EFA.
6. Binden B. Cottrell phone conversation with the author; "Dedicatory Program, Deseret Mills and Elevators of the Welfare Services Program of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," June 10, 1976, copy in EFA.
7. Christofferson, "Ellison Milling and Elevator Company," 14–17.
8. "Layton First National Bank." *Weekly Reflex-Davis News Journal*, May 29, 1980.
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10. Collett, *Kaysville—Our Town*, 296–97; Peter Ellison note to the author, Oct. 2, 1995, in EFA.
11. Kane, *History of the Ellison Ranching Co.*, 27.
12. Peter Ellison Talk at 1985 Ellison Family Reunion.
13. Kurt Markus, *Buckaroo: Images from the Sagebrush Basin* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1987), photograph notes in back of book.
14. Peter Ellison note to the author, Oct. 2, 1995, copy in EFA.

APPENDIX C

THE ELLISONS WHO STAYED IN ILLINOIS

When John and Alice Ellison left Nauvoo late in 1846, John's parents and siblings chose not to head west. Why they decided to remain in Illinois and drop out of Mormonism is uncertain. What is known is that Latter-day Saints who stayed behind did so for a variety of reasons, practical and personal. Some who had debts to pay off, property title tangles, and health problems, expected to follow when they could. Others did not want to move because they were too old or possessed homes and properties they could not bring themselves to give up. A few felt afraid to leave the boundaries of civilization to enter the wilderness. Some stayed to shore up threatened marriage or family relationships. A number retained beliefs in Joseph Smith and his teachings but could not accept the Twelve Apostles as their leaders. Others simply lost faith in Mormonism.

Matthew Ellison Sr.

During the next two decades after the 1846 exodus of most of the Saints, including his son John, Matthew increased his property in Rock Creek Township (see Chapter 3). He bought 150 acres in 1847 at a tax sale and another ten acres in 1848. He replaced his log cabin with a brick home, hauling bricks from a kiln near Macomb, thirty miles away. Later the family built a five-room frame addition to the brick house. Matthew farmed all his life. Most of his sons and sons-in-law settled nearby and farmed. Matthew died at his home on March 11, 1865. Widow Jane survived him by eleven years, dying on August 25, 1876.[1]

In 1860 the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints, or RLDS Church, was formed by followers of Joseph Smith who rejected the Twelve Apostles' claim to be Joseph's successors. Factions joined together, and Joseph Smith III agreed to be their leader. RLDS missionaries prose-

Memorial grave marker for Matthew and Jane Ellison in the Thornber Cemetery, south of Powellton, Illinois.

lyted among Saints still in Illinois who had not gone west, and many affiliated with the Reorganization, including several Ellison relatives.[2]

Ann Ellison Alston

John's sister Ann, who traveled with him and Alice on board the sailing ship *Echo*, married John Alston in Nauvoo on July 25, 1841. Her name is recorded in the county clerk's office in Carthage as Ann Helison—indicating that the Ellisons spoke the Yorkshire dialect that added *h*'s where there were none and dropped them where there were. John Alston was an English convert from Lancashire. He and Ann lived in Nauvoo until 1845, where two of their children were born. They moved to Chicago and finally relocated back to her parents' farm. Ann taught the first public school in Rock Creek Township and was a midwife and nurse. She bore the last seven of her ten children near Adrian, Illinois. John Alston was one of the original members of the RLDS

Church's Rock Creek Branch when it was created in August 1863. Ann died near Adrian on October 22, 1869, at age forty-nine.[3]

Jane Ellison Coates

Jane, husband Thomas Coates, and baby Alice had immigrated to Nauvoo with the Matthew Ellison family. For causes not known, Thomas had a fight with Jane's brother John and gave John a beating. Police arrested Thomas and hauled him before the mayor's court. On January 30, 1844, Mayor Joseph Smith tried the case of "City vs. Thomas Coates" and fined Thomas $25 plus court costs.[4]

Thomas decided to work in lumbering, so he moved his family up into the pine forests of southern Michigan and then to New Buffalo, near Chicago. Three of their four children were born there. Thomas died in 1851. Jane remarried in 1855 to James Isham and bore two children by him. He died in 1870; she lived until May 20, 1904.

