## LAND OF THE SKY - BLUE WATER

A History of the L.D.S. Settlement of the Bear Lake Valley

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LOS ANGELES FAMILY HISTORY CENTER

Illustrated with Photographs

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## To

Those sturdy pioneers of the Bear Lake Valley who began arriving 100 years ago this month, on September 26, 1863.


SETTLEMENT LOCATIONS
OF

## ACKNOW LEDGMENTS

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## INT RODUCTION

One of the most interesting facets in the early history of the Mormon settlement in the Rocky Mountains was the colonization of various areas in Utah, Idaho, Arizona, Nevada, and California. These areas were settled by men and women who were more than a thousand miles from the nearest outpost of supplies that were considered to be necessities in a modern civilization. It was impossible to take "everything" with them, and therefore survival often depended upon this ingenuity and industry in obtaining food, clothing and shelter as well as to provide the "cultural" aspects of life.

The settlement of each area is a saga of its own, although a certain pattern of uniformity is present in the colonization of each of the various Mormon areas. The settlement of the Bear Lake area is no exception. The common problems of Mormon settlement in the wilderness of the west were all present, but so also were the unique problems arising among individuals with varied personalities in a land of relative isolation and freedom. The story of the settlement of the Bear Lake valley by the Latter-day Saints provides an interesting chapter in the history of the conquering of the west.

The members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints had found it imperative to change living locations upon four occasions. These constant interruptions with their program gave them a determination to move to a place where they could proceed uninterrupted. They felt that the only way this could be done was by going to a land that no one else wanted. Here it would be possible to build an empire that would be able to withstand later interferences should they come. Imbued with this idea, they left their home in Illinois to find such a place. They had in mind roughly the great basin of the Rocky Mountains about which they had collected all available information.

Under the most difficult circumstances thousands of members of the latter-day faith began the journey westward to still another frontier-the fifth--the vanguard of these pioneers arriving in Great Salt Lake Valley in July of 1847. Like many other pioneers, they found that only through industry, thrift, and hard work could they eke out an existence. Experience soon taught them, however, that such qualifications were sufficient to make the desert "blossom as the rose."

The first two or three years were spent in an effort to exist and in establishing themselves as a society. During this period they began settlements in nearby regions and contented themselves with exploration of more distant valleys.

As more people arrived, the Saints' dream of an empire began to materialize with rapidity. Under the guidance of their leader, Brigham Young, and under his philosophy that a Mormon could make a living anywhere an Indian was able to exist, groups were sent out from the
parent colony at Salt Lake City to establish other settlements, A few of these settlements failed; most of them succeeded. Bolstered by a determined faith in the ultimate success of their goal, when one region proved for any reason to be unsuccessful, the colonists, obeying the call of their leaders to make further sacrifices in settling elsewhere, would pack up their few belongings and move on.

This book is concerned with the settlement of Bear Lake Valley, one small area that fitted into the over-all picture of securing a home in the valleys of the Rocky Mountainsfor the Saints who were then engaged in the task and for others who, they felt, were sure to come.

The writer feels that this subject is of general interest in that it shows a typical settlement of a valley under the guidance of Brigham Young, who was perhaps the world's greatest modern colonizer, During his thirty years in the Rockies more than 360 settlements were established under his direction. The settlements of Bear Lake Valley may have differed from many others due to the climate, to pography, location, availability of natural resources, and individual personalities involved.

In 1863 Brigham Young called a group of people on missions to go into the Bear Lake Valley for settlement. They were not sent to supply some particular product or need in the scheme of independence to the over-all colonization, such as certain other colonies were; but they were sent to carry out only the major objective of "building zion." Their goal was to "subdue the valley" in order that civilized man might find it possible to exist there under a decent standard of living. This was to be done in the face of whatever difficulties might confront them. Because the area was so high (being 5, 924 feet at the level of the lake) and suffered from early frosts, there was a question as to whether or not sufficient foodstuffs could be produced.

Other objectives of the colonists were to live in obedience to the principles of the Gospel as taught by the Latter-day Saint Church and to teach their children to do so, that Zion might be built.

## CHAPTER II

## EARLY BEAR LAKE VALLEY

Along the western part of the Oregon Trail was a great expanse of territory that was considered to be nothing more than a wearisome, delaying obstacle to those early immigrants who were endeavoring to reach the great northwest. Very little was known concerning the climate in this section of the country, and the little that was known was all bad. Today this area has become the state of Idaho. In these early days of the Oregon Trail, it was a part of the Oregon Territory itself. On August 14, 1848, Oregon was given the privilege of a territorial government. On March 2, 1853, that part of Oregon Territory lying north of the Columbia River and north of the forty-sixth parallel became Washington Territory until the territory of Idaho was organized March 3, $1863 .{ }^{1}$

In September 1863 the population of Idaho Territory was 32,342 persons of whom 21,116 resided in what is now Idaho; the rest lived in that part of Idaho now known as either Montana or Wyoming. The greater part of Montana and the northwestern part of Wyoming were included in Idaho Territory. The area of Idaho, when it became a territory, was 325,373 square miles. In 1864 Montana became a territory; and in 1868 , when Wyoming was organized, Idaho was granted the boundaries that have remained until the present time. These boundaries left 83,888 square miles to Idaho. The state is 485 miles from north to south, 44.7 miles wide on the north and 305 miles wide on the south, with a total boundary length of 1,718 miles.

The population of Idaho in 1864 (within the present area of Idaho) by counties was as follows:

| Boise ..... | 15,158 |
| :---: | ---: |
| Idaho..... | 955 |
| Alturus.... | 1,374 |
| Oneida .... | 3,730 |
| Nez Perce. | 1,403 |
| Owyhee.... | 1,735 |
| Shoshone... | 276 |
| Total | 24,531 |

These figures do not include those inhabitants living directly in the southwest corner of the state which is known today as Bear Lake County, as those pioneers chose to belong to Utah Territory until, and unless, an official survey would place them in Idaho. The government survey, completed in 1872, showed that the greater portion of the population of the Bear Lake Valley was residing in Idaho. This automatically made the northern section of the valley a part of Oneida County. It was not until January 5, 1875, that the legislature of Idaho created Bear Lake County, with an area of 984 square miles.


Section in Red: Bear Lake County, Idaho.
Section in Blue: Rich County, Utah.


BEAR LAKE VALLEY

Red: Original Oregon Trail Route
Blue: Cut-off route of Oregon Trail

## The Valley Proper

Bear Lake Valley lies in the extreme southeast corner of what is now the state of Idaho and the northermost corner of Utah on the extreme east side. It nestles between the Preuss Range and the Bear River Mountains. "The mountains on the west rise quite abruptly to the height of one mile; their deep snows feeding the many streams that flow into Bear Lake and Bear River. ${ }^{2} 2$ This river arises in the Uinta mountains of Utah, and it flows in a serpent-like manner, entering Bear Lake Valley from the east side, where it proceeds in a northwesterly direction, leaving the valley at the northern end.

In the southern portion of the valley lies Bear Lake, approximately nineteen miles long and five to eight miles wide. Before a pumping plant was stationed on its shores, it made contact with Bear River by overflowing northward in the spring. The normal elevation of the lake is 5,924 feet above sea level.

The valley has heavy snows and early frosts, although it has moderated considerably since it was first settled, ${ }^{3}$ There is an abundance of water for irrigation purposes, ${ }^{4}$ In its native state, the lake abounded in fish and the valley was over-run with wild game. ${ }^{5}$ The valley floor was covered with an abundant growth of meadow grass.

About eight miles northeast of the lake along the Bear River is a little valley, approximately three miles wide and twenty miles long, which lies within the Bear Lake Valley and was formerly filled with cottonwood trees, as well as other varieties. It was known to Jim Bridger and others as the Bear River Valley, ${ }^{6}$ which, today has a tendency to confuse people who think of some place in Cache Valley, Rich County, Box Elder County, Weber County, Utah, or other places through which the Bear River flows.

In the larger valley might be included also the Nounan Valley, which lies about eighteen miles north of Paris on the west side of the main valley. Separated somewhat from the parent valley by a rise of hills, it is approximately three miles wide and six miles iong. Round Valley, which may also be classed as a child of Bear Lake Valley, is visible through an opening to the southwest at the south end of the lake.

## The Coming of the White Man

Perhaps the first modern white man to see Bear Lake Valley was a trapper named Joseph Miller, ${ }^{7}$ He was with a group of trappers who separated from the rest of the Wilson Price Hunt Expedition at the post of Henrys Fort in the winter of 1811-12. ${ }^{8}$ Others with him were John Hoback, Jacob Rezner, Edward Robinson, and Martin Cass. The main body of the Wilson Price Hunt party abandoned their horses at Fort Henry (about seven miles north of present Rexburg, Idaho), and attempted to sail down the Snake River to the Pacific Ocean by boat, while Miller and histhree "Kentucky" companions left the fort fully equipped for trapping and moved south along the Snake to the Portneuf River, ${ }^{9}$ They traveled up the Portneuf and headed east, where they discovered Bear

River. Near the present site of Preston, Idaho, they made a good catch of furs. That fall they traveled "east along Bear River through the present sites of Alexander, Soda Springs and Monteplier, ${ }^{19}$ In their efforts to get Mr. Miller through the mountains (he was desirous of returning to St. Louis), they discovered a much easier pass in the Rockies than the Teton Pass. It became known as South Pass, and was also easier to negotiate than the one still further to the north used by Lewis and Clarke, 10

After trapping on the Missouri and being twice robbed, they retreated through this newly discovered pass, going on up through the Bear River region. 10 They then proceeded still farther north where another part of the Wilson Price Hunt expedition found them "naked and destitute" near the present site of Grandview, Washington. The group that found them, under the leadership of David Stuart, was returning to St. Lewis with a report to John Jacob Astor, the senior partner of the Pacific Fur Company. Miller chose to return with them. They traveled through what is now MeCammon, Lava, Alexander, and Soda Springs, Idaho, and then into the Bear Lake Valley, going through the present sites of Montpelier, Dingle, Thomas Fork, and on over the rim of the Great Basin into Star Valley, Wyoming. 11

The river which they had followed was given the name of "Miller" in honor of their companion and guide who recognized it as the river he and his companions, Hoback, Robinson, and Rezner had seen before. 12

The next recorded white party to visit this area was a "redheaded Scotch giant, "Donald McKenzie, and his men from the Northwest Fur Company. He came as a result of stories concerning the large number of available pelts in the region. These stories had been told by David Stuart in New York and Ramsay Crooks in Washington. Donald McKenzie's company entered Bear Lake Valley from the north. ${ }^{13}$ After a short time he returned on snowshoes, 600 miles northward, with six companions to Fort Nez Perce. Here he reported his success. One week later he was off again for the Bear River region. 13 While collecting his furs he wrote a note to his friend, Ross, at Fort Nez Perce. He headed it, "Black Bears Lake, September 10, 1819. "13 This is the first record of the name of the lake, which was afterwards shortened to Bear Lake, suggested by the presence of many black bears in the region. Miller River was renamed Bear River for the same reason.

During the year of 1819-20 they trapped between the Bear and Green Rivers. Also they had witnessed the gathering of appoximately 10,000 Indians into the region. The Indian camp coyered a distance of seven miles along both banks of Bear River. The Indian giant Pee-eye-em and his brother Ama-queim, almost as large, were the supreme commanders of the camp. When Pee-eye-em first met Donald McKenzie, who weighed 312 pounds, he tried on McKenzie's coat and it lacked fourteen inches of going around him, 14 After the pow-wow broke up the Indians disappeared as suddenly as they had come, and within a matter of hours there was not an Indian in sight. 15 McKenzie and his men had become the first white traders in the region.

The trappers arrived at Fort Nez Perce on June 22, 1820, so heavily laden with furs that it had taken them a month to make the trip. Mac kenzie spent one more year trapping and trading with great success. But when he arrived at Fort Nez Perce on July 10, 1821, it was to discover that the Northwest Fur Company had merged with the Hudson's Bay Company. Having no further desire to continue trapping, he left the region for good.

The success of the Mackenzie party was sufficient to make the river one of the favorite haunts of the fur men. For several years afterward many trapping parties frequented the region around Bear Lake.

The third annual trappers' rendezvous with the Indians was scheduled to be held on the south shores of Bear Lake. Jedediah Smith, David Jackson, and Milton Sublette, partners in the fur business, had separated in 1826, each to perform specific duties for his company. More than a year later Jackson and Sublette met at the Bear Lake Rendezvous, where ten thousand Indians and trappers had gathered. Jim Bridger was scheduled to be there but had not arrived. They had supposed he had met with misfortune and was dead, when on July 4, 1827, they looked up to see him appear over the tim of the mountains, near the present site of Laketown, Utah, with two Indian guides. 17 The partners were so happy to see Mr . Bridger that they immediately fired off the four pound cannon they had brought from St. Louis. This cannon was later taken to the permanent camp at the junction of the Weber and Ogden Rivers, 17

It was at the Bear Lake Rendezvous that Jedediah Smith wrote his report to the government on his observations made while on a trip to California, from which he had recently returned. He closed his report as coming from "The Little Lake on the Bear River, "18 Also at this rendezvous an unknown trapper wrote a "now famous letter," published in Niles Register on October 26, 1827, regarding his visit to Yellowstone Park.

William Sublette had brought with him from St, Louis a pack train loaded with great quantities of merchandise for trading. This merchandise aided the partners tremendously in obtaining an exceptionally large store of furs which was taken back to St. Louis after the rendezvous was over. 19 It was probably during the winter of 1832-33 that Captain Bonneville made camp on the shores of Bear Lake while passing through the region, He had come into Idaho this time by way of Bear River, 20 (He had first entered Idaho by another route in 1823.)

In 1836 Dr. Marcus Whitman and his wife, on their way to Oregon with Reverend H. H. Spalding and his wife, passed through Bear Lake Valley with wagons. In 1842 Dr. Whitman and EIijah White led an immigrant train of wagons into Oregon over this same route. In the following year Whitman led the first army of immigrants to the northwest over this road, and the Oregon Trail began its period of popularity. ${ }^{21}$ There were 200 families and 120 wagons in this company.

The Oregon Trail entered Bear Lake Valley from two different directions, the older of which went along the southern and western shores of Bear Lake. Today there is a "Trails and Landmarks" marker stationed by the road between. Fish Haven and Garden City in memory of the years
when those hardy pioneers passed along the trail at this point. It reads:

## The First Oregon Trail

The first wagons came into the valley in 1830, during which year they made their way as far west as Fort Washakie, Wyoming. Continued efforts were made to find passable wagon trails through the mountains to the Pacific Coast, which goal was finally reached in 1840.

At that time the entire northwest mountain area was known as the Oregon Country, and western travel was either to the "Oregon" or "California" regions. While early maps give the probable location of the Oregon Trail somewhat to the north, well marked wagon ruts and stories of Indian and early settlers of this region indicate that the first wagon migration to Oregon followed the southerly and westerly shores of Bear Lake. Leaving this valley through a canyon to the northwest, they proceeded to the upper reaches of the Bear River.

Additional color is given to this belief by the fact that this area was the site of an important trappers rendezvous as early as 1827 and well marked trails were followed for many years in and out of the valley.

A few years later a cut-off to the north was made and the Oregon Trail then came into present Bear Lake County near the point where Bear River crosses the state line from Wyoming. It then proceeded down into Bear Lake Valley, passed through the present sites of Montpelier and Bennington, and went on to Soda Springs.

The early fur men played very little part in the permanent history of Bear Lake Valley, extracting the fur wealth but giving nothing in return except a little knowledge to the early Oregon Trail immigrants and others who followed. The Oregon Trail immigrants were no better than the trappers as far as the building of Bear Lake Valley was concerned. Their greatest desire was to move on as fast as possible. Nevertheless the Bear Lake area was soon to be the home of hundreds of Mormon pioneers who were seeking a permanent location.

## REFERENCES

## CHAPTER II

1. Clyde A. Bridger, "The Counties of Idaho, " Pacific Northwest Quarterly (University of Washington, University Station, Seattle, Washington, 1940), XXXI, p. 187.
2. M. D. Beal, A History of Southeastern Idaho (Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1942), p. 177.
3. The old settlers claim the weather has moderated considerably. William J. Kunz, age eighty-four: (1948) Emily Matthews Rich, age seventy-seight; and Mary E. Jacobs Rich, age eighty-eight, who have spent their lives in the valley, were unanimous in making this claim.
4. Beal, op. cit., p. 177.
5. John Dunn, Paris Post, citing Alfred B. Hart, 'History of Bloomington, Idaho, MS" .... four head of elk was the most I ever killed in one day, and I remember killing nine head of deer in one day.... I have captured in my time 109 bear.... Beaver were so numerous that trappers could average four every day.... My fishing and hunting experiences commenced in 1864 by taking a thirteen-pound trout from Bloomington Creek. When fishing on the lake I used a 140 foot seine and a boat. "
6. "Journals of the Original Pioneers of Utah, 1847, "MS, June 18; composite copy on file, Latter-day Saint Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.
7. Vardis Fisher, The Idaho Encyclopedia, compiled by the Federal Works Progress Administration (Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1938), p. 144.
8. Isaac K. Russell and Howard R. Driggs, Hidden Heroes of the $\frac{\text { Rockies. }}{\text { p. 29. }}$ (World Book Co., Yonkers-On-Hudson, New York, 1925),
9. D. C. Rich, "A History of Bear Lake Valley, " MS, on file with the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, Salt Lake City, Utah.
10. Russell and Driggs, op. cit., p. 38.
11. Rich, op. cit., p. 2.
12. Russell and Driggs, op. cit., p. 41.
13. Ibid., p. 81.
14. Ibid., p. 88.
15. Ibid., p. 90.
16. Ibid., p. 91.
17. John H. Weston, personal interview, August 2, 1948. Mr. Weston read this information from material received from a government man who came to take pictures of the old rendezvous. His name was Carl P. Russell, United States National Park Service, 333 Hillyard Hall, Berkeley, California. Mr. Russell told him that of the sixteen Indian rendezvous in the United States this one had the most beautiful setting.
18. Russell and Driggs, op. cit., p. 159.
19. Weston, op. cit.
20. Byron Defenbach, The State We Live In. (Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1933, Caldwell, Idaho), p. 89.
21. Beal, op. cit., p. 80.

## EARLY BEAR LAKE HISTORY



Three of the older pioneers interviewed in 1948 by the writer. Top: Jefferson Davis (age 84, in 1948), the first white boy born in Montpelier, Idaho. Date of birth: Sept. 24, 1864, Lower Left: James E. Hart, age 91, the only living person (in 1948) who served in the Idaho Territorial Legislature. Lower Right: His half brother, Alfred B. Hart, age 77, who served in the Presidency of the Bear Lake Stake for many years. They are the sons of James H. Hart, who served in the stake presidency from 1871 throughout the pioneer period.


Top Left: William J. Kunz, age 84 at time of interview in 1948. His father and his father's brothers came from Switzerland to Bear Lake in 1873, founding the settlement of Bern where Idaho's first cheese was made with equipment brought from Switzerland. Top Right: Mary Jacobs (Rich) who came to St. Charles with her parents in Sept. 1864. The dirt floor of their home which was half built when they arrived was completely frozen. The family cut wild hay and put on the ground for the floor the first winter. Lower Left: Emily Matthews (Rich) (age 78) was reared in the town of Liberty, near the mouth of Emigration Canyon. Lower Right: Fred Sarbach (age 84) of Montpelier, a stone mason who helped build the Bear Lake Stake Tabernacle and the Fielding Academy.

## CHAPTER III

## EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT

## The Latter-day Saints Hear of the Bear Lake Valley

On June 28, 1847, the original pioneer company of the Latter-day Saints met Jim Bridger. ${ }^{1}$ They were located at that time on the Bear River, west of Bridger's Fort. As Brigham Young was desirous to learn from him as much as possible about the Great Basin and surrounding country, Mr. Bridger offered to stay with them for the night if they would pull over and make camp at that time. ${ }^{2}$ The Saints immediately accepted the offer.

Mr. Bridger told them a great deal about the various valleys. He also told them that the maps of John C. Fremont were fairly good in summarizing the geography of Bear Lake Valley. Writing of this region's resources in his journal Mr. Fremont stated: ${ }^{3}$

I can say of it in general terms, that the bottoms of the river (Bear), and some of the creeks which I saw, form a natural resting and recruiting station for travelers now, and in all time to come. The bottoms are extensive, water excellent, timber sufficient, the soil good and well adapted to grains and grasses suited to such an elevated region. A military post and civilized settlement would be of great value here, grass and salt so much abound. The lake will furnish exhaustless supplies of salt. All of the mountains here are covered with a valuable, nutritious grass, called bunch grass, from the form in which it grows, which has a second growth in the fall. The beasts of the Indians were fat upon it; our own found it a good substance, and its quantity will sustain any amount of cattle and make this truly a bucolic region.

In the course of the conversation Mr. Bridger told the "Mormon" pioneers about a little valley within the Bear Lake Valley, where oak timber, sugar trees, cottonwood, pine, and maple were growing. He stated that there were not so many sugar maples but that there were plenty of beautiful pines there.

Mr. Bridger further told them of a man who had opened a farm in this valley, "Where the soil is good and likely to produce grain were it not for the excessive cold nights. 13

The Saints had previously talked to a man by the name of Major Moses Harris who had evidently informed them that there were no trees at all in the Bear Lake Valley. He had given them a less favorable impression of this valley, as well as of others, than Jim Bridger thought they should have been given. Elder Howard Egan writes: ${ }^{4}$

After I ate supper I went down to where Mr. Bridger was encamped, and from his appearance and conversation, I should not take him to be a man of truth. In his description of Bear River Valley and the surrounding country, which was very good, he crossed himself a number of times. He said that Harris knew nothing about that part of the country. He says there is plenty of timber there; that he had made sugar for the last twenty years where Harris said there was no timber of any kind. But it is my opinion that, he spoke not knowing about the place, that we can depend on until we see for ourselves.

Peg Leg Smith, the Valley's First Settler
The man to whom Jim Bridger referred as farming in the Bear River Valley was a certain Mr. Thomas L. Smith, who had become known as Peg Leg Smith. ${ }^{5}$ He was located on an island in the Bear River where Dingle, Idaho, is located today (see map of Bear Lake County). Here he operated a cattle business, a trading post, and a horse exchange for Indians and for immigrants to the Oregon country.

Undoubtedly Brigham Young heard other reports about the Bear Lake Valley; but he must have been somewhat favorably impressed with Mr. Bridger's report of it as he wrote a letter to Mr. Smith, dated November 15, 1848, at Salt Lake City offering to buy his property. The letter is as follows: 6

Great Salt Lake City Noyember 15, 1848

Mr. Smith
Sir
Having received by the hand of Isaac Brown a lettet containing a schedule of your property and understanding that you have a desire to dispose of your establishment, cattle, stock, etc., now in the Bear River Valley, I send herewith Mr. Lewis Robinson, a friend of mine, who is fully authorized to trade with you and make suitable arrangements for pay, transfer and property, etc., and whatever arrangements he may make in regard to the pay, you may consider me responsible for the amount. The coined money I have not now on hand, but we are preparing to put the gold dust into coin without any alloy, which if you are disposed to take, you can have out the value, but if you choose the American coined money we can probably get it by the time you want it. If not, it will probably save me some trouble. "I have understood that you propose bringing goods to this country. If that is your intention and to supply the wants of the white inhabitants, I would be glad to have some understanding with you, and also to learn what you could do down this winter, so as to make a return early in the spring. I am sir,

The answer to this letter is unavailable but no sale was made. It appears from this letter and correspondence that followed that at least a few Latter-day Saints were occasionally visiting the Bear Lake Valley as early as $1848-49$. On May 14, 1849, Brigham Young wrote another letter to Mr . Smith in which he again indicated that Mr. Isaac Brown was in the Bear Lake Valley:

Great Salt Lake City May 14, 1849

Mr. Thomas Smith:
Mr. Walker, the Utah Chief, has sent down to me to write to you to request you to inquire among the Snake Indians for Te -emps wife and child that went down among them some some time ago, and if you are successful I want you to send them to me by W. Isaac Brown and I will see that they are restored to Mr. Walker and his family.

He also wants you to hunt up Tatsawetts Squaw that went away with the Shoshone Indians and send her down at the same time.

Yours,

## Brigham Young

Mr. Smith answered Brigham Young's letter on May 26. In it he offered to sell Brigham Young two or three hundred dollars' worth of small coins for change, as he had heard that change was scarce. He said he would take currency for the same. He offered to trade skins, furs, etc., with the "Mormons." He also mentioned that he had had a hard time keeping the Indians from killing a Mr. Tucker on account of the report of Bridger and Vasquez.

Mr . Bridger and Vasquez had evidently started a rumor that one of Mr. Tucker's men, Elijah (Barney) Ward, had killed a certain Bannock Indian. This was the reason that the Indians wanted to kill Mr, Tucker. The Bannock Indian who was supposed to be dead turned up alive at Fort Hall. A Snake Indian had been killed instead. Mr. Smith did not think that Bridger and Vasquez had killed him as they were "too cowardly" but thought they wanted to blame the Mormons for it in order to cause trouble between the Indians and the Mormons, as they were jealous of the Mormons' trading with the Indians.

Brigham Young, in his letter of June 2, 1849, told Mr. Smith that the Mormons would be happy to trade with him if he would lower his prices. ${ }^{10}$ From this correspondance between Brigham Young and

Peg Leg Smith, it is evident that Latter-day Saint men visited the Bear Lake Valley quite frequently. There is a note concerning the Pottawattamie High Council (in Iowa) discussing Peg Leg Smith's buying corn for $\$ 1.00$ per bushel from the Saints and then in the dead of winter trying to sell it to "Brother" Brown for $\$ 1.00$ per pint.

Mr. Smith stayed in the Bear Lake Valley until 1863, when he finally became discouraged and left, due to the Indians' continually stealing his cattle, etc. It is reported that when he left, he met the pioneers coming into the valley. ${ }^{12}$ There is no record that he was ever bought out by Brigham Young.

## Maneuvers Against Johnston's Army

The next report of the Latter-day Saints in the Bear Lake Valley is dated October, 1857. A number of troops were there during operations that were designed to prevent Johnston's Army from entering Utah.

## Why Colonization of the Valley Was Delayed

There were a number of reasons why the Latter-day Saint Church Authorities did not colonize the Bear Lake Valley sooner than they did. One reason was the general opinion they had formed that, due to its high altitude and early frosts, it was not suitable for the growing of grains, etc. Another reason was that the Fort Lemhi experience had made them somewhat hesitant about the Indians in the north. Johnston's Army also changed Latter-day Saint Church policy of colonization. Then, too, it had been the original idea to colonize more of the lands south of the Salt Lake Valley. This was one reason Brigham Young thought it best to move the capital to Fillmore, where it would be nearer the center of the colonies. Upon discovery of the small amount of tillable land to the south, however, and also due to the scarcity of water in the lower end of the region, a change in plans was necessitated.

Why the Valley Was Settled in 1863
On May 20, 1862, Congress passed a homestead law ${ }^{14}$ which opened up a lot of new land for settlement. A person could file on 160 acres and, after living on it five years, would receive clear title to it. Brigham Young was anxious that the Latter-day Saints secure the Bear Lake Valley for themselves. If they did not, it might be that unfriendly Gentiles would now take up the land.

One of the early settlers was asked why the Church leaders had Bear Lake Valley settled when much of the land between there and Salt Lake was sparsely inhabited. His answer was that Brigham

Young felt that if the Bear Lake Valley was secured for the "Saints" they could finish filling in the rest of the regions later.

In the spring of 1862 Colonel Thomas Martineau and a few other men from Cache Valley made a trip into the Bear Lake Valley on horses. This appears to have been sort of an expedition to do a little exploring more or less for the pleasure of it. Mr. Martineau states that he had only been back three days, however, when he went again with a large group to explore the valley. This seems to have been an official call by Brigham Young to a number of men from Cache Valley to investigate the Bear Lake Valley and made recommendations concerning the feasibility of settling there. Mr. Martineau, who was the topographer and historian, made the following statement 16 concerning the trip:


#### Abstract

I was one of the exploring party into Bear Lake Valley, crossing the mountains at the head of Blacksmith's Fork River. In some places our trail lay along precipices, barely wide enough for a horse to pass along, and where a single false step would send one to certain death, but we had no accident. On our return by the source of Little Bear River, we discovered a large deposit of very rich iron ore, assaying 70 per cent. Three days after our return I started with a strong company on another tour of exploration into Bear Lake Valley, by way of Cub River, and made a thorough examination of its facilities for settlement, etc. I was historian and topographer, and made report to Brigham Young that the valley was suitable for settlement, it being generally supposed non-inhabitable by reason of its altitude--nearly 7,000 feet above sea level. We returned by way of Soda Springs, and had much difficulty and danger in swimming our horses acrass Bear River and other swollen, raging torrents fed by the melting snows.


This favorable report of Elder Martineau, along with other general information already in the possession of the Latter-day Saints, caused Brigham Young to further consider a permanent settlement.

On August 23, 1863, Brigham Young called a meeting at Logan, Utah. He stated that the purpose of the meeting was to take immediate possession of the Bear Lake Valley by sending a company there that fall. 17 The almost complete annihilation of the troublesome northern Indians ${ }^{18}$ by Federal soldiers at Battle Creek in January, 1863 gave the Saints encouragement that their outlying colonies would now be reasonably secure from Indian depredations.

Apostle Charles C. Rich was chosen to lead an exploring party into the valley and select a site for settlement. A few men from Cache Valley were called to take wagons over with an eye to permanent settlement. ${ }^{19}$ Fifty horsemen were selected to explare the valley.

They made their way from Franklin to Mink Creek and over the mountains that separated Cache Valley from Bear Lake Valley, entering from the northwest by way of what is now known as Emigration Canyon. They followed the creek to the valley floor, where they divided into two groups. One group went south along the east side of the valley; the other went south along the west side of the valley. They explored as far south as present-day Fish Haven. ${ }^{20}$

## An Agreement with Washakie

The settlers selected a site for a permanent settlement on the west side of the valley about eight miles north of the middle on the north side of a stream known as North Twin Creek. It later became known as Paris Creek. The expedition next met and made a treaty with the Indian tribes near the lake, 20 The Bannocks and the Shoshones were allies who traveled through the Southern Idaho region. The Bannock chief was Tighi and the Shoshone chief was Washakie, a friend of Brigham Young. General Rich told the two chiefs that Brigham Young desired to open up the Bear Lake Country for settlement, explaining that they would like the Indians' consent and cooperation. 21 The Indians were willing to give their consent but wanted the country at the south end of the lake to remain as a camping ground for themselves. It was also agreed that the whites were to contribute what they could from their crops to visiting Indians. In return, the chiefs would do all they could to keep the Indians from molesting the white men or from stealing from them, 22 Washakie wanted the white men to know, however, that something might happen in spite of the chief's efforts, as he said: 22 "Indians very much like white men--some good, some bad; we can't control them. Some young bucks will steal, but if they steal your stock and we find it out, we will send them back." One writer states that he subsequently did this on several occasions. 23

As the party came back through Cache Valley, other families were called to go to Bear Lake to settle. ${ }^{23}$ General Rich then went on to Salt Lake where he reported his actions to Brigham Young, who sanctioned all that had been done and stated that Bear Lake could become a great country. ${ }^{23}$

Apostle Rich was instructed to wait until after fall conference before returning to the settlement. Accordingly, he went back in October with a group of horsemen, which included General Rich, Lorin Farr, Captain Jefferson Hunt of Mormon Battalion fame, Joseph C. Rich, Thornas R. Miller, Richard Hopkins, and George Hill, and an Indian interpreter. ${ }^{24}$ They took with them many pack animals with provisions for the colony. At that time there was no road up Ogden Canyon, but an Indian trail was followed through to what is now Huntsville; thence up Beaver Canyon to Skunk Creek; and then to Blacksmith's Fork and up Lodge Pole Canyon into Round Valley, now Meadowville, at the south end of the lake. At the Big Spring there, Mr. Hill shot
two ten-pound trout, which were "disposed of in the usual manner without complaint from any game warden, " 24

## The Settlers Arrive

The first of the settlers who were called to enter the valley with their wagons arrived at the chosen site on September 26, 1863. The company was composed of John Pool, Charles Atkins and his wife Ann Atkins, Cass Whittle, William Harris, Lewis Ricks, Thomas Sleight, John Bright, Thomas Mantle, Ebenezar Lander, J. Bowman, Alex Allen and Matthew Fifield. ${ }^{25}$ They had come in eleven wagons.

Thomas Sleight's diary, though brief, provides an interesting account of the trip into the valley. He writes: ${ }^{26}$

I was called on a mission to Bear Lake Valley September 14, 1863. So I accordingly fixed up and started on the 15 th of September with Brother Lewis [Ricks] and traveled to Franklin, stayed at Brother Webster. 16th--traveled about two miles and camped at the mouth of Cub Creek Canyon. Our company now consists of eleven wagons and are waiting for more, also orders from Brother Rich who is ahead of us. Our wagons are to [sic] heavy loaded and our teams light; one yoke of oxen on head. The days hot and night cold, our desire is to build up the cities of Zion and by the help of the Lord we hope to accomplish it. 17th--the orders of Brother Rich arrived this morning; we were to travel over the mountain; 18th--Sunday, traveled all day; roads bad, no feed for cattle, camped at the foot of a big mountain. Monday, 19 th--started to make a road to the side of the mountain. 20th-the same, 21 st--double teams and go up the mountain without accident. 22nd--got over the mountain without accident, road very bad. 23 rd--traveled on a better road. 24 th--got over the divide. 25 th--after working hard to clear the timber from the road we arrived in Bear Lake Valley. 26th--traveled until noon and arrived at our destination,

It had taken eight days to travel approximately forty-six miles, 27 The road had had to be made as the company advanced. The side of the mountain had to be worked before a wagon could proceed without having to be held in order to prevent a tipover. A plow, picks, and shovels were used to level the road and make it passable. Before a wagon could travel down the Bear Lake side, the dead timber in the canyon had to be cut and cleared away. They cut only such timber and made such bridges as were absolutely necessary. 28

The next day another company with twelve wagons arrived. ${ }^{29}$ The


This house was built in the fall and winter of 1863 . It is representative of the houses in which the first winter was spent. Two young married couples, Charles Atkins and wife and Thomas Sleight and wife, spent the winter in it. They drew a line down the center of the room from the middle of the front door, and one couple lived on one side of the line and the other couple lived on the other side. It is said they lived in perfect harmony with each other.
people continued to arrive throughout the next month. Evidently some of the people who arrived, quickly became discouraged and went back. Thomas Sleight records in his diary on October 13th: "Several persons have arrived and gone back dissatisfied. 130 The snow and cold nights probably affected the will of some to stay, as it snowed as early as September 28, two days after the first wagons arrived.

In the true spirit of Latter-day Saint cooperation, the settlers were divided into work groups in order to better accomplish their multiple tasks. Some cut wild hay for winter feed while others cut and hauled quaking aspens, and still others built the cabins. ${ }^{31}$ The quaking aspen in the mouth of the canyon soon gave out and a road had to be made up to the pines. It was necessary to build five bridges over Paris Creek to complete this road.

The men of the first company soon returned to Utah to get their wives. ${ }^{32}$

The huts were situated along the bank of North Twin Creek (Paris Creek) in no particular pattern at first. ${ }^{33}$ On General Rich's return, he brought Fred Perris back with him. Mr. Perris surveyed two tiers of ten-acre blocks on the north side of the creek. From this, a systematic townsite was begun. 33 This became Paris (a corruption of the name Perris, for whom the settlement was named), the first settlement.

Because the winter was mild the settlers were able to haul logs from the canyon a good deal of the time. Thirty-four log huts were completed by spring, all with dirt floors and roofs. In all, fortyeight men, forty women, and about thirty children stayed in the valley the first year, among them Charles C. Rich, who stayed until December before returning to other duties. 34 Before leaving, he put Robert K. Williams and Alonzo Bingham in charge of the colony and instructed the people where to build a meeting house.

The last group of settlers who came in 1863 found two feet of snow in the mountains and were unable to get two of their wagons through. In fact, the wagons were not retrieved until the following summer. 35 Joseph C. Rich managed to get through with a load of flour just three days before Christmas. He stayed until after New Year's Day, when he returned to Salt Lake, 36

SOME OF THE BEAR LAKE PIONEERS OF 1863


JULIUS AUGUSTUS CEASER AUSTIN


WILLIAM BIRD


JAMES DIMMICK


JOHN BUNNEY


PHINEAS COOK
Born 1819


MATTHEW PHELPS FIFIELD Born 1830


LEVI GIFFORD, JR.
Born 1837


CHRISTIAN HOGENSON
Born 1830


JOHN MAUGHAN
Born 1830


PETER GREENHALGH Born 1830


CHARLES HENRY MALLORY Born 1840


WILLIAM SEVERN, SR.

1. "Journals of the Original Pioneers of 1847," MS, June 18, 1847.
2. Wm. Clayton's Journal, cited in 'Journals of the Original Pioneers:" MS, June 18, 1847.
3. "John C. Fremont's Journal," MS, cited by Beal, op. cit., p. 409.
4. "Howard Egan's Journal," MS, cited in "Journals of the Original Pioneers, " MS, June 18, 1847.
5. "Latter-day Saint Journal History," MS (Salt Lake City, Utah: Latter-day Church Historian's Office, November 15, 1848. It seems that during the winter of 1827-28 Mr. Smith either froze his foot or was wounded by a bullet from the gun of an Indian. He cut off his own leg and carved a pegged one for himself, doing a good job of each.
6. "L.D.S. Journal History," MS, November 15, 1848.
7. Copied from the original letter which is on file in the Latter-day Saint Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.
8. "History of Brigham Young," MS (Salt Lake City, Utah: Latterday Saint Church Historian's Office), pp. 78, 79.
9. A letter from Thomas L. Smith to Brigham Young, cited in "Latterday Saint Journal History, "MS, June 15, 1849.
10. See Appendix A.
11. "Latter-day Saint Journal History," MS, October 1847.
12. Statement by William J. Kunz, personal interview, July 3, 1948; also many others made similar statements.
13. 'LLatter-day Saint Journal History," MS, October 1847.
14. Milton R. Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer (Salt Lake City, Utah,: The Deseret News Press, 1940), p+ 47.
15. Statement by Jesse P. Rich, personal interview, July 17, 1948. Mr . Rich asked the question of his father, William L. Rich.
16. Cited by Edward W. Tullidge, Tullidge's Histories, Northern Utah and Southern Idaho, Vol. II (Salt Lake City, Utah: Juvenile Instructor Press, 1890), Part 2, p. 70.
17. Alfred B. Hart, "History of Bloomington, Idaho," Paris Post, (Paris, Idaho), July 14, 1932, p. 6.
18. Renegade Indians just north of and around the northernmost Latter-day Saint settlements, who had left the rule of the regular chiefs of the Bannock and Shoshone Tribes, and perhaps a few stragglers from the other tribes.
19. "Thomas Sleight's Journal," MS, September 14, 1863 (Original is in possession of Alice Sleight, Paris, Idaho. A copy is on file in the Latter-day Saint Historian's Office, as edited by Dr. Ira Hayward of Logan, Utah).
20. Joseph C. Rich cited by Standley H. Rich, 1919 Annual Financial Report of Bear Lake County, Idaho (Paris Review Print, 1920.)
21. These Indians claimed ownership of the valley. It was customary for the different tribes to hold a rendezvous here each year to trade their wares, etc.
22. John Henry Evans, Charles C. Rich, Pioneer Builder of the West (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936), p. 258.
23. "Mary Ann Phelps Rich, Autobiography," MS, p. 23. In possession of Zula R. Cole, Logan, Utah.
24. S. H. Rich, op. cit.
25. Beal, op. cit., p. 178.
26. Sleight, op. cit., September 26, 1863.
27. Years later (1907) Thomas Sleight was proud that he had made the same trip in twelve hours "without camping out."
28. Sleight, op. cit., Part X, p. 66.
29. Ibid. : .
30. Ibid.
31. D. C. Rich, op. cit., p. 4.
32. Sleight, op. cit.,
33. D. Rich, op. cit., p. 4.
34. See Appendix B for list of settlers of 1863.
35. Sleight, op. cit., Part X, p. 72.
36. J. C. Rich, "Interesting Facts About Bear Lake County," News Examiner (Montpelier, Idaho) April 7, 1947. This article was originally published in the Bear Lake Democrat (Paris, Idaho) in 1894.

## CIVILIZATION BEGINS TO BLOSSOM

## The First Winter

The first child born in the valley was the son of John and M. Davenport Maughan, born October 21, 1863. Less than three weeks later, November 9, 1863, a daughter was born to Mr. and Mrs. Peter Hogensen. ${ }^{1}$ She was given the name of Agnes.

Fortunately for the pioneers of the valley, the winter of 1863-4 was a rather open one. There was never more than a foot of snow on the valley floor. Much of the stock foraged for its own feed nearly all winter long. The settlement had plenty of provisions so that no one suffered from hunger, although variety in the diet was rather limited.

A few days before the first Christmas in the valley Thomas Sleight and Lewis Ricks started on horseback for Logan. There were about two feet of snow in the canyon, and a trail was still visible where others had previously trodden. Messrs. Ricks and Sleight were able to get through without difficulty. On their return trip a blizzard came up, however, and they soon discovered that the snow had increased to four feet deep. ${ }^{1}$ As a result their progress was slowed down considerably, and by dark they were only to the summit. They had neither bedding nor matches. Not only they but their horses as well were exhausted; they could not go on. In this predicament they saved themselves from perishing in a very unusual manner, one which never would have occurred to a novice. They charged their pistols with powder and rags, and shot them off. The shooting ignited the rags and with gentle blowing they soon had a blaze. Throughout the night they busied themselves hunting dry sticks for the fire.

By morning the storm had abated and Mr. Sleight and Mr. Ricks started for home. By following the old trail as much as possible, they finally arrived in Paris that evening, tired but happy to be alive and safe. ${ }^{2}$

In February 1864 William Harmonson and Hezekiah Duffin went over the mountains on horses to Franklin. The little colony was going to put on a play, William Tell, and found that they needed some music. However, Mr. Harmonson's violin strings were broken and the closest place to get them was at Franklin. The men had difficulty getting through, being compelled to camp in the mountains for three nights without the necessary food or bedding but "by the kind
help of Providence, and perseverence on their part, they pulled through, and brought the fiddle strings which afforded much pleasure to the people. "3

William Tell, the first play in the history of the valley, was put on in the new log meeting house on February 23. Gideon Harmonson participated on the program with special numbers as a comedian and received good response. The theatrical performance was enjoyed by both audience and actors.