Matthew Ellison Jr.

Matthew was eighteen years old when he came to America with his parents. In 1845 he located in St. Louis and worked in a dairy. During the Mexican War he helped drive supplies for soldiers stationed at Santa Fe. In 1847 he returned to his father's home, where Matthew gave him land to farm. Younger Matthew became a leading agriculturalist in the area. He made eight visits back to his native land. During one, he married Nancy Hanson, in 1854, and brought her to America. They had nine children, all born near Adrian, Illinois. Nancy died in 1890. Matthew married twice more and had two sons by his third wife. He died January 26, 1903.

Lucy Ellison Thornber

Lucy immigrated with her parents when she was a teenager. She hired out as a working girl in Nauvoo. On July 11, 1845, at age seventeen she married Henry Thornber, a shoemaker. As a bodyguard of Joseph Smith, Henry helped to bury the Prophet's body secretly after the Carthage murders. In 1846, Henry bought a farm near Lucy's parents. Even though married, Lucy attended her sister Ann's school to learn arithmetic. In 1853, Lucy and Henry returned to England near Burnley

in Lancashire, where Henry farmed and engaged in dairying. Two years later they returned to live with Matthew and Jane. They farmed, raised sheep, and owned a molasses mill. They were parents of eight children. Lucy died on Christmas Day, 1886.[5]

Thomas Ellison

Thomas was thirteen when the family immigrated. He attended Ann's school and did laborer jobs while living with relatives. When father Matthew died, Thomas helped support his mother and operate the farm. In 1874, he married Eleanor Davidson. They had four children. When Thomas's mother died, he moved to the family farm and improved it. He favored the RLDS church. In 1896 he moved his family to Nauvoo, where he engaged in the banking business. He died on February 16, 1906; his wife died in 1934.[6]

Margaret Ellison Stevenson

Margaret, who was ten years old when she came to America, attended Ann's school, helped with the family farm, and married John Stevenson in 1855. They farmed in Rock Creek Township between the homes of their two sets of parents and became a prosperous farm family. They had nine children. They joined the RLDS church and attended services at a church built in 1875 four miles west of Adrian. Margaret, as a special skill, wove rag rugs and carpets. In 1902 their home burned down. John died in 1916 and Margaret on March 15, 1922.[7]

Mary Hannah Ellison Whitcomb

Mary Hannah was a five-year-old when she came to America. She married Dwight Whitcomb in 1856, and they became a farm family. They had seventeen children, only five of whom reached adulthood. They moved to Adrian, where they affiliated with the Disciples of Christ Church. Dwight died in 1904, and Mary Hannah on March 3, 1918.[8]

Ralph Ellison

Ralph, not yet three when the family left England, attended Ann's school, farmed, did some blacksmith work, and in 1862 married Edith

Evans. They lived their first year in Nauvoo, then moved to a farm west of Adrian. They had four children. They joined the Presbyterian church. Edith died in 1904, and he on October 18, 1909.[9]

NOTES

1. Matthew Ellison life sketch in Siegfried, *Family History*. Siegfried says that a picture of Matthew and Jane's frame and brick home appears in Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Hancock County*, published in 1874. Genealogy data are from Matthew and Jane Wilson Ellison family group sheet compiled by Mattie Ellison Allred, copy in EFA.
2. Joseph Smith III and Heman C. Smith, *The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*, 4 vols. (Independence, Mo: Herald Publishing House, 1967–1973).
3. See "Ann Ellison" sketch in Siegfried, *Family History*. RLDS Church records give Ann's name as Amy. At a public school election on October 16, 1847, at the Alston home, Ann/Amy was engaged to teach for ten weeks for twenty dollars. Other officers elected included Henry Thornber, who married her sister, Lucy, and father Matthew Ellison, Sr. See "Rock Creek Branch" discussion in Pearl Wilcox, *Regathering of the Scattered Saints in Wisconsin and Illinois* (Independence, Mo.: The Author, 1984), 143–44.
4. *History of the Church*, 6:190.
5. Siegfried, *Family History*; Matthew and Jane family group sheet by Mattie Ellison Allred, EFA. Henry Thornber owned land in the SW 1/4 of the SW 1/4 of Sec. 8, T6 R7.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.