For further entertainment a choir was organized, composed of John Bunny as leader, with John Cozzens, Mary Severn, Margaret Savage and Lizzie Duffin as members. The choir helped greatly to enliven the settlers and keep them entertained throughout the long, tiresome winter.

Another form of recreation was the dance. This kind of entertainment seems to have been rather frequent, with at least three dances in February, on the 1st, 15th, and 29th. ${ }^{4}$ All dances were opened and closed with prayer "as they were considered both beneficial to body and mind. "4

Thomas Sleight mentioned in his diary that the settlers could make their duty either a pleasure or a burden and he felt that it was the aim of all to make it a pleasure. ${ }^{4}$ He further stated: ${ }^{5}$

I know of none that were homesick, they all brought the recipe to cure all complaints with them, and as that recipe is good today I am tempted to reveal the secret so that you readers can have the benefit of it, It is Duty. If anyone is unhappy let them learn their duty; it will save us from a multitude of sins, and our neighbors will share in our happiness.

Bishop Robert K. Williams called for religious services to be held in the best house in the colony. Here they were held each Sunday until the log meeting house was built. A meeting called "The School of the Prophets" also was held each Thursday evening as well as on Sunday. The meeting house, made of logs and measuring twenty feet by sixty feet, had one small window which gave scant light. Few doors and windows made the heating problem easier. In those days glass was not always obtainable, and greased white muslin was often used for windows. This preyented the cold from coming in but allowed some light to filter through. ${ }^{6}$

The wild animals of the valley were a great deal of a nuisance to the early settlers, especially during the first year. Bears, wolves,
wolverines, wild cats, foxes, badgers, and ground squirrels were all present. ${ }^{7}$ The wolves would often attack the foraging cattle, cutting their hamstrings at the heel, making them helpless and then devouring them alive. As soon as an animal was helpless, wolves would appear from everywhere. ${ }^{8}$

About March 1, 1864, two men came over the mountains on snowshoes and brought the settlers news of the outside world. The settlers had heard practically nothing whatever all winter concerning the terrible struggle between the north and south which was at its peak, so all were glad to see these welcome messengers. ${ }^{9}$

As spring came, men began to explore the valley, seeking out the best locations to make permanent homes. Eventually about twothirds of the Paris colony broke up and chose sites for permanent homes elsewhere in the valley. Some chose Liberty, and some chose Ovid, A few people chose Montpelier, but Bear River with the overflow from the lake in the spring made the water three or four miles wide. Not to be thwarted, during the early part of April 1864 John Cozzens and a few others built a flat-bottomed boat and sailed over to where Montpelier is now located. Some families at first chose Bloomington Creek; but, thinking there was only enough land for two families, they changed their minds and went to Montpelier instead. ${ }^{9}$

The first settlers to enter the valley in the spring of 1864 came about April first. They came by way of Soda Springs, Idaho, 10 a route which was about forty miles further to the north and another forty miles further back to the southwest, but which avoided the mountains. Others soon followed, coming over this same route.

Before Apostle Rich returned during the last week in April, the people had begun to plow; and, as each man generally had only two oxen, most men combined their forces until after the planting season.

## Brigham Young Visits the Valley

Brigham Young and company arrived in the Bear Lake Valley on May 20, 1864. President Young's purpose in coming was to comply with the wishes of Apostle Rich, who was anxious to have him come early to aid in selecting townsites so that the settlers could get busy making their permanent homes and begin their farming. ${ }^{11}$ On this, the first trip of Brigham Young into Bear Lake Valley, there were 153 people in the party, eighty-six of whom were in wagons, including a number of women, and sixty-seven were on horses. Besides Brigham Young, other general authorities in the party were President Heber C. Kimball, Apostles George Albert Smith, John Taylor, and Wilford Woodruff.

Because it was so early in the spring, the trip was much harder than it would have been a month or six weeks later. It took them from 6:00 a.m, on May 19, when they left Franklin, until 3:00 am. the following morning to arrive in Paris. This was accomplished only with the help of the local constituency. Heber C. Kimball's son, Solomon F, Kimball, a lad of seventeen at the time of the trip, later wrote an accurate and rather interesting account of this trip 11 which is well worth reading.

The rising generation know but little of the hardships endured in early days by the leading men of this church, while they were helping the poor saints to establish themselves in these valleys. In order to make plain to them at least one phase of this subject it will be only necessary to give a brief account of President Young and Party's first visit to the Bear Lake Country.

On Monday morning, May 16, 1864, at eight thirty o'clock, this little company drove out of Salt Lake City on its journey. It consisted of six light vehicles and a baggage wagon, occupied by the following persons: Brigham Young; Heber C. Kimball; John Taylor; George A. Smith; Wilford Woodruff; Joseph Young; Jesse W. Fox, Utah's surveyor; Professor Thomas Ellerbeck; George D. Watt, reporter, and seven teamsters. They reached Franklin, Idaho, on the afternoon of the third day, and by that time had increased their number to 153 men, eightysix of whom were riding in vehicles, the balance being picked men, mounted on good horses for assisting the company on the way. There were no houses between Franklin and Paris, Idaho, consequently the program was to drive directly through to Paris in one day if possible.

The fourth morning they got an early start, and drove almost to Mink Creek without accident. Here Brothe. George A. Smith's carriage broke down, but as good luck would have it, the brethren from Cache Valley had brought a light wagon along in case of such an emergency. The company were soon on the way again, as though nothing had happened.

They reached the foot of the big mountain which divides Cache Valley from Bear Lake Valley, and here is where the tug of war began. The mountain was so steep that all were compelled to walk except Apostle Smith, who was so heavy that it would have been dangerous for him to undertake, as he weighed not less than 300 pounds. The mounted men soon had extra horses harnessed and hitched to single trees, and President Young and others, who were too heavy to help themselves, took hold of these single trees with both hands and were helped up the mountain in this way.

Apostle Charles C, Rich and others, who had settled in the Bear Lake Valley the fall before, came to their assistance with all the ox teams that could be mustered. Several yokes were hitched to Brother George A. Smith's wagon, and he was hauled up the mountain, but before he reached the summit his wagon was so badly broken that he was compelled to abandon it, Everybody had a good laugh over the incident, it being the second vehicle broken down under his weight that day. With careful management under the supervision of President Young and council, the brethren managed to get him onto the largest saddle horse that could be found, and another start was made.

The company descended the mountain on the Bear Lake side and soon reached the head of Pioneer Canyon, where they struck mud, mud, mud, and then some more mud. It had been raining all day and everybody was wet through to the skin, except those who were riding in covered vehicles. Four horses were hitched to President $y$ oung's carriage, and several yoke of oxen to the baggage wagon. The majority of tho se who were riding in vehicles were compelled to walk on account of the trail being in such a fearful condition; and to see that presidential procession waddling through the deep mud was enough to make any living thing smile. It was the muddiest outfit ever seen in that part of the country.

Professor Ellerback undertook to cross the creek on a pole, and slipped off into the mud and water, and was a sad-looking sight after he had been pulled out. Many others passed through a similar experience that day. It was a case of every fellow for himself, some going one way and some another, the majority of them taking to the sidehills, Several times President Young's horses mired down to their sides, but with careful driving they got through all right.

President Kimball, who was handling his own team this afternoon, undertook to drive around one of these bad places, and had not gone far when his horses struck a soft spot and sank almost out of sight in the mud. Here is where the mounted men were of service again. They soon had Brother Kimball's horses unhitched from the carriage, and long ropes fastened around their necks. Then about thirty men got hold of the ropes and pulled the horses out bodily, dragging them several rods before they could get them upon their feet. The carriage was then pulled out.

President Young, who was in the lead, made another start, and had not gone far when one of the horsemen brought word that Brother George A. Smith's horse had given out, and that they were obliged to build a scaffold in order to get
him onto another one. This amusing story caused the authorities to have another laughing spell at Brother Smith's expense.

This canyon is about four miles long, and it was a mud hole from the beginning to end. The party reached the mouth of it at nine o'clock at night, and remained there long enough to rest and feed their animals. It was a cold night and the men made bonfires to keep themselves warm and dry their clothing.

About ten o'clock the company continued their journey. They drove down in the valley until they came to a small stream called Canal Creek. It was so narrow and deep that they had to jump their horses across it, and then get their vehicles over the best way they could. They reached the city of Paris at three o'clock the next morning, but were unable to see it until they had reached the top of a small hill in the center of town. It consisted of thirty-four $\log$ huts with dirt roofs, but they looked good just the same.

The Bear Lakers had caught a wagon load of beautiful trout in honor of the occasion, and had plenty of good fresh butter to fry them in; and what a feast the brethren did have after living on hope and mud for twenty-four hours! Sister Stscks and daughter did the cooking for the authorities, and it kept them busy as long as the party remained there.

The next twenty-four hours were spent in resting, as everybody was worn out; although Professor Ellerbeck took some scientific observations that day, probably the first that had ever been taken in that valley. The next day the company drove over to the lake, and spent several hours at a point where Fish Haven is now located. They returned to Paris that evening. The next day, being Sunday, they held an outdoor meeting in the forenoon. The speakers were President Young, who delivered the accompanying remarks, and Elders Kimball, John Taylor and George A. Smith.

A considerable meriment [sic] was afterwards had over the question of whether Brother Smith should return home with the company or remain at Paris until the mud had dried up. However, the decision was that he returned home with the company on condition that Brother Rich furnish ox teams to haul him through the mud, and to the summit of the mountains. This Elder Rich, who was the pioneer of Bear Lake Valley, consented to do and at 3:00 P. M. the presidential party started for home. In the meantime, Canal Creek had been bridged over, and
good time was made through the valley. They reached the mouth of Pioneer Canyon at dark, and camped for the night.

The next morning at 5:00 they continued their journey homeward. Brother Rich had more than kept his promise. He furnished two yoke of oxen for President Young's carriage, and four yoke for the baggage wagon, the latter being solely occupied by Brother George A.

Smith, who had a smile on his countenance, that made all who beheld it feel good through and through. These were the only vehicles drawn by ox teams. They followed the road through the mud, while the lighter vehicles, drawn by horses, hugged the sidehills, which were so steep that the brethren had to lash poles to prevent the carriage from tipping over. This plan worked like a charm, and by nine o'clock the company had reached the summit of the mountain. Notwithstanding it rained hard all that day, the party reached Franklin about five o'clock that evening, and three days later they arrived home. They had been absent from home eleven days, and within that time had traveled 400 miles, besides holding meetings at all the principal settlements along the route, both going and coming; they also selected several town sites.

Mr . Kimball also wrote the following poem ${ }^{12}$ about the trip:

## A HAZARDOUS JOURNEY

The Saints from all nations were wending their way. To the tops of the mountains of Ephraim to stay; And thousands of pilgrims were pressed to the wall, As the borders of Zion were growing too small. Our leaders already to make a new stake. Then hitched up their teams for a trip to Bear Lake: To the land of the blizzard, the home of the deer. Through mud and through torrents they drove without fear,
O'er mountains and valleys, through canyons and brush,
They plodded right on through snowdrifts and slush:
While ox teams from Paris, with drivers galore,
Came aiding our leaders all jaded and sore.
With townsites selected in care of wise men;
Provisions exhausted they rushed back again:
Then ere they had rested decided to take
A trip to the land of the lizard and snake.
Year in and year out they continued to toil,
In teaching the Saints to bring wealth from the soil:
Hurrah for our leaders, the prophets of God:
We'll hold up their hands and we'll hang to the rod.

A peek into the diary of Thomas Sleight readily furnished the answer as to why the trip was so muddy. Of the five days preceding the entrance of Brigham Young's party into the valley there was only one day (May 17) upon which it did not storm. ${ }^{13}$ On May 19 th, the day of arrival, he records: "Stormy day, rainy all day. Brigham and Comapny arrived about three o'clock in the morning; had an awful journey. We have staying with us Bishop West and lady, Bishop Molan and Lady, Bishop Thomas Daines and Lady, and others."

While in the valley, the visiting general authorities gave many instructions to the people concerning both their material and spiritual welfare. Below is the Sunday sermon of "Brother Brigham, " as recorded by George D. Watt . The meeting was held at 10:00 in a bowery built for the occasion, opposite the residence of Charles C. Rich. ${ }^{14}$ Reading Brigham Young's sermon ${ }^{15}$ gives one some insight as to why he was such a great colonizer.

I do not design to preach, but merely to express my feelings in regard to this valley. We find it to be a very excellent valley so far as we can judge from present appearances. It is a fine place to settle and raise grain, to build houses, make farms, set out orchards, raise fruit and all the necessaries of life to make ourselves happy here as well as in other places. Elder Charles C. Rich, one of the twelve Apostles, has been appointed to dictate the settlement of this valley. We wish to have the brethren abide his counsel, and if he needs instructions he will receive them from the proper source. We wish to see the brethren willing and obedient, for the Lord will have a people of this description, and if we are not prepared to build up his kingdom in the way he has devised, others will be called in who will do it. If we are willing to do this we will commence at home to cultivate our own minds and govern our actions before each other, and before heaven; if we do not do this our labors to build up the kingdom of God will be of little service. Self-culture should be as strenously attended to in this valley as at the central point of the gathering of the Saints.

There are many advantages in this country, and we shall extend our settlements up and down the shores of this beautiful lake of water. I suppose we must be some seventy-five to one-hundred miles nearer to the south pass than Salt Lake City is. Our emigration, destined for this valley, will come at once to this point, and probably many will come in this season. This settlement is near the central point of this valley. I might just as well call this the central point, as on this side of the river we have the farming, meadow and
pasture lands, and numerous facilities that perhaps cannot be found in such abundance on the other side of the river for the support of a great city. I understand the legislature has named this settlement Paris, and I am satisfied with the name. The place south of this, about seven miles, I propose to call St. Charles and it would suit me to have the county seat there. The business of the valley will be done at St. Charles whether Brother Rich lives here or there, or whether the High Council is held here or there (It was then unanimously voted that the settlement be called St. Charles). The city, town, or village that will be built there, I request the people to build on the south side of the creek. Brother Rich was desirous I should give a name for the creek; you may call it big water, tall water, large water, big creek, or pleasant water, or rich water.

The people here need a surveyor. We have young men who can learn in one week to survey this valley sufficiently accurate to be agreeable to all parties, and assure every purpose that can be desired. As to whether we are in Utah Territory or Idaho Territory, I think we are now in Idaho. I have no doubt of it, and the greater part of those who settle in this valley will be in that territory; the snow lies too low in the mountains here for Utah.

Let me here offer a caution to you Latter-day Saints. Men will hunt for your stock. Brethren have come here who have been asked to come, and some have fled from the influence of rule and good order, and when they find it here, they will probably want to go to some other place where they expect to be exempt from paying taxes or tithing and be from under the influence of a bishop, and where, if they should take a notion to shade a beef creature it will not be known.

We should learn that we cannot live in safety without law. There is no being in the heavens that is able to live and endure without law; it is the purity of the law that preserves the heavenly hosts, and they strictly abide it. I know what those people are here for, and their object, if any, has been to come to the valley for an impure purpose. You will know it, and if they are not here yet, they will come and settle on your borders from Franklin, Weber, Box Elder, and other places, and they will branch out and want to get beyond everybody else, and if there is any beef upon the range they will want to have the privilege of butchering it, and of using it up. Every good person wants to live under the protection of law and order.

I wish to say to the heads of families, here or elsewhere, be sure to have your prayers morning and evening. If you forget your prayers this morning you will forget them tonight,
very likely, and if you cease to pray you will be very apt to forget God. A true-hearted saint loves to pray before his family, and he loves to have it known that his heart is for God, and he is not afraid if all the world knows it.

Build mills to facilitate the building up of your towns and settlements and let there be no selfish monopoly in this. Let the brethren not burn away any of the timber that will make lumber, but bring it down to your mills and saw it up for fences, to build your homes, and make improvements of the best kind. My opinion is that the adobe is the best building material, if it can be protected from moisture, which is an easy matter when plenty of lumber is to be had; and when they have stood one year, they are prepared to stand 500 years as well as not. When you build your permanent dwelling, build nice, commodious habitations and make your improvements as fast as you can. When you have gotten your crops in this season, and find a little leisure time, turn your attention to fixing a road from here to Ogden Valley, which will save fifty miles, that is the true route to go, and fix your roads as speedily as possible.

When you form your settlements, get together pretty close, let there be at least ten families on ten acres of ground. When you start to build upon a block (Brother Charles C. Rich, please remember this), have the brethren build upon the block until every lot is oc cupied before you touch another. Then if you should be attacked by Indians, one scream will arouse the whole block. Get out these beautiful poles to fence with. I see no cedar here, but there is red quaking asp, and it is as good as any red pine we have for posts. This we have proved to our own satisfaction. Make your fences strong and high at once, for to commence a fence with three poles it teaches your cows and other stock to be breachy. They learn to jump a threepole fence. You add another pole, and that is soon mastered: You add another and they will try that. Thus stock is trained to leap fences which would otherwise be sufficient to turn them.

I say again, with regard to saw mills, get every man who can to build a sawmill, for, boards the proper width and thickness make the cheapest fence you can have. Make your improvemenis and do all you can.

Be sure you do not let your little children go away from this settlement to herd cattle or sheep, but keep them at home. Send them to school; neither suffer them to wander in the mountains. When the brethren go into the mountains after timber, instead of going alone and unarmed, let a few go together and labor together to assist
each other in times of difficulty. If you go alone, you may be left to perish.

The brethren may argue that the Lord is all sufficient to take care of them, but do you know what faith is, and do you feel the labor and the responsibility that is upon you to help yourself and others? When you are in imminent danger, do you exercise faith to preserve yourself, you will then know what the labor is. Three of our brethren went out on the lake yesterday, in a small boat. The wind began to blow from the south. Had it not been for the faith of their brethren, and their own exertions, very likely, they would have been drowned, or would have drifted to the opposite side of the lake, and starved to death, or suffered greatly before help could have reached them. They were reckless and unconcerned, and apparently their lives are of no worth in their own estimation. It is our duty to preserve our lives as long as possible.

Fathers, take warning, nume rous thieves have been raised on the herd grounds around our settlements. Some of them go to California, and others suffer the vengence [sic] on an outraged law.

Keep your children in school, and let every father and mother make their homes so interesting that their children will never want to leave it. Make your houses and homes pleasant with foliage and beautiful gardens, with fragrance and varigated [sic] colors of flowers, and fruit blossoms, and, above all, teach them always to remember that God must be in all our thoughts, and that from him proceeds every good thing.

President Heber C. Kimball and Apostles George Albert Smith and John Taylor then followed President Young with speeches. They were along much the same train of thought as was that of Brigham Young.

Articles pertaining to Bear Lake, whenever speaking of the early years in the valley, usually mention that the people thought they were in Utah, ${ }^{16}$ until the government survey came through in 1871. But we must notice that at least Brigham Young was not mistaken: ${ }^{17}$

As to whether we are in Utah Territory or Idaho Territory I think we are now in Idaho. I have no doubt of it, and the greater part of those who settle in this valley will be in that territory; the snow lies too low on the mountains here for Utah.

Such reasoning shows Brigham Young to have been geographically and topographically well informed about the region, His advice to the settlers appears to have been both wise and practical. 18

We cannot live without law .... Every good person wants to live under law and order .. . Be sure to say your prayers morning and evening. If you forget your prayers this morning, you will forget them tonight, very likely, and if you cease to pray you will be very apt to forget God! When you build your permanent dwellings, build nice, commodious habitations . . . have the brethren build upon the the block until every lot is occupied. Then if you should be attacked by Indians one scream will arouse the whole block : . Make your fences high at once . . . . for to commence a fence with three poles it teaches your cows to be breechy : . , Be sure you do not let your little children go away from this settlement to herd cattle or sheep, but keep them at home. Send them to school . . . . When the brethren go into the mountains, better a few go together . . . . let every father and mother make their homes so interesting that their children will never want to leave it. . . . Make your homes pleasant with foliage and beautiful gardens . . . above all, teach them [the children] to remember that God must be in all our thoughts.

Counsel of this kind was of the utmost need to a group such as had gathered together in Bear Lake Valley. Many were only recently over from the "old" country, and were rather inexperienced at building new settlements. It was gratefully received and long remembered. 19

At the close of the meeting a prayer was offered by George Albert Smith asking God the Eternal Father in the name of Jesus Christ to bless the resources of the valley and the settlers who would locate there; they also asked God to bless the Indians that they might not have ill feelings towards the people for settling in the valley. Blessings were invoked upon the congregation and those that already lived in the different settlements of the valley.

After the departure of President Young and his party, the settlers went to work with a will. They broke up the ground, planted crops and gardens, built irrigation ditches, hauled logs, etc. During this year (1864), 700 more people came into the valley to settle. Part of these had been officially called as missionaries while many others came voluntarily seeking new land and new opportunities, Mr. Rich returned to Centerville for his large family, bringing most of them to Paris in June of 1864,20

Settlements were founded in Ovid, Liberty, Montpelier, Bloomington, St. Charles, Fish Haven, and Bennington in 1864. Paris had been founded in 1863.

Throughout the summer, men used whip-saws to get boards for doors, cupboards, and floors for their houses. ${ }^{21}$ This method of getting lumber was slow and tedious; thus not all settlers were successful in satisfying their needs. Many went without board floors for the next winter.


Charles C. Rich: Apostle of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; pioneer and founder of Bear Lake Valley settlement in 1863; died in Paris, Idaho, November 16, 1883. Thomas Sleight paid him a great tribute when he wrote in his diary: "I have lived neighbor to him for twenty years and never knew him to do a mean act or speak an impolite word. "

## The First Independence Day

In July the settlers took enough time away from their work to stage a joint Independence Day celebration in Paris. On July 3 a large number of men met and built a bowery approximately forty by fifty feet on the public square. E. N. Austin and two other men went into Paris canyon and got out the first Liberty Pole which was set up near the bowery. 22

At daybreak on July 4 the settlers were awakened by the firing of musketry and by the music of the band. The Stars and Stripes were raised to the top of the Liberty pole. The inhabitants of the surrounding settlements poured into town. Alonzo Bingham was the marshal of the day, and David B. Dille was the chaplain.

A patriotic meeting was held at which the Declaration of Independence was read. Colonel J. C. Rich of the Utah Militia gave the address, 23 and toasts were given that were "witty and funny, " 24 In the evening a dance was held.

The flag that was used on this occasion was made by Mary Steritt and Sarah Jane Rich Miller, Charles C. Rich's wife, Emeline, and her sister, Adeline Gailey. Sarah Jane furnished red and blue cloth from dress material she had, and Emeline furnished the white from some bleached muslin. 25 For the first two or three years this flag was the only large one in the valley.

## The Test of a Hard Winter

During the spring and early summer of 1864 the weather had been very cold. On July 5 a destructive frost served notice on the inhabitants that Bear Lake Valley was only for those pioneers who were willing to face privation and hardship for the building of Zion in this section of the land. ${ }^{26}$ Vines were frozen and the corn was injured. The settlers' hope was bolstered, however, when immediately afterwards the weather moderated and grain and potato crops began a period of rapid growth.

But the fortunes of the Saints were not destined to be bright for the approaching winter, because early fall frosts froze nearly all of the grain in the valley, as well as many of the vegetables. The settlers were depending largely on a good crop of grain for their winter's food supply. 27 Teams from Paris went to Cache Valley for flour but before they got back it had snowed so hard they were unable to reach the settlements. Other teams had to help break roads for them.

The winter of 1864-5 was an extremely severe one. In November

Franklin W. Young had gone to Logan to mill and could hardly get back with a twenty-bushel grist. ${ }^{28}$ By spring many of the people were eating coarse flour that had been ground in coffee mills out of frozen wheat. Some were using boiled wheat. Frozen wheat flour made a sticky bread that was difficult to eat unless a person was extremely hungry. As one writer expressed it: "Thought it was like the 'Fellers owl,' it beat nothing all to pieces, " 29 Frozen wheat bread became a common diet during many of those early years in the valley. ${ }^{30}$

At times during the winter there were three and one-half feet of snow on the level. As many cattle had no shelter, a great number of them died. ${ }^{31}$ Still, considering the severity of the winter, it was remarkable that more were not lost. ${ }^{32}$

The only communicating between settlements was done by men on snowshoes.

After the snow went, some of the saints wanted to have a meeting because they wanted to tell Apostle Rich of a decision they had reached concerning their leaving the Bear Lake Valley. Accordingly, a meeting was called and they expressed their desires, reminding him of the trying winter, the early frost, etc. Many of them wanted to be released from their call so that they could go to a more desirable region to settle. Mr. Rich told them they were free to go if they wanted to, as he had no right to keep them under the many hardships they had suffered. But he had been called by Brigham Young to help make the settlements there and he was going to stay until he was released, even though it meant staying alone. 33 These are his own words: 34

Brethren--in the fall of 1863 President Young called me into his office and said, 'Brother Rich, I want you to go up to Bear Lake Valley and see if it can be opened for settlement; and if it can, I want that you should take a company there and settle it.'

That was all I needed. It was a call. I came up here, with a few brethren; we looked over the valley; and, although the altitude was high, the snows heavy, and the frosts severe, there was plenty of water for irrigation purposes and plenty of fish in the lake and the streams. So, with a company, I came here and settled with my family.

There have been many hardships. That I admit, brethren. And these we have shared together. But if you want to go somewhere else, that is your right, and I do not want to deprive you of it. If you are of a mind
to leave here, my blessing will go with you; but I must stay here, even if I stay alone. President Young called me here, and here I will remain until he releases me and gives me leave to go.

Most of the settlers decided that if he could stay they would also. ${ }^{35}$
The climate soon moderated and the men began building good fences, made ditches, and built grist mills, determined to make their permanent residence here. J. C. Rich finished surveying the town of Paris and then moved on to the other towns. 36

In April Charles C. Rich went over the mountains on snowshoes to attend general conference in Salt Lake City. He was fifty-five years old and a man of large stature, being over six feet tall and weighing 240 pounds. Such trips were somewhat difficult for him, yet in years to come, he made a total of thirteen trips over the mountains on snowshoes. These snowshoes were not the type that bears that name today. They much more nearly resembled skis, being three-fourths of an inch thick and six to eight feet long and perhaps six inches wide. They were turned up on the end like "a chinese slipper" and had a leather strap on them in which to slip the feet. 37 They were not made slick on the bottom as skis are today.

SOME OF THE PIONEERS OF 1864 AND LATER

E. N. AUSTIN


EDWARD BURGOYNE Born 1835


ISAAC DUNFORD Born 1823


JOHN GRIMMETT
Born 1827


ELIZABETH BARRETT HADDOCK Wife of Edward


SAMUEL HUMPHERYS
Born 1846


EDW ARD HADDOCK


JAMES HOLMES Born 1828


Wm. BUCHMINSTER LINDSAY Born 1821


Wm. ALFRED HYMAS


WILLIAM HYMAS


JOHN HYMAS
Son of William


MARY EDWARDS HYMAS Wife of Wm. A. Hymas


MARY ANN ATKINS HYMAS Wife of William


MARY ANN PITMAN HYMAS


PETER JENSEN


SAMUEL MATTHEWS


MORRIS PHELPS
Born 1805


BOLE MARIE JACOBSEN JENSEN Wife of Peter


NELS C. NELSON Born 1828


JAMES WILBURN WELKER Born 1825


This marker is on the highway just two miles northwest of the settlement of Laketown. It reads:

The Fur Traders Rendezvous
Erected August 1927
The Rocky Mountain Fur Company headed by Milton B. Sublette, David E. Jackson and Jedediah S. Smith conducted a fur trading rendezvous in this vicinity in June-July 1827, taking 130 bales of beaver furs for shipment to $S$. Louis in March with sixty men and merchandise, arriving via South Pass in late June. The trading was concluded and all parties dispersed in mid-July 1827, following the return of Smith from a perilous journey to California. Traders were also here in 1826. Large bands of Indians frequently gathered here.

## CHAPTER IV

1. Sleight, op. cit., Part X, p. 73.
2. Ibid., p. 74 .
3. Ibid., Part XI, p. 20.
4. Ibid., Part III, p. 3.
5. Ibid., Part IX, pp. 20-21.
6. Nellie G. Spidell, historian for Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Montpelier, Idaho, "A Historical Sketch of Bear Lake County," MS, October 19, 1939.
7. Sleight, op. cit., Part X, p. 74.
8. Ibid., Part XI, p. 29.
9. Ibid., p. 30.
10. Ibid.
11. Solomon F. Kimball, 'President Brigham Young's First Trip to Bear Lake Valley," Improvement Era, Vol. X (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1906-7), p. 296. Hereafter cited as "President Brigham Young's First Trip. "
12. Solomon F. Kimball, Life of David P. Kimball (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Deseret New Press), Chapter I.
13. Sleight, op. cit., Part III, p. 4.
14. Kimball, "Pres. Brigham Young's First Trip," op. cit., X, 298.
15. Kimball, "Pres. Brigham Young's First Trip," op. cit., X, 301-4.
16. Leslie L. Sudweeks, "Early Agricultural Settlements in Southern Idaho, " Pacific Northwest Quarterly, XXVIII (1937), 137.
17. Kimball, "Pres. Brigham Young's First Trip, " op. cit., X, 301-4.
18. Ibid., pp. 301-4.
19. Thomas Sleight made no mention in his diary at the time of the counsel given, yet writing forty years later (February 1904) he stated: "A bowery was built and meetings were held on the 22nd, when President Young and Apostle John Taylor and other leading men instructed us how to live and proceed with our labors. No families were to build outside of the towns and must build close together in town. No man should go to the canyon to work alone. Should not go out on the lake in a row boat, should always have our guns in order, should treat the Indians kindly and feed them when they come, guard well our stock so that the Indians would not be tempted to drive them off and to live so that this land might be a land of Zion to the Saints that should possess it." Part X, p. 80.
20. Mary A. Rich, op. cit., p. 24.
21. One man would stand above the log; another would be in a hole about six feet deep and twelve to fourteen feet long. This was called a saw-pit. The men would work the saw between them.
22. Andrew Jensen 'History of Bear Lake Stake," MS (Latter-day Saint Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah), July 1864, pages unnumbered.
23. J. C. Rich, cited by S. H. Rich, op. cit. Mr. Rich stated: "I was the first and biggest military commander of the Utah Militia in Bear Lake and Richland County, Utah, being commissioned colonel and organized this department. Many of the old residents will remember how much I resembled the great Napoleon, especially in commanding dangerous squads at a safe distance, Reprint in News Examiner (Montpelier, Idaho) April 17, 1947.
24. Writing of this event in 1894 Mr . J. C. Rich stated: "I delivered the first fourth of July oration and the heroes and fathers of the revolution are indebted to me today for shedding glory and renown upon their questionable act."
25. Jensen, op. cit., July 4, 1864.
26. Andrew Jensen citing Deseret News, Salt Lake City, Utah, 13:352.
27. Mary A. Rich, op. cit., p. 25.
28. Jensen, op. cit., November 1864 citing F. W. Young's Journal,
29. S. H. Rich, op. cit.
30. Nearly every old settler the writer interviewed could remember eating such bread.
31. Mary A. Rich, op. cit., p. 25.
32. Jensen, op. cit., February, 1865.
33. Mary A. Rich, op. cit., p. 25. With the exception of a few trips outside, Mr. Rich spent the rest of his life in the valley.
34. Evans, op. cit., p. 270.
35. Mary Ann Rich, op. cit., p. 25.
36. Of this he later wrote: "I surveyed every city, town, and village in the valley, except Dingle and Garden City, and all the farming land from Evanston to Soda Springs, two thirds of which somebody owes me for today, " News Examiner, April 17, 1947, citing J. C. Rich in the Bear Lake Democrat in 1894.
37. Sleight, op. cit., March 28, 1865.

## CHAPTER V

## PIONEERS AND INDIANS

No Battles in Bear Lake Valley

In the book Indian Wars of Idaho by R. Ross Arnold there is no mention whatever of Indian trouble in the Bear Lake Valley. As nearly as the writer was able to determine, there is no record of any battle in Bear Lake between the Indian and white men in the annals of the Latter-day Saint Church. In fact, as pertaining to Bear Lake Valley the writer could find no trace of pioneer wars with Indians whatsoever, except the rumor of a ferocious battle that took place along the Oregon Trail route about three miles north of present-day Montpelier. This was a battle between Indians and immigrants on their way to the Oregon country. It happened before pioneers ever entered Bear Lake Valley with the intention of settlement.

The Indians and pioneers on rare occasions had differences, but no bloodshed resulted from them. There was one case, however, where a local resident was supposed to have been killed by Indians. This happened in Montpelier. Two men broke into a store owned by Fred Keizel of Ogden, Utah; Fred Weisner was sleeping inside, When they discovered that someone else was present they fled. Mr. Weisner followed them, was shot by the men, and died from the wounds. The perpetrators were never apprehended or identified, but many people believed that the deed was committed by Indians, 1

## The Battle That Aided Bear Lake

There was one Indian battle that was no doubt fortunate not only for the Latter-day Saint settlers of Franklin, but also for the future settlers of Bear Lake. This was at Battle Creek, about twelve miles north of Franklin and thirty miles from Bear Lake. Colonel Connor and his soldiers from Fort Douglas practically annihilated the renegade bands of Chiefs Leigh, Bear Hunter, and Poco-tello. Chiefs Leigh and Bear Hunter were killed. ${ }^{2}$ It is asserted the Poco-tello had been present but left the camp the night before the battle, ${ }^{3}$ These bands were designated as renegades for the reason that they could not be controlled in their thieving, robbing, and murdering raids by the conservative and regular chiefs of the Snake and Bannock tribes. Their destruction at the Battle of Bear River was one of the best things that could have happened to the northern Latter-day Saint settlements, ${ }^{3}$ This battle broke the effectiveness of the uncontrollable elements among these tribes.

## Brigham Young's Indian Mission

The Bannocks and the Shoshones claimed the Bear Lake Valley as their own. It was full of wild game and possessed great quantities of fish, and they did much summer hunting here. They would also retire to this valley from their buffalo hunts to dress their hides, ${ }^{4}$ Then, at regular periods they would hold a rendezvous with the Utes and various other tribes. Here they would trade their buffalo robes and furs for horses and other commodities. (The Utes were a people who did not do much buffalo hunting.) The balance of the time at the rendezvous would be spent in games, dancing, and gambling.

Brigham Young with a large company visited one of these rendezvous in 1871. The President's party traveled to Evanston, Wyoming, on the train, coming the balance of the way in light vehicles. They arrived at Indian Valley on June 29 following the holding of church meetings at Laketown and Meadowville along the route, ${ }^{5}$ After filling the appointment with the Indians the party later visited the northern part of the valley.

Mary Jacobs Rich of Paris, who then lived in St. Charles as a young girl ( 11 years old) attended the 1871 rendezvous as a guest of the Van Ettens, who were part of the president's party. There were about 2,000 Indians present with many different tribes represented. The Indians danced to the music of tomtoms, played by musicians who sat at one side. At one time 500 Indians danced in one group. These Indians who had been in war with a tribe some distance away had five scalps on sticks which they held up and passed amongst themselves while they danced.

The different tribes had met there on this occasion to have Brigham Young make peace between them. ${ }^{6}$ Poco-tello and Washakie were both present.

## The White Men Break the Agreement with Washakie

The agreement between Washakie and Tighi, the regular chiefs of the Shoshones and Bannocks, and the original scouting party in the valley has already been briefly mentioned.

In spite of this agreement that the south end of the valley was not to be occupied by the whites "and contrary to the advice of General Rich some parties did move into Round Valley, broke up land, fenced it and put in crops in 1865. 147 When Washakie, with his Indians, went there to camp he ordered them to break down the fences and turn their horses on the growing crops, telling the whites, "if you do not take
the advice of General Rich maybe you will take mine:"7 The settlers soon moved back into the other settlements but the Indians were angry. During this same year another interview between Gerreral Rich and the Indian chiefs resulted in the whites obtaining their permission to settle on the reserved portion. ${ }^{7}$ But this was not until after persistent efforts had been necessary to attain the good will of the Indians.

Upon hearing of the difficulty Mr. Rich called upon Amos Wright, who understood the Indian nature and spoke their language, to go to the Indians and make everything right. Elder Wright knew they would be very angry. He called upon Ira Nebeker and E. N. Austin to go with him, Mr. Wright told them that unless they could face anything without showing signs of fear it would be better not to go. The three men went. While Elder Wright was busy talking, an Indian buck suddenly thrust a knife toward the stomach of Ira Nebeker, where he held it with the point touching his clothes. The two men stood looking each other in the eye. Mr. Nebeker never flinched. The Indian said, "Heap brave man" and walked away. ${ }^{8}$

As the Indians saw more land being taken up by the whites, they became resentful. Their excellent hunting and fishing grounds were rapidly disappearing. "At this particular time, also, it seemed that they and their neighboring tribes of Indians began disputing among themselves. They decided to go to war. 119 One tribe was having its war dances at the point where Fish Haven is now located, and the other was doing the same across the lake at or near the place called Eden.

This was a serious matter to the few white people in the valley, especially to Charles C. Rich, because he was not only the leader of the whites but was also the government Indian agent, ${ }^{9}$ He took some of the leading white men and went to Fish Haven. Here a conference was arranged between their chief and medicine men, and the leaders of the other tribe. Each tribe presented its grievances and discussed its opinion of the white men. They were told how foolish it was to fight each other and decrease their numbers. They were asked what good it would do to fight among themselves. Then they were told to look out on the lake at the waves as they came toward the shore. The Indians were asked if they could stop them. The white people were similar to the lake. Great numbers of them lived in the east and elsewhere in the world. Like the waves of the sea, they would continue to come. The Indians could no more stop them from coming than they could stop the waves of the sea. General Rich asked them to be friends and turn the intended fight into a big feast instead with the whites furnishing the meat. After discussing the matter, the Indians agreed on peace. Some cattle were driven to

Fish Haven and the celebration began. They all formed a big circle, and General Rich sat with the chiefs on each side. The peace pipe was passed around and smoked. ${ }^{9}$

After the feast, Chief Washakie took some of the whites and Indians up on a high mountain directly back of the land where Fish Haven now stands. Chief Washakie told General Rich to look in all directions, to the north, then to the south, to the east, and the $n$ to the west. Washakie then gave him all the land he could see. "He then asked General Rich to consult the great Father in Washington to see where they wanted the Indians to go. This was done and the Uinta Wind River Reservation was appropriated for them in 1868. 110

The Indian troubles, due to the whites' breaking their agreement, made the settlers rather uncertain about the actions of their red brothers. In consequence, for the winter of 1865-66 they concentrated into four settlements instead of eleven. ${ }^{11}$ They also built strong corrals for their cattle and took other precautionary measures against Indian raids. As it turned out the measures were unnecessary. The fall harvest in ' 66 was fairly good in potatoes and grain and the settlers were glad to furnish the Indians with provisions.

In a report to the Deseret News on Aug ust 23, 1866, Elder George Osmond reported that the grain prospects were encouraging and "the Indians were gleefully anticipating additions to their fare of fat beef and potatoes which at the time of writing were the only edible weapons in the valley. 112 On April 2, 1867, Mr. E. N. Austin reported to the Deseret News: "The Indians are already returning from their winter buffalo expedition and as usual perfectly friendly. "13

Although the Shoshones were assigned to the reservation they, and other Indians as well, often came to the valley on short visits for many years afterwards. They often came in groups of fifty to two hundred and would pitch their tents on a site near one of the towns where they would stay for anywhere from three days to two weeks, hunting and fishing, and getting flour, bread, and meat from the settlers, 14 Mrs. Mary A. Phelps Rich wrote: 15

For several years they came about twice a year and we had to get a man who could talk to them to explain our right to live there. They thought we were intruding on their hunting ground, and we had to furnish them with blankets, clothing, flour, and meat in order to keep peace with them. It took several beef every year to supply them, but it proved successful, as we never had any trouble with them.

On one occasion, while the Indians were camped above Paris, a
squaw came to the home of Mrs. Rich because her husband had beaten her. As was the Indian custom, she walked in without knocking. She tried to get into bed with the two boys who were sleeping on the floor. Mrs. Rich told her to go back and make peace with her buck. ${ }^{16}$

The Indian women did nearly all the work. Whenever they moved camp, a pole was tied on each side of a pony; then blankets, etc., were put on top, and, perhaps, a squaw on top of it all. ${ }^{16}$ Indian bucks usually rode ahead on horse-back without packs.

The Indians would steal if they thought they could get away with it, but they seldom stole cattle or anything very valuable. Dr. Ezra C. Rich wrote: "There were all kinds of stories about children being stolen by the Indians but I do not recall anyone being stolen in our country." 16

President Alfred Hart tells how he watched an Indian buck become fascinated by some sleigh bells that he found on the fence. He would rattle them and then jump up and down, then rattle them again. He finally put them around his shoulders and trotted off in glee, 17

The biggest beggar among all the Indians was Poco-tello, He always wanted more. A writer from Bear Lake to the Deseret News, May 26, 1869, wrote ${ }^{18}$ that "Po-co-tell-o, the renowned Indian warrior, whose reputation for honesty is almost as great as that of a congressman, has paid a begging visit to the settlements without stealing anything from the settlers; the definition of the word, Po-ca-tell-o in English literally means 'give us a sack of flour and two beeves. 'II

Upon one occasion it was necessary for Charles C. Rich to become extremely firm with Poco-tello. On one of his begging visits he called upon General Rich, requesting a steer. General Rich had some of his sons drive in a few steers from the field. ${ }^{19}$ After they arrived Poco-tello was told that he could have any of them except one, as that steer belonged to a poor man and was the only one he had. For some reason the Indian insisted on that particular steer. He was told, "You can't have that one," as he tried a threat. He said, "Me kill ' im." Mr. Rich dragged him from his horse and said, "If you kill that steer I'll horsewhip you." The two men, both being large of stature looked each other squarely in the eye while the children around ran for shelter and Mr. Rich's boys became tense. Finally Poco-tello slapped the white man on the back saying, "You big white chief." He took another steer and departed. 20

There is a story of an Indian named Sampson who used to pay
for his bread--something different for an Indian. 'He used to come to Montpelier every summer for a number of years to fish and hunt. " Nearly every day he would go to the home of John Bunney with a fine string of trout to exchange for bread. Mrs. Bunney would let him sit at the table and would give him something to eat. When he had finished she would ask him if he would bring her more fish the next day. He would reply, "Maybe so, maybe not so," meaning that he would if he could catch them. 21

## Baptism of Washakie

Amos Wright, the Latter-day Saint Bishop of Bennington, was an invaluable asset to the Bear Lake Colony. His interest in and love for the Indians helped him to understand their nature and their point of view. His knowledge of their language was a great help.