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Because E. P. Ellison was not a one-career person, his history has had to draw from a vast array of sources. He had many business ventures, most of which have no histories written about them. So, to explain his life I had to understand his careers, and to do that I had to locate records for every one of the main enterprises and then write overview histories of each.

Particularly useful sources for those business histories were the more than 200 Knight Investment Company files at BYU, which contained much information about ventures in which the Ellisons and the Knight family were mutually involved, especially the Canadian sugar factory and Ellison Ranching; the Layton Sugar Company's annual reports tucked in the massive, uncatalogued files of the U and I Sugar Company, warehoused uncatalogued at Brigham Young University; the official board and stockholders minutes of the First National Bank of Layton, stored in the bank's files; the Farmer's Union board and stockholders minutes, also in the bank's files; the minutes, annual reports, and ledgers of Ellison Ranching Company, located in the ranch's office safe at Spanish Ranch north of Elko, Nevada; and the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company and the Weber River Water Users Association's numerous file cabinets filled with board and stockholder meeting minutes, reports, correspondence, clippings, stock certificates, maps, and ledgers.

E. P. Ellison did not write an autobiography. His own records consist of two types: his pocket-size daybooks, and his correspondence. The daybooks are in family hands. The correspondence is scattered here and there in incoming correspondence files of various of his enterprises or his business associates, particularly the Knight Investment Company files

in Brigham Young University's Lee Library Special Collections manuscript section.

For Elizabeth we located only four postcard notes written by her. Son James kept a fine diary during his California mission, which contains vital insights about the family.

Government records provided useful materials about E. P., particularly the county property tax records, court litigations, county selectman minutes, and maps.

Clearly this history was written a generation too late-after E. P. and Elizabeth's children had all passed away except for elderly Marion whose memory was dimmed by age. We tape-recorded many interviews with grandchildren and their spouses, but these people had firsthand memories only of the older E. P. and very little about Elizabeth, who died in 1916.

Several life sketches circulate in the family about Matthew and Jane Ellison, John Ellison, Alice Pilling Ellison, E. P., Elizabeth Whitesides Ellison, other Ellison relatives, various Whitesides, Lewis, and Perkins relatives, and a few of E. P. and Elizabeth's children. Always the researcher is glad to find these, but constantly the researcher is skeptical of the accuracy of each. I found several contained serious errors of fact and understanding, and especially of settings in which the sketches' subjects lived.

I did not have time or authorization to reresearch the family's genealogy records to verify their accuracy. But, I have tried to notice contradictions found within family group sheets compiled by different persons as well as data that could not be true given what else is known about the person or family involved.

Secondary sources have been useful, particularly newspaper feature articles extolling E. P.'s business career. Of his many enterprises, only Ellison Ranching Company has a booklength history. For the rest I have had to research and write their histories which are woven into the chapters of this book.

To obtain accurate context information I researched in many books, articles, theses, newspapers, and in non-family diaries, autobiographies, and biographies.

Also useful were LDS ward and stake records of members and of organizations and meetings, and of LDS immigration groups.

Unfortunately, for the many years that E. P. was in a stake presidency, minutes of his stake presidency meetings are considered confidential and therefore not open to research.

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Ellison, Harold Ephraim
Ellison, Richard
Jackson, Melba Ellison
Strong, Lucille Ellison
Wilcox, Oma Ellison

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INDEX