Bishop Wright went to the Bear Lake County in 1864 as a young man and spent the rest of his life there; so he was present during the whole period of colonization, after the initial year, Whenever any difficulty of a serious nature would arise between the Indians and settlers, Bishop Wright would be called upon to act as mediator. One early resident has said of him: "Amos Wright . . . was our Indian interpreter since July 1864-- as a man knowing well the Indian character he was of indispensable worth to the settlers. "22

Mr. Wright often went on a short mission to the Indians. In 1877 he was called to visit the Indian farm at Malad, Idaho. Upon his return to Bear Lake he reported that the Indians were very friendly and obedient. About 150 of the Bannock Indians had been baptized into the Latter-day Saint Church, and many others were interested. He was of the opinion that these Indians would get along better in the United Order than the white church members. ${ }^{23}$

In 1880 Bishop Wright went on a mission to Washakie's Indians at Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, 24 Washakie was sick at the time. Bishop Wright sent word to Washakie that he had been sent to baptize those Indians who wished to receive the Gospel. Washakie said that he was a friend of the Mormon people but did not believe the Gospel. He advised Mr. Wright to keep out of sight of the soldiers.

Bishop Wright visited Washakie and had a long conversation with him, discussing the doctrines of the Latter-day Saint Church. With Washakie's permission, word was sent to the Indian village informing the Indians of his presence and mission. They were also told that if any wished to be baptized by him they should come in small number so as not to arouse suspicion among the soldiers. Washakie's interpreter was visited and converted. He was also sick and asked to be prayed for.


Amos R. Wright, a colonist of Fort Lemhi, Idaho, in 1855, came to Bear Lake Valley in July of 1864. Indian missionary, interpreter, conciliator, and all-around friend of the Red Man, he baptized Chief Washakie and confirmed him a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the fall of 1880. He presided for many years as the L. D.S. bishop of Bennington, Idaho.

The next day 100 Indians were baptized. Elder Wright stayed ten days, baptizing and administering to the sick. Before leaving, he baptized Washakie.

The venerable old chief passed away at his tepee on the Shoshone reservation in Wyoming on Febraury 6, 1900, at the age of one hundred two years. He and his band had been regular visitors in many of the Latter-day Saint settlements, especially before 1868.


Chief Washakie of the
Shoshone Indians who claimed the Bear Lake Valley as a hunting ground; friend of Brigham Young, Charles C. Rich, other L. D.S. leaders, and white people in general.

An interesting description and story of Washakie was published in the Improvement Era in 1900. 25 Through lack of information, the author mentioned that Washakie was never baptized into the Latterday Saint Church. The author wrote:

Brother George Hill, Indian missionary, visited his tribe, and succeeded in baptizing a number of them, but Washakie himself was never baptized by an Elder of the "Church" . . . . He was given a burial such as captains in the army are granted, and the Episcopal service was read at the grave by Reverend John Roberts, who, it is reported, had baptized the chief. 25

Some years after publication of this article it was called to the attention of Bishop Wright. J. C. Rich, having heard Bishop Wright report that Washakie had been baptized, urged him to make a statement of it. On February 18, 1908, Bishop Wright called upon Mr. Rich and handed him a letter addressed to Joseph F. Smith. Elder Rich then wrote a letter and sent the two of them together. Bi shop Wright's letter is given below: ${ }^{26}$

Bennington, Idaho

February 18, 1908

President Joseph F. Smith

## Dear Brother:

My attention has recently been directed to an article contained in Vol. III, page 472 of the Improvement Era wherein it is stated that no Elder ever succeeded in bringing Chief Washakie into the Church, but that just before he died a minister by the name of Roberts administered to him the rites of a baptism according to the Christian religion. The facts are as follows: In the fall of 1884 [1880] after being called and duly commissioned to visit the reservation in Wyoming, I visited the chief and sought the opportunity and permission to proselyte among his people, at the same time, and upon the same occasion explaining to him the first vision of the Prophet Joseph Smith and the principles of the Gospel. I stayed with him until a late hour in the night when I was compelled to my place of retirement to risk my return in the day. Since his good feelings for the Mormon people has been questioned by some, I will say that he showed me the photoes [sic] of President Young, President Taylor, Charles C. Rich and many others of the leaders--they were neat and clean and bore evidence
that great pains had been taken in their preservation, He told me that my explanations were exactly the same as those he had heard from his friend, President Young many years before. A week or so after this interview I received word from Washakie that he wished me to visit him again for the purpose of baptizing him. After my arrival at this lodge and after he had sent several of his sons to make a dam on a stream near by, I baptized him and confirmed him a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the presence of members of his family and several other witnesses. Many years afterward while he was prostrate, helpless and in an unconscious condition, and without his knowledge or consent, Mr, John Roberts stepped up to his bedside, dipped his hand into a bowl of water, sprinkled a few drops of it onto the chief's forehead, whereupon it was in the Wyoming Newspaper that Washakie had accepted Christian religion before he died. Since I have heard that you are the editor of the Improvement Era I thought you might deem it due to Washakie that this should be known, so that whatever is due him, either from motive or of friendship for our people or true conversion he ought to have it. Knowing that you are always in the midst of much work and worry with various annoyances I have yet ventured to furnish you with this information should you desire to correct the article which appeared in Volume III of the Improvement Era.

Ever your brother in the Gospel, A. R, Wright.

Mr. Rich's letter reads in part: ${ }^{26}$
When father was called upon to settle this valley, he held a council with Washakie and his Indians, in 1863, in this valley, and obtained their consent to settle this valley, which was claimed by them as their summer hunting and fishing ground, the Indians at that time not being on reservations. On father's part, he agreed that when the settlers raised crops, they would give the Indians such provisions as they were able to, when they should visit the settlements and they, in return, would not molest the settlers nor steal their animals. Washakie faithfully carried out his treaty, and on more than one occasion when young bucks, who could not be controlled, stole our horses, Washakie sent them back by other Indians. You will notice that Brother Wright states he baptized Washakie at night. This was because Brother

W right dare not be seen on the reservation in the day time, as the Indian agent would not allow any "Mormon" proselyting on the reservation. Brother Wright tells me that he baptized about 300 Indians on that mission, besides Washakie, their names and time of baptism being sent to the proper Church authorities. During his stay on the reservation he says the Indians secreted and fed him, and he was never betrayed by them. Brother Wright has a rich fund of information about the Indian mission in the north since the days of Fort Lemhi, and I have told him he ought to leave a record of it, but he feels defficient [sic], and not educated sufficiently to put it in shape. It is possible that if Brother Andrew Jensen, the historian, should see him, that he might obtain many items concerning church matters that should be preserved and recorded. These suggestions seemed to me proper, and are given for what they are worth. With kindest regards to yourself and associates I am as ever, your brother.

J. C. Rich

Mr. W. J. McConnell writing the early history of Idaho gives a slightly exaggerated picture as to the Indian dangers in the early years of settlement in the Bear Lake Country. ${ }^{27}$ It is true that the settlers were prepared to act in case of hostilities, but the danger was seldom very imminent, and only one winter did the inhabitants concentrate in four settlements on account of the Indians. They never did live only in Paris after the first year, for any reason whatever.

The book, History of Idaho Territory has aptly expressed the situation as it occurred in the valley:

The policy persued by General Rich and other leaders of the Mormon people, towards the Indians has been peaceful and friendly treating them with kindness and justice, the result of which has been most satisfactory, the Mormons and Indians to this day retaining the most friendly relations with each other.

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## CHAPTER V

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19. The animals of the whole community were kept in a common pasture.
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## SETTLEMENT PROBLEMS

## Trouble with Thieves

The Bear Lake settlers had also to contend with cattle rustlers who were much worse for stealing than the Indians were! ${ }^{1}$ Organized bands were operating in Idaho, Wyoming, and Montana, 2 "They had stations about 100 miles apart through the roughest places in the mountains. "3 They would swoop down from the mountains and drive off cattle into these mountain hide-outs. Finally the rustlers became so bold as to come into settlements where they robbed stores and other establishments. The Bear Lake people did nothing a bout them until they committed robbery at a store in Montpelier, and the clerk was shot and killed, General Rich called for each settlement to furnish two men for a posse to pursue and punish the outlaws. Fourteen men responded, including the Sheriff, Joseph C. Rich, Jonathan Hoopes, and E. N. Wilson (the former white Indian bay).

They struck across the mountains east of Bear Lake and followed the trail of the robbers to the Big Piney country in Wyoming. After sighting the robber camp they retired into the willows to hide until after dark. The robber camp was scouted and it was found that they outnumbered the posse more than two to one, ${ }^{3}$ After consultation, it was decided that the only way they could take the band of thieves alive was by surprise. Jonathan Hoopes and E. N. Wilson reconnoitered after dark and found there were seven tents in all. Two men were assigned to each tent. Just at dawn the signal was given and the posse rode into the camp, jumped off their horses, ran into the tents, and gathered up the weapons of the robbers. ${ }^{3}$

After examining the stock of the robbers it was apparent that many head belonging to the Bear Lake settlers were there, including some belonging to members of the posse. Upon finding that the leaders of the group were not in the camp, the posse felt that they might be ambushed on the way back through the heavily timbered country with so many men, so they waited for three days for the leaders to come. At the end of this time the leaders still had not come. The posse gathered their own stock plus forty head of the robbers' horses, to guarantee their appearance in court within thirty days, and returned to Bear Lake Valley. Of course, no one appeared to redeem the horses so they were sold at auction. "This nest of outlaws was completely broken up the following year. "3

After that, the Bear Lake settlements did not have any very
serious trouble with the rustlers for quite a number of years. Trouble came again, however; and in September of 1884, the citizens found it necessary to hold a meeting in Paris to organize a "Stock Association for Mutual Protection Against Thieves. 14 At this meeting E. N. Austin, Walter Hoge, and Amos R. Wright were appointed a committee to draw up a set of by-laws. The people were to complete the organization at a public meeting later in the month. They requested people interested in the stock industry to be there, ${ }^{4}$ The fact that the public was aroused to such an extent indicates that thievery was rather widespread and troublesome.

On August 13, 1893, the Bank of Montpelier, the first bank in the country, was held up and robbed by cowboys, 5 who escaped with more than $\$ 7,000$ cash. None of it was ever recovered, but one of the robbers was apprehended and received a sentence of thirty-five years in the state penitentiary. ${ }^{5}$

Lumber Mills and Grist Mills

By May 1, 1865, Francis M. Pomeroy and George W. Sirrine had built a grist mill in Paris. The mill burrs, made of native stone by hand, were about eighteen inches in diameter, 6 The mill was a rather awkward affair, leaving the flour and bran together. At that, it was quite an improvement over the slow grinding of the grain in the coffee grinders, as many had found it necessary to do up to this time. Thomas Sleight's record on May 1 reads: "Families very bad--flour very scarce; have to grind on hand mill, "7 "Phineas Cook built the next grist mill at Swan Creek, which, though a small affair and home made, made very good eatable [sic] flour " 18

In the spring of 1866 , Joseph David Taylor completed the erection of a much better grist mill in St. Charles. This lightened the burden considerably but still it was not able to take care of all of the grinding in the valley. Before the end of the year, two other grist mills were ready for use, which helped the flour situation greatly.

Other and better flour mills were constructed during the next few years. David Taylor of Salt Lake built a good mill with French Burrs and good bolts at St. Charles, It gave excellent service and became known as the Mercley Mill. In 1876, when Charles C. Rich went to Salt Lake at conference time, he traded his team of mules to Brigham Young for a set of grist mill stones that had been made in France. ${ }^{9}$ These stones were used in Bear Lake until they were replaced by more modern machinery.

By July of 1866 the valley had one saw mill running, erected by Nathan Davis at St. Charles. "All the irons of this mill were forged


These mill burrs were made in France, brought across the plains by ox teams, and used in Salt Lake City in 1876. They were obtained by Charles C. Rich from President Brigham Young in exchange for a pairs of mules and were installed in the mill west of Paris. They assisted in solving one of the major problems of the valley--that of supplying enough flour.

They are imbedded in a sidewalk of the lawn on the south side of the Tabernacle, being placed there on August 2, 1937, by the Elizabeth Camp of the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers.
at St. Charles by Jonathan Pugmire. "10 Two other saw mills were nearly ready for use at the time, 11 one of them a circular saw mill in Paris canyon built by George W. Sirrine. 12 Other settlements later added saw mills, as lumber was badly needed, ${ }^{13}$ Every community could use all the lumber that any mill could produce; it was stated in 1877 that there never was enough lumber in the valley. ${ }^{14}$ A saw mill in St. Charles burned down, and a short time later a Mr. Merkley was building one on this same site when a correspondant writing to the Deseret News, signing himself "L," said: "A good mill is greatly needed and will be appreciated by the citizens. 115

## Crops and Crop Failures

The crops in the valley in 1866 were very good in most respects. The potato crop was good, and only a small part of the grain crop was lost by frost, but the year of 1867 was a disastrous one. During this winter the settlers suffered greatly. The settlements were not able to get a full and complete crop, in all respects, until the year 1874 when, for the first time, their labors were crowned with complete success. ${ }^{16}$ Good crops of some kinds had been raised before, but this time all kinds of good quality grain were produced. The quality of the wheat was especially good, 16

Another year of mediocre crops was 1877. ${ }^{17}$ By this time a number of people had become discouraged with living in such a cold country, where partial crop failure was the rule and good crops the exception, and wherethere were "nine months winter and three months dam late in the fall, " as one native expressed it. ${ }^{18}$ The winters were so cold that those with rheumatism had a painful time, so on September 9, 1877, a number of settlers left for a place where one might say there were nine months summer and three months of suffocation: they established the settlement of Mesa, Arizona, In 1880, after a much worse crop year in Bear Lake Valley, they were joined by a large host of Bear Lake people. ${ }^{19}$ A few of these later returned.

There we e three deadly enemies of good crops in Bear Lake-the squirrels, the grasshoppers, and the frost, If the frost did no damage either the grassho ppers or crickets, or both, did, or vice versa. Reports run all through the minute books of the Latter-day Saint Church meetings, showing the effects of these enemies. A stake Priesthood Meeting report reads: ${ }^{20}$

June 16, 1877: Georgetown--Bishop H. A. Lewis-Crops look well, a great many grasshoppers, begin fighting them next week. Preston--Bishop Dalrymple--Crops look well. Ovid--Bishop P, Jensen--grasshoppers continue in
places to destroy the grain. Paris--Bishop Horne--No particular damage from grasshoppers. Bloomington-Bishop Osmond--People fighting grasshoppers. Nounan-Bishop Skinner--Crops look well, good prospects; no grasshoppers. Eden--Bishop Nelson--Crops looking well; no grasshoppers.

July 7, 1894, ${ }^{21}$ Georgetown--Bishop H. A. Lewis-Squirrels doing much damage to crops.

November 2, 1895, 22 Dingle--Bishop S. Humpherys reported the grain crop only fifty per cent.

Also reports of the same kind are found from other sources:
August 3, 1865: 22 Very little wheat on account of frosts.
December 15, 1867: ${ }^{23}$ The saints in the Bear Lake Valley are not successful in their harvest as the grasshoppers did much damage, but fortunately the insects left the valley early, before they had deposited their eggs, for which the saints were extremly thankful.

July 27, 1868: ${ }^{24}$ We thought ourselves isolated, not only from the world, but the ravages of those pestiferous critters [grasshoppers]. About a week ago, however, they made their appearance in the south end of the valley, and destroyed all the crops at Round Valley and Swan Creek. Since then they have taken up the line of march northward giving all the settlements a call. They appear to be well disciplined, armed and equipped for war. They travel in columns of platoons, and throw out a formidable body of skirmishes as they near a settlement. On the arrival of the advance of the right wing at Paris, we proposed to compromise, and give them one quarter in the half bushel after harvest; but it was no swap. They attacked our front, center and rear at the same time, and up to date have captured about one-third of our grain forces. Stone walls, nettles, dirt covered houses, stink bushes and bachelors seem to be about the only thing they hold sacred. There was not room for all to light on the ground, so one swarm of a few hundred million eased themselves gently into Bear Lake, which resulted in an extensive grasshopper casualty. Their bodies will not be recovered.

Six weeks later the same author sent in another report on crops: ${ }^{25}$

Although the "Hoppers" took about one-third of the grain, and a killing frost destroyed two-thirds more a week ago, still the prospect now is fair for a half crop. With all the disadvantages of the season, I think there will be more grain grown in the valley this year than any previous season. Oats and barley are particularly good. Our corn crop is nothing to brag on, though superior to former years. To give the reader an exact idea of this product in this valley I will instance a dialogue between two settlers.

A: "How is your corn crop this year M. B. S. ?"
B: "Well, better than I expected, but it's wearing on the bumble bees."
A: "Wearing on the bumble bees! I don't understand you. Explain yourself,"
B: "You see the bumble bees have to work their hind quarters into the ground up to the butt of their wings to suck the honey out of the tassels. That makes it kind of wearing on them, and I don't think they will depend on this climate again for their sweetness."

We see that the settlers did possess that quality of character which is so necessary in time of reverses and discouragement-- a fine sense of humor.
L. B. Hunt from St. Charles, in writing to the Deseret News, stated ${ }^{26}$ that the grasshoppers were "seriously threatening the crops in that locality but if they destroy the crops this year, it will be no worse than the frost had done other years.

July 9, 1870:27 Elder Charles C. Rich of Rich County called this morning. He left Paris on Wednesday morning, and up to that time there had been no locusts there; but when he reached Swan Creek, he met them in full force. They had done some damage on Tuesday night at some of the southern settlements; and if they alighted, being extremely numerous, they would be likely to make considerable havoc with the crops.

June 28, 1871: ${ }^{28}$ Grasshoppers have destroyed almost all the crops.

August 27, 1876:29 Brother Jacobs gave some good instructions: compared our prospects a few days ago in regard to our crops, and today. Now they are blighted by frost ... We should be on our guard so that our prospects for salvation are not blighted. . . .

There were three reasons, besides their religious loyalty, why, in the face of so many partial crop failures the settlers were willing and able to stay in Bear Lake Valley. The grazing and hay facilities were so excellent that it made a rather certain crop of good beef. ${ }^{30}$ But one must not think there was no work attached to it, for the cattle had to be fed from three to six months of the year. The Saints had an excellent market for their fat steers in Montana, where mining was rapidly expanding. With the cash received from this source they could buy their flour deficit in Cache Valley and haul it over the mountains. ${ }^{30}$ It also furnished them with proceeds to buy many other badly needed goods.

Good gardens were not hard to raise although a few vegetables could not withstand the cold. Potatoes and carrots usually made very good crops; and as soon as proper storage facilities were available, these added greatly to the winter fare.

At the Bear Lake and Rich Counties Fair held the first week in October of 1882 premiums were given for the following produce: ${ }^{31}$

Tomatoes, vegetable marrow, pumpkins, early rose potatoes, squash, peas, pickling cabbage, savory cabbage, pepper plants, cucumbers, radishes, long pod beans, turnips, corn, beets, rutabagas, cauliflower, onions, carrots, string beans, grapes, maiden blush apples, plums, white russian oats, wheat, English white currants, red currants, native black currants; also twenty varieties of seeds.

A third reason for a good livelihood was the acceleration of industry and manufacturing that came through the impetus of the United Order. This will be handled in a separate chapter.

The settlers of the Bear Lake Valley showed to the world that crops could be raised in altitudes above 6,000 feet, according to Hiram T. French, who mentioned that the country was perhaps the highest altitude that was cultivated successfully in the entire world. ${ }^{32}$ There may be some truth in the statement but the given area might have to be diminished.

> The Problem of Trees
> for Beauty, Fruit, Shade, and Fuel

One of the cardinal rules of the Latter-day Saint Church in founding new settlements was to beautify the environment with shade trees, fruit trees, and other foliage. Trees were also planted for windbreaks and future fuel use. ${ }^{33}$


Above: One of the first trees planted in Bear Lake. It was a cottonwood brought from the Bear River Valley eight miles east of Paris. It was planted by James Collings on the property of Thomas Sleight in 1865 and thrived well until it was topped too short. The first year that it did not put forth green branches was 1948. Many such trees were planted.

Below: Picture of a Paris garden (1948). Most vegetables seem to thrive well in spite of the high altitude.

When the settlers came into the Bear Lake Valley, there were plenty of trees in the mountains, but none on the valley floor, except in the Bear River Valley. As soon as practical with their labors, they began to set out trees. The first apple trees were planted by William Hulme of Bloomington, who carried them on his back on snowshoes over the mountains from Cache Valley in the winter and spring of $1865 .{ }^{34} \mathrm{Mr}$. French stated: ${ }^{35}$ "The shade and fruit trees first planted, refused to grow." This was probably true of the imported trees, but many people got cottonwoods from Bear River Valley to be used for shade trees. By 1872 Bishop William Budge had planted fruit trees which were growing well. ${ }^{36}$ Success had also been attained at St. Charles. Bishop Budge even had hopes that peaches would sometime prove to be successful. 36

In conference in 1884 President Hart advocated setting out more shade trees and thought the settlements should plant more than they had done the year before. He recommended the tree called "Balm of Gilead" and said there were also other hardy trees that would do, 37 It had already been proven that these trees were acclimated to Bear Lake weather. The leading men and bishops of each community were told to encourage such activity. They were to remind the people occasionally in meetings. Not even the building of fine houses would "add more to the beauty of our towns and villages. 137

The leaders continuously urged the planting of more trees. In conference of 1888 President Budge said: "We are building good houses and other improvements are being made, but visitors say 'where are the trees? ${ }^{\prime \prime} 38$ At conference in 1890 Apostle Marriner W. Merrill, in referring to trees, told the people to "keep planting until you get enough. 139 Still the leaders urged the people on. In 1894 the message was to plant trees--fruit trees and shade trees. "There is nothing to hinder us from planting out thousands, " 40 By the following year the people were worthy of a compliment. "There seems to be a great deal of progress in the direction of beautifying our town . . . . 41 Not only did the stake authorities talk about trees but it carried over into small group meetings, where action takes place. ${ }^{42}$ In 1897 2,000 new shade trees were set out in the various communities. ${ }^{43}$ Trees were even accepted as tithing, the donor planting them in the meeting house lot. ${ }^{44}$

It is not to be wondered why visitors in the valley would readily notice the abundance of trees or that those entering Latter-day Saint settlements could readily distinguish them from other settlements. Mr. Thomas Donaldson in his book Idaho of Yesterday stated that it seemed to be an "article of Mormon faith" that demanded the planting of trees. He remarked that the first few years after "Gentile" towns were founded they seemed to be environments of squalor and filth. 45

The outskirts of the town are indicated by heaps of refuse, giving the impression that the town isn't a town but an abode of campers. When the Mormons located they planted trees, not solely for beauty and shade but also for windbrakes and future fuel use.

## Communication and Travel

Roads. The first years in the valley found the settlers in a semi-isolated condition. The only way to travel or receive any communication from the outside world was by foot in the winter, with horses or ox team in the summer and the going either way was rough. In the winter there was plenty of snow, but even if one could go by team the roads were terrible. The first road into the valley was made from Franklin to the north, then up Cub River and down into the valley through Emigration Canyon, east of the present site of Preston, Idaho, from the northwest side. Because of the steepness of the dugway up the Franklin side of the mountains, it was hardly the best. As early as October of 1863 Charles C. Rich with a posse of men came through Huntsville from Ogden, over an Indian trail, hunting a better route. ${ }^{46}$

In the spring of 1864 the new colonists came in by way of Soda Springs, 47 about forty miles north northwest of Paris. This meant traveling about seventy-five miles further. From Soda Springs the people could follow the Oregon Trail to Bennington. But this route made the trip more than twice as far from Cache Valley to Paris. It necessitated going from south of the Bear Lake Valley to the north of it and then traveling again for about forty miles to Paris. One writer has left a rather interesting account of taking this roundabout road into the valley, after finding that the Huntsville road was blocked by slides: ${ }^{48}$

Having just made the trip from Salt Lake City to Bear Lake Valley, I consider myself posted in regard to the manner of reaching this point; and, for the benefit and guidance of future pilgrims bound for this locality, I will give a little history of the trip and how it can be performed on the most round-about route.

The distance from Salt Lake City to Paris, Rich County, on the Huntsville road, is about 125 miles, this valley lying a little east of north from your city.

Travel north about thirty-five miles to the mouth of Weber Canyon, where you can purchase, for one dollar, a ticket signed "J. C. Little, " which ticket, with the assistance of a good team, strong wagon and sound con-
stitution, will take you through Weber Canyon. A great amount of work has been done on this road, and were it not for a few hundred thousand full grown boulders that still adorn the track, you might feel some reverence for your ticket, notwithstanding the loss of your greenback.

The last eight miles has been in an easterly direction. At Mountain Green settlement the road bears north east seven miles over a low chain of hills that divide Weber and Ogden Valleys, I passed over snowdrifts and in fording the south tributary of Ogden River found it high, even to run over the wagon box.

At Huntsville, sixty miles distant from the southern settlement in Bear Lake the road to Rich county was reported to be impassable for teams, in consequence of snow and a land slide up the Canyon that had slid a portion of the road into the river, completely daming [sic] it up; and some enterprising individuals had taken advantage of this freak of nature, and were erecting a saw mill at the dam. Not being able to make the trip on this route, the only alternative is to strike west twelve miles, down Ogden Canyon, at the mouth of which a kind-hearted man charges you only a dollar and half for the damages.

The road down this Canyon has not been fixed this spring, and was pretty rough, though, generally, it is in splendid condition. The gatekeeper says the scenery in the canyon is worth the price of travel, and from his honest looks I would not judge him capable of misrepresentation.

Now you are on the road to Bear Lake by way of Soda Springs, which is far nearer than the proposed road via Alaska. Continue north four miles to Bear River bridge, and if you are not acquainted with this locality it will make little odds, as you will be tolled when you get there. Now, turn northeast over another range of hills, into Cache Valley on the west side; go eight or nine miles, and when your team mires down calculate that the town of Charlestown is near by. About nine miles further will be found the town of Weston, ten more, Packer's Ferry across Bear River; and two beyond, the scene of Conner's battle with the ill-fated Bear Hunter and his scallawag band of Northern braves. The bleached skeletons of scores of noble red men still ornament the ground, and one can almost imagine he feels the influence of the departed still hanging around the battle field. I am sorry to say that Po-co-tell-o and his small "gang" were not identified in this conflict.

From this point to Soda Springs is about seventy miles northeast, the first thirty miles through hills and mountains and the balance of the way through what is very appropriately named Volcano Valley.

Connor City, at Soda Springs, laid out for the settlement of the Morrisites, is not so extensive and populous as St. Louis, the inhabitants are numbering about a dozen exclusive trappers, Indians, and traders. The Government barracks is in a badly demolished condition. Like the poor Indians it is slowly passing away. Whether for firewood, or for building purposes I am not prepared to say, but the fact is apparent that it is on the evaporate. Half a mile on, is found quite an extensive distillery, the door of which is locked by orders of some internal revenue officer in Boise City.

You now turn south, and travel 125 miles, [an exaggeration] up the Bear River to Bennington, the northern settlement in Bear Lake, across Bear River on a "wooden ferry" and get to Paris by going fifteen miles south westerly,

There is a good bridge across Bear River, five miles above the ferry, but the water on each side of it at this time of the year prevents anything crossing it except ducks and geese.

In their efforts to find a better way to contact Church headquarters and other settlements, the Bear Lake Saints built a road from Meadowville in the south to Huntsville in Ogden Valley. They went by way of Blacksmith's Fork. 49 The men had twenty-three wagons with their teams, and it took thirty days to make the road through. 49 They followed the old Indian trail that the horsemen came over in October of 1864. One could perhaps say that the kind of road they made was not much more than the widening of the trail. This road was used quite frequently for many years; but due to slides caused by heavy snows, it was locked for the year of 1868 .

Finding this shorter route impaired, the Bear Lake people next turned to the Logan Canyon for a solution. This road was built in cooperation with the citizens from Cache Valley. ${ }^{50}$ Bishop Peter Maughan, the presiding Bishop of Cache Valley, was in charge of their portion of the road. At one time they had as high as two hundred and seventy men working. The Cache Valley people built up to Ricks' Spring and the Bear Lake workers met them there. They met on a Sunday morning at the spring where the two groups held a joint meeting. 50

Shortly before completion of the road a writer calling himself
"Monsterio" stated: "It will only be a comfortable day's drive, about forty miles from Logan to St. Charles, Rich County, " 50 This road appears to have come down some way directly to St. Charles without going through Garden City. It evidently wasn't the most satisfactory on the Bear Lake side, as eleven years later (1880) the Bear Lake people worked a road through from Garden City to Logan. 51 But the year before this the priesthood voted to build a good road directly from Paris to Franklin so that they could haul their grain out the shortest possible way, 52 A narrow and difficult road was built, south of the Emigration road and much shorter, but too steep and difficult for popularity in grain hauling. 53 Until the government survey came through, the whole valley received some appropriations from the Utah legislature to build roads. 54

By the end of the first seven years the settlers had four roads by which they could travel to Utah, although none of them were very good. There was the longest road going north via Soda Springs; through Emigration Canyon to Franklin; the Logan Canyon road (the most traveled at present, 1963); and the Huntsville Road, going into Ogden, missing Cache Valley completely. A few years later came the shortest and most difficult road, the one directly over the mountain from Paris to Franklin.

Not only was getting out of the valley a problem, but the roads between settlements required much labor per capita to construct and maintain. The country was just the type to get very muddy when it rained. Every able-bodied citizen was expected to do his share toward keeping and making roads. After creation of Bear Lake County, three road supervisors were appointed and each man, subject to tax, either donated cash of $\$ 4.00$ or two days' labor on the roads each year. ${ }^{56}$ But this turned out to be inadequate so the L.D.S. Church officers called on the people to donate more me ans and labor for road improvements. 57

The heavy snows and high spring waters made the road job a most difficult one; especially so was the crossing of the valley from west to east, or vice versa. One writer calling himself "Yuba Dam" has left a vivid and humorous description of the job of traveling from Paris to Montpelier, a distance of ten miles.
. .. Ifelt as though trouble was something of the past and had just commenced to enjoy my ride, when I noticed my driver was making for what seemed to me to be a lake six or eight miles wide; on asking for the name of the lake imagine my surprise and horror to find that this was the overflow from the sloughs and rivers which we must drive through in order to reach
our destination, Pointing to a black spec [sic] far out in the water, my driver informed me that it was the bridge over Ovid creek and if he could reach it in safety he thought the water was lower on the other side; so with the water running over the dashboard and wi th our feet on a level with our heads we made for the bridge, which had the appearance of being the gable end of a house floating in the water. After considerable trouble we reached the bridge in safety, and left it in sorrow, for in making the descent our horse went out of sight, while the single tree broke and the next instant found my companion in water up to his arms holding on to the horse with no small amount of fright. After the horse became quiet I fished up the shafts and with a small rope the driver bound up the break and once more we went floating along. On reaching the home stretch I caught sight of another object, which seemed to be a large ferry boat, and was given to understand that "That was Bear River bridge, and if we could only find some way of telling where the banks of the river were we would reach it, otherwise," says my friend, "Hell will be to pay." I thought so too and assisted him with my faith and prayers that he might miss the river and strike the bridge, The prayer took and the bridge was reached in safety, where we took stock of the outfit and found everything in better condition than expected. Only 300 yards more of water lay between us and dry ground, but deeper than any we had yet passed through. After we had passed over two-thirds of this, and as I was on the point of complimenting myself on not getting wet, the tug broke at a point where the water ran over the horse's back, the driver shouted that the horse was drowning and told me to jump, which I did, lighting on my side. I struggled to my feet, finding myself in water just up to my neck. Of course in less time than it takes to tell it we had cut the horse loose and got his head above water, after which we waded and finally got horse, buggy and ourselves to shore just as the shades of darkness began to cover things up. Harness mending was then the order of the evening. Then with chattering teeth and a buggy full of water we made the best time on record to "Jones' Hotel" where we ordered dry cloths [sic] and a room with a furnace in it . . . . The best way to get from Paris to Montpelier is via Evanston and Granger. The brethren think the roads will be passable by the first of January, 1886, if they have an early freeze; otherwise the next time I have occasion to travel this road I won't travel it.

Travel was maintained and done under trying conditions in those early years of Bear Lake History.

Mail. All people who are not antisocial like to be in contact with their fellowmen. The Bear Lake settlers were no exception They wanted news from their loved ones in the other valleys, in other states, and in foreign countries--news of the progress of the Latter-day Saint Church and news of the country in order to satisfy their longing for news.

Bear Lake Valley posed a major problem for mail service. There appear to be a number of conflicts as to who really began this service for the people. In the opinion of the writer, this is due to the fact that anyone leaving the valley for supplies would bring back with him all of the available mail, so that in reality there were many people who participated in early mail service. Joseph C. Rich claims to have carried the first mail on snowshoes from Franklin to Paris. He also takes credit for being the first to bring mail in via Gentile Valley ${ }^{58}$ (This is via Soda Springs).

Communication with the world was relatively easy in summer, because of the travel back and forth between Cache Valley and Bear Lake; and also because of the travel by the southern trail to Evanston, Wyoming, after the railroad had been installed there, ${ }^{59}$ But with the coming of winter, the snowbound valley created a different situation. Joseph C. Rich states;58 "I carried the first United States mail from Cache Valley to Paris via Gentile Valley and was seven days making the trip in the dead of winter cutting the ice and swimming Bear River near the present county bridge west of Montpelier, the ice being too thin to bear up the pack animals."

The first winter mail that came with any regularity at all was carried on snowshoes between Franklin and Paris, during the winter of 1864-1865, 60 This was sometimes done by Bud Thomas of Franklin, bringing the incoming mail to the top of the mountain where he met Joseph C. Rich ${ }^{6} 1$ bringing the Bear Lake outgoing mail. Others from Franklin who performed this service were a Mr . Woodward and Mr. Buckley. 61 Edward Patterson of Bloomington was another early mail carrier. During the winter of 186667, he made thirteen trips from Franklin on snowshoes. 62 "Letters were carried at the rate of one dollar each. 162

Uncle Sam probably stepped into the picture with his help in about December of 1867.63 It appears that Samuel Humpherys and James Coillings may have been the first official mail carriers for the government. 64 They would leave Paris about 5:00 a.m. and sometimes arrive in Franklin County about 5:00 p.m., taking approximately twelve hours for the trip. Often they would have a good night's rest before starting back the next day. When they didn't have too large a load of mail they would occasionally bring back a
sack of flour or some wheat, pulling it on a hand sled.
Coming from Franklin in December of 1867, Samuel (Humpherys) had his brother John with him. Each was pulling a sack of wheat on a sled. While crossing the mountains they ran into trouble from snowstorms. This not only delayed them considerably but also caused Johnto become ill from overexposure. He was compelled to proceed as best he could, however, in order to avoid being frozen to death, Finally he gave up and told Samuel to go on without him. But Samuel refused to leave him. He bound John on top of the two sacks of wheat and proceeded, pulling the load as best he could. Under such a burden the trip took three days but John's life was saved. 64

Apparently for a short time the mail was brought in over the Huntsville route, but it failed to arrive in any regular or satisfactory manner. 65 In the fall of 1868 the Post Office Department awarded a mail contract to Charles C. Rich for one year, and mail was resumed between Cache County and Bear Lake. This was a regular weekly mail service. Thomas Rich, son of Charles C. Rich, carried the mail. 66 On one trip into the valley, a Mr. Levanthal from Salt Lake accompanied him, They traveled thirty miles across the mountains over an Indian trail and encountered four to six feet of snow on the journey. He stated to the Deseret News, after his arrival in Salt Lake again, that great credit was due to Thomas Rich for his enterprise and daring:

To undertake such a journey, regularly at this time of the year, when it cannot be done without risking life, for the sake of carrying letters and papers to and from the people of Bear Lake, is surprising, and is worth far more in dollars and cents than is paid for it.

For a time James A. Welker of Bloomington brought in the mail with efficient regularity. On one occasion he took a friend with him. When they reached the top of the mountains the force of the wind was so great that they sat down on the sheltered side to wait: 67

While waiting, a snow slide broke at their feet and cleared the mountain below them, leaving tree stumps, rocks and gravel exposed. The next morning fifty feet of snow was piled at the bottom of the mountains.


Top: This is the mountain range over which the mail man carried mail on snowshoes from Franklin, Idaho, to Paris, Idaho. Bloomington Lake is just a short distance over the rim of the mountain. The route followed an old Indian trail.

Middle: This marker is located about fifteen miles northeast of Franklin, Idaho, just below the mountain range shown above. It commemorates the line of the Deseret Telegraph as well as the Pioneer Mail Route.

Bottom: This spring is near the marker. It represents the approximate half-way mark between Franklin and Paris. The men who carried the mail used to look forward to a refreshing drink at this spring.

The importance of the mail to the people in the valley is illustrated in the letter of Edmund Elvy from Bennington to the Deseret News: "We now have a weekly mail which is a blessing that those only who have been without it for two or three years can fully appreciate. "68

But mail service did not always continue with this regularity. In 1872 Bishop William Budge in writing a letter to the Deseret News stated:

One of our greatest drawbacks has been the lack of mail facilities, which, though the government is willing we should have and no doubt pays for according to contracts, have not for a long time been afforded us.

Various terminal points were tried. Part of the time the mail for Bear Lake was picked up at Evanston, Wyoming, coming by train to that point. ${ }^{70}$ Evanston was eighty miles southwest of Paris. The Evanston route seems to have given the better service, for in 1882 the "brethren" in Stake Priesthood Meeting appointed J. U. Stucki, W. L. Rich, and Henry Margetts a committee to look after the mail matters, devising a method of prompter connection and delivery. They were then to draft a petition asking the Post Office Department to permit whichever service the petition suggested would be best. 71 After studying the matter they decided that more efficient service would be rendered if Evanston were the terminal point for the valley mail. They "had arranged the schedule similar to when it was carried by Brother Horsley." 72 This route appears to have proven to be the best method for service to the outlying settlements. 73

Soda Springs was also used as the mail terminal at one time. John Cozzens would pick up the mail there and go as far south as Laketown with it. ${ }^{74}$ In the winter he had a half-way station between Georgetown and Soda Springs, where he could rest his horses both going and coming from the terminal. The completion of the Oregon Short Line Railroad in 1884 solved the problem of getting the mail into the valley, leaving the local people only the job of getting it scattered to its many points of destination.

But the mail men had no monopoly at traveling on snowshoes. At least two women made the journey over the mountain via this method. Mary Ann Rich came over with her two brothers, Joseph and John, in 1867. 75 Only Mary didn't wear snowshoes. The two boys wore them while she walked on the crust, sometimes breaking through. They started at daybreak and arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon.

In 1869 Deseret Collings, a girl of seventeen, was attending school in Hyde Park, Utah, She became homesick. Her brother James was carrying mail so she came over with him. 76 They did not reach the foot of the mountain until after dark but there was a full moon and a clear sky. By the time they reached the top Deseret was tired. As there was a 10 g cabin "built to rest in after the climb up either side of the mountain" they stopped there, built a fire, ate lunch, and rested. Up to this time, because of the ice and snow, they had been unable to use their snowshoes, but now they both put them on and descended into Bloomington. 76

Telegraph and Telephone. With the coming of telegraphic communications the Latter-day Saint Church began building its own line and system. Church leaders hoped eventually to reach the major portion of their colonies. As early as 1866 Elder Wilford Woodruff wrote: 77

We are in constant communication by electric telegraph through all the settlements in Cache Valley, and shall be in a few days with Bear Lake and St. George.

It was almost five years later, however, that the line to Bear Lake was completed, for the project met with a mishap: a fire destroyed several miles of poles. 78

The Deseret Telegraph Company built its line to Bear Lake from the point of the old Indian trail on the Franklin side of the mountain. From Franklin it extended northeast, coming into Bear Lake Valley through what is known as the Bloomington Canyon, almost directly west of Bloomington. The line then followed "Telegraph Hollow" for three and one-half miles into Paris. The line was finally completed in November 6, 1871. The next day Charles C. Rich sent the following message; 79

Paris, Rich County

November 7

## President Brigham Young:

The Deseret Telegraph Company reached this place yesterday, at $4: 00 \mathrm{P}$. M. bringing the people of Bear Lake Valley into instant communication with the world of mankind. In view of our isolated situation no people in the mountains can better appreciate telegraphic communication. We heartily congratulate you on the extension of the line and thank you for your labors in our behalf. May you live long, not only to extend the principles of truth throughout the entire world, and overcome all your enemies.

Charles C. Rich.

Two days later a telegram was sent to the Salt Lake Herald, 80 a middle-of-the-road paper between the Latter-day Saint Church organ, the Deseret News, and the bitter anti-"Mormon" paper, the Salt Lake Tribune:

Paris, Rich County November 9

## Editors Herald:

The Deseret Telegraph being completed to this place there is great rejoicing among the Bear Lakers. Continue warming up the "crusade ring" and a hundred thousand "Mormons" and all honest outsiders will back you. Snowshoes, ox-express, etc. will be scarcer from this section hereafter.

> William Budge Joseph C, Rich

Joseph C. Rich was the first telegraph operator and teacher of telegraphy. He started teaching a group of girls but only two of them finished the course, Zula Pomeroy (Kimball) who learned faster than all of the others and Nancy Rich (Pugmire). Later Zula and Nancy took turns as operators until Nancy was married. Zula continued to operate the telegraph until she left for Mesa, Arizona, in 1877, at which time Julia Budge, who had gone to Logan to learn the art of telegraphy, took over the office, Before long, Annie Budge learned to help her. After Julia was married, Oliver H. Budge helped Annie.

With the coming of the railroad, came also the Union Pacific Telegraph system. A traveler calling himself "Tramp" came through Bear Lake in 1883, writing about the valley. He has the following to say about the telegraph: ${ }^{82}$

Here is a telegraph that has been run for years by the Deseret Telegraph Company, and here we have one of those unaccountable mysteries before us, that we meet now and then. You can go to the telephone, pay twenty-five cents for sending a message over the wire to Montpelier and thence by telegraph to Salt Lake City and get it through twenty-five cents less than sending it direct from Paris to Salt Lake City.

The first telephone system was installed in the valley about 1882. The first line between towns was between Paris and Montpelier. Although a company had been formed it appears that H. S. Woolley was the principal man who built the first telephone lines, 83 During 1884 the settlers held meetings and took measures to extend telephonic communications between all the settlements. 84

In Stake Priesthood Meeting in 1885 it was announced that lines had been extended as far south as St. Charles. A new and longer company had been formed, buying out the old one. All the "brethren" were urged to buy shares and assist the company so that telephone service might be rendered to all the settlements. Bringing this convenience to all was completed in the valley through community cooperation.

The Coming of the Railroad. When Brigham Young and his party first visited Bear Lake Valley in 1864, they went south along the west shore of the lake to approximately the middle point between north and south. Brigham Young looked the place over and named it Fish Haven. He said it would be a haven for the settlers, and the lake wo uld furnish plenty of fish for food. When he looked across the lake, pointing east and to the north, he said that the people would live to see a railroad that would cross the continent and enter the valley through the opening in the mountains. (This is the opening where the Bear River enters the valley.) The railroad would go through the valley and continue on to the northwest.

Mr. William Davis, a non-''Mormon," had joined Brigham Young's company in Franklin as a driver. He was sitting a short distance back in the crowd, listening. He later said that he thought to himself at the time "You 'dam' liar! You tell the se people all kinds of lies about this place to get them to live here, and now you tell a whopper like that. You certainly should have stopped before you went that far. ${ }^{1} 85$


Looking northeast across Bear Lake where Brigham Young is said to have pointed when he predicted the coming of the railroad into the Bear Lake Valley.

In 1882 the Union Pacific began building a ranch line from Wyoming through to Oregon, the Oregon Short line, which reached the eastern boundary of Idaho in June of 1882 . For the next two years construction went on. Five hundred and forty miles of line were built in Idaho; forty-five of it in Bear Lake County. It enters the county near the present town of Border, Wyoming, where the Bear River also enters the state. Expecting the line from Granger, Wyoming, to reach Montpelier and be ready for business by July 15, 1882, the Oregon Short Line Railroad contracted to ship 1,000 head of cattle from Montpelier on that date. 86

The railroad brought plenty of work with it. Those who worked were paid in cash, something different in the Bear Lake country. Men secured work of various kinds, some worked with their teams, filling sloughs, etc, , while others got out timber for ties. But in general, there was not a great rush for railroad jobs as many of the local men were too busy with their cattle and farms. 87

The coming of the railroad marked the end of a period and the beginning of a new era. It brought with it many advantages--convenient freight and cattle shipping, better mail service, modern transportation, goods from the east made more available, new settlers, new industry, new jobs. It was now possible to travel to conference in Salt Lake and back for the price of $\$ 8.00 .{ }^{88}$ With no horses to care for, one could really enjoy the trip. On the other hand, it brought a few problems for the local citizens-- the coming of a certain class of rabble, the influx of liquor, the problem of Gentile and Mormon relations, and the effect on the valley's industries. 89 The saints realized that the railroad would greatly affect them, but they did not all agree as to just how. A writer in the Bear Lake Democrat of June 17, 1882, in writing of the railroad, stated:90

This is good news for the residents of this valley. Many industries that have lain dormant will now be opened up to give employment to many and to enrich the people generally, It will also give an impetus and increased facilities to those industries already in existence. Success to the Oregon Short Line.

About three weeks later the editor of the Bear Lake Democrat delved deeper into the effects of the railroad, publishing an article written with much common sense and foresight: 91

The event of the railroad in this valley will doubtless produce many changes. Our people are some what divided in their opinions as to the nature of the changes. Some think they will conduce to the prosperity of the community while
others think they will be disastrous. There is no doubt, however, but that the railroad will be a mighty factor in the development of the resources of the valley, but it will take some little time for the people to adapt themselves to the changed conditions of things. Some pursuits that are now followed with profit will have to be abandoned and others that have not yet been thought of will be taken up. Our former distance from market has necessitated a great amount of freighting and not only have the farmers put in considerable time during the season of this labor but a class has gradually sprung up who have followed it almost continuously, summer and winter. They will soon find their occupation gone. On the other hand this valley has vast resources that have been comparitively [sic] unworked, through difficulty and cost of transportation, Vast amounts of hay will probably be shipped by rail at a profit, but before much is done in this way we may have to improve the quality by cultivating tame grasses.

It is thought by many that there are immense quantities of low grade ore in our mountains; the evidence certainly favors it, and mines may yet be worked at a profit. Something too may be done in the butter business and also in shipping fat stock in the winter season. Goods will be cheaper, especially those kinds that are of heavy freight, With railroad facilities Bear Lake Valley and especially Soda Springs will be visited by thousands of tourists who will of course increase the circulation of money in our midst.

It will be strange, however, if the completion of the railroad does not bring here what follows it almost everywhere, and that is a season of financial depression. If our people are wise they will prepare for it. As to evil influences and pernicious custom that may be introduced through the presence of a rough and reckless element that the railroad may bring in our midst, we trust that the virtue and integrity of a people who have covenanted to serve God through good and ill report will be sufficient protection.

With the coming of the railroad, Montpelier, which was fourth in population in the valley in 1882, took a quick jump into first place. Up to this time Paris, Bloomington, and St, Charles had exceeded her in that order, 92

The railroad station was a division terminus with repair shops established there. By the turn of the century the post office at Montpelier was distributing mail to twenty-seven other post offices. Seventy million pounds of freight were received annually at the station.

Large numbers of sheep and cattle and great quantities of wool were shipped, and approximately 12,000 people were procuring their supplies at this point. 92

It was the hope of the other residents of the valley to have a branch line extend to the south through all of the settlements on the west side, but only Paris succeeded in getting one. 93

## Land and Land Problems

Securing Titles. For the settlers of Bear Lake there were two distinct disadvantages in acquiring titles to the land. Although the Homestead Act of 1862 made it possible to gain title to a quarter section of land, there was no government survey until 1871-72. This was about nine years after the first colonizers arrived on the scene. This made it impossible to tell just which quarter section was where and what its boundaries were.

The second disadvantage was that the "Mormon" system of colonizing called for people to live in towns on small acreages (usually, one and one-fourth acre lots) and do their farming by commuting. Such a system did not fit into the homestead laws. How would each person attain title to his city lot? How could he abide by the regulations for improvements on his farm without living on it? Also, the "Mormon" system called for farming lands near the towns to be divided up into blocks much smaller than 160 acres.

The only thing for the settlers to do was to make the best of the situation and proceed upon the basis that they could work everything out. This meant, of course, that complications were bound to arise. The general "Mormon" plan was followed in Bear Lake, 94 A surveyor was employed to lay out a few ten-acre blocks with roads eight rods wide between them. The lots would be numbered and the numbers put in a hat. Each head of a family drew a number out of the hat and the lot designated by the number he drew belonged to him. 95 As other settlers came into the settlements they would each receive one of the unassigned lots. This method naturally encouraged more settlers to come.

The farming land was dealt with likewise. That land nearest the settlements was divided up into five-acre lots; the land next farthest out into ten-acre lots, and that still further out was divided into twenty-acre lots. 96 Beyond this was plenty of meadow and hay land that was appropriated in one way or another. At first the meadow land was considered to be community property and treated as such. For hay land, each settler would claim a certain piece; and, under
church regulations, it became his by right of use.
It sometimes happened that a man, after using a certain piece for two or three years, would leave it for a year or two. Someone else, seeing the land idle, would proceed to appropriate it for his use. Then perhaps both men would want it the same year. This led to disputes which, in those early years, were settled in the extralegal courts of the Church. There was no legal machinery in operation. The decisions given were nearly always respected, although only moral persuasion existed. In extreme cases of disobedience the Church courts used their only weapon--disfellowship or excommunication from the Church.

Here is the conclusion and decision of a typical case before the high council. This case was caused by people moving to get on the government survey lines: 97

In the case appealed to the high council of this stake by Hyrum D. Clark of Auburn, Star Valley, from the decision of Bishop Cazier in which William, James and Charles Leavitt and John Burningham were defendants, and heard by this council on the 15 th of June, we submit the following conclusions and judgment as the decisions of this High Council.

It is shown by the evidence that Hyrum D. Clark purchased eighty acres of land from one of the very early settlers, and had quiet and peaceful possession thereof until after the United States survey was made. When his neighbors on the north for a distance of two and one-half miles each moved south to the government survey, and so reached over and took a portion of Clark's land, crowding him south for land to make up his loss; in this, however, he was stopped, for there were three settlers on the south, the Leavitt Brothers, who concluded to move in the opposite direction, and this was done notwithstanding there was enough vacant land south of them to enable them to move in that direction as others had done, and by doing so they, the three defendants, and Hyrum D. Clark could have secured their full quota of land. Instead of doing so they, the three Leavitt Brothers, moved north, thus crowding Clark out of some of his best land, and invited John Burningham to come in and take up the land they had vacated on the south, with other land adjoining it.

In the judgment rendered by the Bishop's Court, it is ordered that the Leavitt Brothers surrender and deed to Hyrum D. Clark thirty-three rods wide and 160 rods deep, being thirty-three acres of the land he claimed by purchase and location, for which he, Clark, is to procure and deed
to John Burningham forty acres of land in close proximity to his claim, or pay to him, Burningham, in cash, $\$ 180.00$ upon failure to procure said land.

We think it will be seen by any careful observer that the difficulty was not occasioned by any act of H. D. Cla rk, but was done by the counter moves on the part of the three Leavitt Brothers, they first took possession of a portion of his land, and then invited a fourth party in to take up the land that was needed to give Clark and themselves their full portion of land, and were thus prevented from going back to their old line.

We do not consider it would be just and right for H. D. Clark to be required to repurchase his own land, except so far as the usual cost of entry in such cases, as one man may enter for another in his quarter section.

We do not think it right that he, Clark should be required to buy and deed forty acres of land to John Burningham or pay to him in default thereof \$180.00, nor any other sum.

It has been said that Brother Clark entered eighty acres of land on the west of his claim, this, so far as we can judge cuts no figure in this question, as each of his neighbors could have done the same under the pre-emption homestead or desert land laws then existing, had they been disposed to do so.

It is therefore the decision of this council that Hyrum D. Clark have restored to him the land he purchased, and on which he located and claimed before the United States survey, lying on the south, thirty-three rods wide more or less by one-hundred and sixty rods; and that the three Leavitt Brothers and John Burningham make up between themselves the thirty-three acres of land, more or less, each losing thereby, eight and one-fourth acres from their respective claims.

It does not appear that Brother Burningham was in any way to blame for the difficulty, although being profited by the transaction, we think he ought to share in the loss sustained as provided in the decision of this council.

Inasmuch as these brethren have entered a quarter section each ( 160 acres of land) and the difficulty arose directly from their action, intervention and counter movements of certain lines, it appears to us eminently proper that they should make up the loss they had occasioned, among themselves, and thus restore harmony on the principle of justice and equal rights.

After the government survey and when government officials were made available, the Church authorities requested the Bear Lake residents to improve upon their land that they might comply
with government regulations, thereby securing government title. 98 The Church authorities had taken time in Stake Priesthood Meetings to explain the matters in regard to pre-empting and homesteading lands. 99 Yet many of the settlers failed to comply. They did not put the necessary improvements on their lands. As a result, with the passing years, claim-jumpers became active: 100 Many trials concerning such were settled by the courts of the Church, as seen in the case between N. F. Austin and J. M. Phelps, 101

President Budge became somewhat disgusted with the carelessness of some of the "brethren" in not fulfilling the requirements of the law in land matters. He warned them that if they did not take care of such obligations, thus securing the lands, he would counsel the bishops of the various wards to find good men in their wards who would enter such land and live up to the law, 102

In order to secure title to the land, it was necessary to have one man file on 160 acres. On this 160 acres there might already be this man and ten others who were using the land, which probably had been given to them by the Church. As soon as he received government title, as a faithful Church member he would deed to the other ten squatters the portion that each was using. After a man had, according to law, secured clear title to property it was rather tempting to keep it, especially if one or two of those using it had been slothful in keeping up their end of the improvements. There seems to have been very little trouble in this respect, however. The writer found evidence of only a few cases of this nature, Considering the complications that had to be ironed out, the land problems turned out remarkably well. Town lots were secured by the government's eventually issuing what were called townsite deeds.

Fencing. Fencing was an eternal problem in those early years. At first only the town lots were fenced. This necessitated herding the livestock to keep it off the farming lands. Sometimes cattle would wander off from one settlement to another. Fences were then made between communities. A fence committee for the valley 103 and, usually, one for each community was appointed, 104 The community fence committee would appoint each man to keep a certain section of the community fence between the towns. On given days the "Fence Viewers" (a committee selected for the purpose of inspecting the fence) would inspect the fence to see that each man had done his job well. 95

Usually the next step taken was to put a fence between the hay land and the farming land, 106 Then one side of the road between the towns and the hay land would be fenced. Finally the other side of the road was fenced. Some settlements managed to get commun-
ity pastures fenced off, thus making it much easier to keep track of the milk cows. The beef stock was mostly turned loose in the hills to range. Of course they did not always stay there.

One incident in Bern, before fences were built, is the following: 107 One day Charles C. Rich came to his ranch in Bern, where the Kunz families from Switzerland were living. They had a large white bull at the ranch, who "was as gentle as a lamb." Mr. Rich noticed a little four-year-old boy, Johnny Kunz, in the field at the end of the rope on the bull. He asked Johnny's father, whose name was also John: "What is that boy doing?" "He's holding the end of a long rope that is tied to the bull. The bull is out there so he can eat." Mr. Rich immediately picked up a piece of wood, made a stake out of it, and went out and staked the animal. He brought little Johnny back by the hand and told his father never to have him do that again.

It was many years before the people got around to enclosing each private tract of land. The first fences were made out of poles, with two post holes with long pegs between them placed at the end of each panel for support. ${ }^{108}$

Water. There was not much difference in the irrigation problems of Bear Lake and any other "Mormon" settlement, unless it was the convenience of irrigation water. Every community had one or more streams running through it. In order to do much farming, it was necessary for a whole community to co-operate in building the ditches. The water always belonged to the community, as the doctrine of riparian rights was completely disregarded. As a general rule the water was equitably divided.

A terrific, yet well-conducted case was held in Laketown, however. One man seemed to have received more than he needed and was selling some of it to others who were short. 109 The case is hardly as simple as that, but is too long and tedious to print here. Suffice it to say that, in the end, it was necessary for two apostles, Francis M. Lyman and Marriner W. Merrill, to come from Salt Lake to make a final settlement. 110

There is quite a contrast between that case and one held to settle a dispute between the wards of Ovid and Liberty. In this case a letter was directed to the stake autho rities, signed by the bishops of each ward,

Paris, Idaho
March 27, 1883
To the Presidency and High Council of the Bear
Lake Stake of Zion

Brethren:

We respectfully ask you to decide a matter involving the division of the Liberty Creek, between settlements of Liberty and Ovid, and determine the proportions of water of said Creek, each settlement would have.

Respectfully,
E. N. Austin Bishop of Liberty
P. Jensen Bishop of Ovid.

Two councilors were appointed to speak on each side and the case proceeded.

Bishop P. Jensen said that at the time of Brother Hammon presiding at Liberty it was decided between the two Bishops that Ovid would have a portion of the creek with the understanding that they should make their own ditch which had been done and which had been of as much service to Liberty as to Ovid. There were two creeks flowing from Liberty and he thought that Ovid should have one-half the water of both streams.

Bishop E. N. Austin said the whole of the water from both streams run each towards Ovid, one-fourth of the creek is taken out to supply the town and the north farms and if Ovid claims half of the whole there will be only one-fourth left for the vast tract of farming land south of Liberty. He wo uld like to have it divided so as to do the most good to the largest number.

Thomas Peterson said there has not been enough water come through the ditch for three or four years and much grain has been burned up in consequence. The people are willing to assist to make another ditch. Ovid has used the water from Liberty Creek for two or three years.

John Johnson testified that there is not water enough for Ovid coming through the ditch neither has there been for several years past. It was his opinion that if the water was properly divided that there was sufficient for all. The average size of the grain farms of Ovid he did not know. M. Jensen said there had been no water in the lower
ditch of Ovid for three or four years past. William Hymas remembered the people of Ovid applying to Liberty for water many years since. The two settlements divide equally the north creek and he thought Ovid would get along very well with one-fourth of Mill Creek.

John Bunn thought that Ovid could do very well with onefourth of Mill Creek and have plenty of water for dry seasons.

Opinion of counselors. J. U. Stucki considered that in dry seasons Ovid would probably suffer. He thought that Ovid should have a claim on Mill Creek to the amount of about one-third or one-fourth in connection with onehalf of North Creek,
R. Price considered that if one-sixth of Mill Creek was sufficient for Ovid in dry seasons, that the same amount would be equal to the growth of the town, also considering that they get the benefit of all the Liberty waste water.

Miner Wilcox considered that probably half of North Creek and one-fourth of Mill Creek would be sufficient quantity for Ovid and still leave Liberty enough.

Walter Hoge said he considered that Brother Hymas' proposition for Ovid to use one-fourth of Mill Creek was equitable.

Bishop P. Jensen said that they did not have one-tenth of the land under cultivation which they wo uld have if they could get water in sufficient quantity.

Bishop $\mathrm{E}, \mathrm{N}$, Austin said he did not think he could throw any further light upon the subject. though Brother Hymas' proposition was liberal and just.

Counselor $G$. Osmond said he knew that settlers had been encouraged many years since to take up and settle land between Paris and Liberty and he thought bonafide settlers should be guaranteed the water privilege.

Decision. President W, Budge said he had endeavored to understand the evidence and he considered there was no fear of suffering for either settlement even supposing the matter stands as it is, but in view of taking up more land the rights of settlers should be considered, and a water right might be granted to land owners not to exceed twenty or twenty-five acres. Ovid, it appears required only one-sixth of the water or three irrigating streams when it was scarcest and by giving them onefourth would be to give them an abundance for extreme drought, and making about four and one-fourth irrigating streams. And it was his decision that Ovid have one-fourth of Mill Creek and if the people at any furthe $r$ time consider they are suffering an injustice they can have a rehearing. The decision was sustained unanimously by the council, 111

The decision was accepted by all in good faith. Years later, when still other communities were to be considered, the case came up again and both of the original owners were cut down in order to share with the others. This decision was also accepted by all. 112

## Health

The Bear Lake settlers suffered for lack of good medical care. The cold winters were not always the most conducive to good health. Still members of the community were at least as healthy asithe average. On the whole the climate seemed as healthful as many warmer places. 113 For common colds and other sickness in children a rhubarb syrup was used 114

The usual plagues of the time swept through the valley, but deaths were usually remarkably light. Measles, scarlatina, whooping cough (which seemed to cause more deaths than the other diseases), 115 diptheria (also quite bad), 116 and small pox had all been in the valley during one or two seasons before twenty years had passed. In 1883 a railroad engineer in Montpelier sent east for his wife. She was ill when she arrived. They rented a room from Joseph Phelps, 117 but within a few days she died. Herclothes were given to Mrs. Phelps, who shortly came down with what was diagnosed as small pox. Twelve members of the family had it. 117 This must have caused quite an outbreak in Montpelier. Nearly two months later the Bear Lake Democrat mentioned that the health committee had hired Henry Bolton to stand guard on Bear River Bridge and prevent all intercourse with Montpelier, 118

The warm mineral springs located near the northeast corner of the lake became quite famous as a health resort. 119 Eor many years people went there for all kinds of ailments. The first pleasure resort in the valley was also established there.

Emiline Grover Rich, the first midwife in the valley, not only performed that service but endeavored to be doctor to nearly everything. John A, Sutton, the village blacksmith, was for many years the chief bone surgeon and dentist. ${ }^{120}$ His services were appreciated by many. There was also another man who actedas dentist in those early days, Bishop William H, Lee from Woodruff. Whenever he came to conference, he brought with him his tools for teeth pulling. A few years later a Gentile doctor settled in the valley. After the coming of the railroad it was possible to at least get to a doctor part of the time, that is, if one were not too ill. Before the beginning of the twentieth century, a number of Latter-day Saint boys in the valley had graduated from medical schools, some becoming famous doctors 121

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## CHAPTER VII

## TWO SOCIAL CONTROLS OF THE LATTER-DAY SAINT CHURCH IN THE BEAR LAKE VALLEY

The Latter-day Saint philosophy is that religion is a part of everyday living and everyday living should be a part of one's religion. Every act of life should be done in a spirit of love and good fellowship toward one's fellowmen. Even the everyday acts that are purely for recreational or entertainment purposes are to be done in harmony with the spirit of God.

With this philosophy, the Latter-day Saint Church has always felt its obligation to provide wholesome recreation and entertainment for its members, and to look after their general welfare from day to day.

## Dancing

From the beginning the L.D.S. Church has never looked upon dancing, when done in the proper spirit, as being sinful. As Thomas Sleight expressed it, "It was considered to be wholesome in body and mind. "1

A policy early established in the Latter-day Saint Church was to open and close all dances with prayer. Man is entitled, in any act of life that is not sinful, to invoke the help of the Lord for the pleasure and benefit of his earthly children, as "men are, that they might have joy. "2

The early settlers of the Bear Lake Valley followed the general policy of the Church in regard to dancing. Because the population of each settlement was small and many of the stalwart Church leaders were always in attendance, the dances, in general, were conducted on a very high plane.

As there was no stake organized in Bear Lake until 1869, there is no official stake record before this time pertaining to dancing; but it is to be noted that as early as December 19, 1869, when the Bloomington Teacher's Quorum began keeping a record, President James H. Hart, who was in attendance, spoke of dancing for the winter "and gave some good instructions for the conducting of the same. ${ }^{113}$

Dances were hardly ever held during the summer, because everyone was very busy; winter was the dancing season. As the
settlers were fairly well snowed in from the outside world, they held dances quite frequently, usually once a week. Entertainment was scarce, and all of it was homemade. Sometimes the settlers would dance until morning and sleep most of the next day,

After the first few years the dancing hours were changed so that they were not to go beyond twelve o'clock midnight, or at the latest until one o'clock in the morning. This rule should not have been too difficult to follow since they usually started at six in the evening. ${ }^{4}$

In 1870 Solomon $F$. Kimball and seven other young men went as missionaries to settle in Round Valley at the south end of Bear Lake, Valley, Mr. Kimball has left a good description of the early dances and their place in the settlements. It is probablytinged with slight exaggerations for the sake of reading interest but contains good descriptive material characteristic of the early dances in the valley; ${ }^{5}$

On the 10 th of December the boys received invitations to attend a grand ball to be given at the ranch of James Carles, three miles away. Though the snow was deep and the thermometer registering some fifteen degrees below zero, the boys were there on time. In less than an hour both fiddles were tuned, and the dance went on, though the floor was rough. The thermometer continued to go down, but the dance kept up. When morning came: it was too cold to stop dancing, so they danced all day. When night came again, it was about forty degrees below zero. There was a large fireplace in one end of the ballroom, and the men took turns chopping wood to keep the fire burning. All bedding was used to keep the fiddlers and children warm; the rest had to dance or freeze. While one fiddler was playing the other was warming his fingers; and the colder the weather, the harder the crowd danced. By this time the floor was smooth, but everybody's shoes were about worn out, and even the buttons began to loosen from their clothing. The "Highland Flings," Pigeon Wings, " and other fancy steps taken, would have made a French dancing master green with envy. The caller, whose voice was like a fog-horn when he began to call, had by this time dwindled to a hoarse squeak; and toward the second morning the dance simmered down to a grand right and left, all around the room. Finally their prayers were heard: the south wind came, the weather moderated, and the dance ended.

When the missionaries returned home, after enjoying their first dance in the land of the bears they devoured enough
food to feed a small army, stopped up the skunkholes, then went to bed, where they remained two days and nights. Before they had fairly recovered from their last entertainment a stranger on snowshoes brought invitations for them to attend another grand ball to be given at Paris, which was to be continued all through the holidays. The surprise almost took their breath. They had a week to get ready, so decided to go.

The next day they went to the canyon to get sleigh runners, While the captain was felling a tree a large hedge-hog dropped from the top of the tree, and came near falling on the captain's back. None of the boys were carpenters, nor sons of carpenters though four days were spent in making eight sleighs, the balance of the time being occupied in sewing on buttons, mending clothing and getting ready to dance for a whole week. Each missionary took two pair of shoes along in case of another cold snap. The boys had plenty of sleigh bells and the day before Christmas they started to Paris. The snow was deep, and no track broken. All went well with them until they started to descend a steep hill. A bolt in the captain's double-trees commenced to work out. As he reached forward to push it back, his sleigh ended over onto his team, and almost squeezed the life out of him. The sleigh was lifted back, and the company drove on. The boys soon reached the side-hill country, and then their trouble began in earnest. The snow was badly drifted, and they soon discovered that they had made their sleigh too narrow, as well as too short. For the next eight miles their sleighs were either ending up, or tipping over, and the best part of the day was spent in digging each other out of the deep snow, and lifting their soggy sleighs off from each other. The road from Fish Haven to Paris was good, and the latter place reached about 5:00 p.m.

The eight missionaries caused a sensation as they drove through town. Joe Rich, Nute Austin, Jack Sutton, and others made fun for the crowd as the missionaries passed by in a funeral-like procession. After the "Peaked Hat Company" had thawed out, eaten supper, and had a good night's rest, they were ready for anything. The city was filled with strangers from far and near, who looked as if they had come to have a good time. The dance was to take place in David P. Kimball's large and commodious barn. The building was beautifully decorated with red, white, and blue blankets. There was plenty of room for twelve sets to dance, and the music was first-class. The citizens of

Paris spared neither time nor money to make the ball a grand success. At night as many as twenty-five candles were burning at the same time. The floor was a little rough, but the Round Valley boys were accustomed to that. When the dance began, everybody had the spirit of it. The eight missionaries were introduced to the great humorist and author of the "Bear Lake Monster" yarn, Joseph Colton Rich, who, in return, introduced them to all of his sisters. He proved to be very much of a gentleman and was well posted on everything. He could answer any question one could ask him and many things he answered without being asked. He confidently told how the belles of Paris had sent a man on snowshoes to Logan after the latest styles of dresses. How the man was caught in a blizzard on his return trip, and had part of the pattern blown away. He said that every lady who belonged to the "four hundred" of Paris had their dresses cut from the part that was left and did not know the difference. This, he said, was to be kept a secret until after the holidays, so as not to interfere with their enjoyment.

The spirit of dance seemed to be in the very air. and one could not meet a person on the street who was not dancing some kind of a jig. Even the ladies at home were dancing around the stove while cooking, and one could not eat a meal of victuals without hearing all kinds of dance expressions, such as, "Please swing the fried fish around to this corner, " or "Please cross the botcakes to the couple on the left," and "Promenade the mince-pie to the right hand lady, " and many other expressions of a similar nature. Sye Eardley was leader of the brass band and had taught the men who composed the band to play several tunes, such as "Beautiful Moonlight," "Beautiful Dreamer, " "Star of the Evening," and other night pieces which the band played in full blast during the day, while the dance was kept up at night.

After the holidays were over the "Peakec Hat Company" returned home, well pleased with the royal reception they had received.

About 1875 the Latter-day Saint Church was exerting pressure to eliminate round dancing (waltzes, etc.). 6 The leaders no doubt felt that the close proximity of the sexes would, in some cases, lead to evil thoughts. Every change is made for a reason, and it is possible that some incident proyoked this new ruling. On January 29, 1876, in Stake Priesthood Meeting Charles C. Rich counseled the bishops to carry out President Young's policy and do away
with round dancing entirely. ${ }^{7}$
This threw a heavy burden upon the bishop of each ward as he was personally responsible for the conduct of all dances in his ward or community, whether some other good man was in imme diate charge or not. ${ }^{7}$ Many people had learned to round dance and enjoyed it a great deal. Now it was wrong. As a general rule, the bishops received good support in this regulation from the older people, but the younger group was always agitating for round dances. Finally a set of rules for governing dancing was drawn up and officially accepted in Stake Priesthood Meeting on January 3, 1880, by a unanimous vote: ${ }^{8}$

Rules for dancing assemblies in the Bear Lake Stake of Zion.
lst: Our dances shall be conducted under the dictation of the Bishop who will be held responsible for the manner in which dances are conducted in our respective wards.

2nd: Our dances shall be commenced and closed with prayer and shall not be continued later than twelve o'clock.

3rd: We will not practice waltzes or any other round dances in our assemblies.

4th: Persons dancing out of turn shall be considered violators of good order and may be requested to retire and if persistent may be ejected.

5th: We will not use liquor in our assemblies nor suffer any person inebriated to participate in the dances.

6th: Swinging with one arm around the ladies [sic] waist shall not be permitted in our assemblies,

7th: To swing a lady more than once against her will shall be considered ungentlemanly. To swing more than twice under any circumstances shall be considered disorderly and if persisted in the offender may be requested to retire and if necessary may be ejected per force.

8th: Club dances or dances gotten up to make money will not be countenanced unless specially ordered by the presidency or bishops.

By 1881 there was some discontent among the people who wanted round dances. President Budge, in answer to a question in Stake Meeting, said that he thought the bishops should get along without round dances if possible, as to have them was contrary to the wishes of the Church Presidency. The meeting voted and adopted the same rules as before, which prohibited any round dances.

One way to keep obedience to the rules was to be selective as to the participants. All parties were to be invitational affairs, for the halls usually could not accommodate the whole community, A list of the names of those whom it was intended to invite was to be presented to the bishop for his acceptance. ${ }^{9}$

By 1882 President Budge announced that President Taylor had expressed a desire to have no round dances; but, if the people desired, one or two each evening would be permissible. 10 The pressure and insistence for round dances by a few people was recognized, and it was stated that if they did not get this kind of dancing in public they would get up private dances. President J, H. Hart was decidedly in favor of carrying out the rules already adopted, however, saying that 'the feelings which should govern the bishops and heads of families should be, 'let others do as they will but for me and my house we will serve the Lord. 1110 By a vote taken there was still to be no round dancing in the Bear Lake Stake of Zion. Each year in the fall a discussion would ensue as to the dancing rules and each year the Priesthood would vote to continue the same rules.

After the completion of the railroad through the valley in 1884, it ceased to be entirely controlled by the Latter-day Saints. Montpelier had become an important railroad terminal. A town was built down by the tracks which became known as "Downtown" or "West" Montpelier. The "Mormon" part, which was separated by an open space from "West" Montpelier, was known as "Uptown" or "East" Montpelier. The Gentile part of the town began having dances that were open to everyone. Of course there were plenty of round dances. This began to attract the young people from the "Mormon" part of town, as well as those from other settlements. Dr. Ezra C. Rich said that he visited these and was disciplined before the Church ward for unruly conduct. ${ }^{11}$

In March of 1887 Bishop W, L. Rich of Montpelier read an excerpt in Stake Priesthood Meeting written by President John Taylor permitting one or two round dances of an evening. 12 He was endeavoring to get permission to allow one or two in his ward, but the priesthood continued to sustain the old rules,

By the fall of that year the complete control of the dance among the Latter-day Saint people began to be lost by the ecclesiastical authorities. A dance hall was built by some of the Latterday Saint men in East Montpelier, where it was to be run free from the dictates of the bishop. The men promised, however, to close at midnight and prohibit intoxicating liquors on the premises. A fairly tight grip was held on other settlements until after the turn of the century.

The bishop of Montpelier was given permission to use his own discretion and have some round dances if he felt that it would keep his young people in better environment and under better control. ${ }^{13}$ St. Charles Ward was also having its difficulties with the round dance because there were so many Scandinavians who had rounddanced all their lives in the "old" countries. 14

Then at Bern there were the Swiss people, some of whom had newly arrived. On one occasion they put on the play William Tell in Paris. Since the play was to last only until ten at night, they had made arrangements to use the hall for dancing afterwards. When they began to round dance the sheriff made a move to stop them. He was told that many of them did not know how to square dance as yet, so with special permission they were permitted to proceed until twelve midnight. 15

Finally, by 1888 , President Budge announced in conference that permission was given to have one or two round dances of an evening if the bishops felt so inclined, although it was not advised. It was hoped that the young people would not take advantage of the liberty given, 16 The Priesthood finally struck out Rule Three pertaining to no round dances. 17

The desire that young people not take advantage of the liberty given was not entirely fulfilled, since later on the young fellows learned how to get around it, Many of the ward halls were small and only a dozen couples or so could dance at a time. As a result it was necessary to have the tickets numbered and to call out the numbers for each dance. For example, all men holding numbers one to twelve would dance; then those from thirteen to twenty-four would dance the next time. Often it was necessary to have six waltzes in an evening in order to give each person one or two dances. Some of the young fellows caught on to buying an extra ticket or two. In this way their waltzing was correspondingly increased. 18

The serious ness with which President Budge took the advice of the Church Presidency, preferring no round dances, is illustrated through an experience with his own children. Some of them were
at a dance one evening when the rule against the round dance was broken. One of the girls turned to her brother Oliver and said, "What shall we do? Shall we walk out?" After a consultation they all decided it would be best to stay but not to dance. The next morning President Budge asked his daughter, "Were you at the dance last night?" "Yes Sir!" "Did you waltz?" "No, sir." "Why didn't you get up and walk out?" "We talked it over and decided it would be better not to." President Budge next called on Jesse and received the same answers. Just as he was leaving he met his son Frank. "Were you at the dance last night?" "No, sir!" "Well, if you had been, you would have been just as bad as the others." 19

Some of the young people of the different wards began to plan secret private parties where they would not be so closely watched and could waltz all evening. Often they would be assisted by one or two older people. In Liberty was a man, Charles Brown, who did not get along with the bishop of the ward. (After receiving title to his land he would not deed the squatters their portion.) Mr. Brown hired an orchestra from Montpelier and invited a few young people to come to a dance in his barn free of charge. For a time these dances were quite a regular affair. Because it was much against the wishes of their parents, those who attended had to "sneak out" unbeknown to them, 20 Mr , Brown had been excommunicated from the Church at that particular time and thus could suffer no further penalty,

On every holiday a children's dance would be held in nearly every ward. If the Primary organization was functioning, it would be under their direct auspices. Those dances were held in the afternoon, and the tickets were nearly always paid for with some product from the farm. William J Kunz from Bern had four eggs with which to buy his ticket to a dance in the Ovid Ward Hall. He got on his mule, then put the sack of eggs in his front pocket. When he got there he discovered that his eggs were broken. He felt terrible because this was to be a big day in his young life. Hard work was the rule, and holidays and amusements were scarce. Now he did not have the price of admission. He stayed outside feeling blue until one of the adults saw him and inquired why he did not come in. His explanation sufficed and he was soon enjoying the dance. His day was a big success, ${ }^{21}$

At the close of 1900 part of the bishops in the stake permitted waltzes and part did not. This posed a problem that had to be remedied in later years, for the young people were flocking to those wards where waltzes were permitted. In such wards each person was allowed two waltzes per evening and a continual pressure for more was exerted. 22 In wards such as Paris Second Ward and

Liberty Ward, the members were still exerting pressure on their bishops to let them have the two round dances that other wards were allowed.

## The Liquor Problem

Bear Lake Valley was settled before the "Word of Wisdom" had crystalized to the extent that it has today. Many of the older people had formed habits of drinking and smoking before joining the Church. They recalled that the Word of Wisdom was given "not by way of commandment or constraint . . .! ${ }^{23}$ Also, in those days, liquor was used as a medicine for nearly every ailment.

Some of the people were slow to cast off these habits, although they were of good moral character. Many had come from foreign countries where there was no particular stigma attached to drinking. Others had been raised on the American frontier, where drink and roughness were the rule rather than the exception. Even many who had been raised within the fold of the Church had always lived on the frontier where they were influenced by "outside" contacts. When men were freighting into the valley from Evanston before the railroad came, it was often a difficult job to keep warm. The dead of winter was sometimes forty degrees below zero. Oftentimes a bottle of whisky would be taken along to help them keep from freezing.

Such uses may also have helped a number of the young fellows to acquire a liking for liquor. The Church authorities were rather easy on the young fellows, in most cases, although if they attained any degree of drunkenness, they were expelled from the dances and had to offer apologies in priesthood meetings. ${ }^{24}$ Still, many of the young fellows drank a little, especially before going to a dance. ${ }^{25}$ Outside of the rule against round dances, the rule against liquor was perhaps the most difficult to keep and the one that was most continually stressed.

After the coming of the railroad, the young fellows would occasionally "sneak" out and go to some dance hall and sal oon in "Downtown" Montpelier. At one time three sons of one of the stake officers waited until they were sure their father was asleep; then they crept out to the barn, where they got their saddle horses and rode to Montpelier. There they attended a dance in the Gentile section of the town. Many years afterwards one of them said "by 3:00 a.m. we were dancing on the tables. 126

The young people were not always caught, but whenever they were it meant an apology, usually followed by "unanimously being for-
given. "27 When it came to the older church members, the "brethren" were not always so forgiving, although all trials were conducted in a spirit of good will and desire for the betterment of the accused. Patience was exercised, and the offending brother was excommunicated from the Church only if, after due time, he did not repent.

At one time one of the high stake officers was to be tried for drinking and profanity. For some reason he did not appear for trial. The High Council proceeded to hold court without him, and a decision to disfellowship him was given. At the next monthly meeting he appeared and pled his case. Pertaining to his profanity, the official stated that he never did profane except when he got drunk. After due consideration he was restored to full fellowship. His repentence was sincere and he held his position for a number of years thereafter.

This was not the only case in which one of the authorities found need for repentance. A counselor in the First Stake Presidency was later excommunicated for drinking. Still later he became a teetotaler, was re-admitted into the Church, and again became very influential. One man was suspended from being ward clerk of Paris First Ward until such time as he could "establish satisfaction," to the bishop and to the priesthood quorum that he had entirely quit drinking. He asked for forgiveness, which was granted; but the suspension held. The bishop instructed the ward teachers to "bring up everyone of those who had been drinking, " 29

Hezekiah Duffin at one time was brought to trial for selling liquor. At his trial he said that he was guilty but that he had tried to keep it out of the hands of boys. He continued that if he had done any wrong he was sorry for it and would be guided in his 'future actions by the counsel of the brethren. ${ }^{130}$ He kept his word and later became a useful member of the Stake High Council. About ten years after his own trial, he was on the High Council when another case for selling liquor was tried. ${ }^{31}$ He expressed himself as feeling a little delicate about pressing judgment, since he could recall when he had sold it himself, although he had tried to be very particular. 31

For many years there was no saloon at all in the Bear Lake Valley. During this time one existed for a short time at Soda Springs, about forty miles north, but it was pressured out of business. 32 The leading brethren could not understand where the liquor was coming from. At one time in Priesthood Meeting the question was asked whether it was coming from Evanston with the mail. The mail man, Elder Walter Hoge, who was present said
that he had been bringing it in, but if they didn't want him to he would quit.

During the early years no member of the Latter-day Saint Church opened a saloon, yet now and then one would get liquor from somewhere and "carefully" sell it out. In 1873 Bishop George Osmond of Bloomington announced that he was going to disfellowship "brethren" who persisted in bringing liquor in to sell and wished the "brethren" would sustain him in this. President Welker of the Teachers Quorum arose and supported the bishop in this proposal. He probably could see the evils of it better than many because he had become somewhat addicted to the habit. He indicated that he thought they should be particular to keep it away from the young fellows. 33

The Coming of Saloons. In 1881 a Gentile purchased some land in Paris and built a saloon. No town in the valley had been incorporated at this time, and local government was still principally administered by the Church authorities. All necessary town business was done through the bishop. Because the bishopric or priesthood quorum could not pass civic ordinances to keep saloons out, it had to be done through pressure. This pressure began on the "Mormon" who sold the land on which the saloon was erected, $F$. Wilcox was tried in the Bishop's court for selling land upon which a saloon was constructed, and was disfellowshiped from the Church. 34 The next step was to discuss the matter in Stake Priesthood Meeting. The evils of a saloon were a handicap to any settlement. One statement made is indicative of prevailing sentiment: "We should shun the saloon and let it severely alone and if we must have liquor it would be far better to send to Evanston or to the states for it if necessary, 134

This was not the first attempt that had been made to establish a saloon in the valley, as the Deseret News in August of 1882, in commenting upon how indignant the respectable citizens of the place were, mentioned that previous attempts to establish a place of that kind in Paris had failed, 35 The church continued to fight against saloons, although some people in the town argued that it was no use for the people to oppose it because saloons were permitted in Salt Lake and other Latter-day Saint towns. President Budge considered this no argument at all. "The same stand we have taken against round dances we can and ought to take against saloons and if we are all of a mind it will prove a profitless undertaking to run a saloon, "36 The bishops and their counselors were to visit among the people, urging a united action against the saloon.

During this same winter another saloon was established. James Bateman of Bloomington had sold a piece of ground to Mr. A. Porter.

Mr. Bateman was called before his priesthood quorum to account for his actions. He said that he did not know the land was to be used for such a purpose, but from the evidence presented it was ruled that he must humble himself, make a public confession and ask forgiveness of the people. ${ }^{37}$

By the spring of 1883 both saloons were out of business. One of the owners had got into some sort of trouble and public sentiment was strongly against him. He was glad to close "because he had to. 1138 The other saloon was being run by two young fellows. They had done fairly well during the winter; but they went away in March, "leaving the whisky barrels to take care of themselves, which they did until about two o'clock in the morning on March tenth when they took fire. "38 There were rumors in the air as to what happened or who did it; the mystery was never solved.

In 1882 as the building of the railroad began, many Gentiles came into town. As with all railroad terminals in those early days, "the coming of the railroad" brought with it all types of characters, both good and bad. During the winter of 1883 J. M. Phelps sold some land in Montpelier to a Gentile who built a saloon upon it, located near the railroad station. It was too late, of course, to get rid of the saloon but Mr. Phelps was disfellowshiped until he "humbles himself before the Lord, makes a public confession of his $\sin$, and says he is sorry for what he had done, "39 This was the beginning of saloons along the railroad line through the Bear Lake Valley. Although the Church endeavored to keep them down, it was always possible thereafter to buy liquor somewhere along the line.

Mr. Edward Tullidge writing in 1889 stated:
Up to the advent of the railroad the morality of the people was strictly in accord with the teaching of their religion, There are a few places on the line of the railroad where whisky is sold, otherwise it cannot be obtained in the county. Till the last few years, a jail did not exist and there was no need for it. ${ }^{40}$

But the Church still had a good hold on the saloon situation in the heavily proportioned "Mormon" communities. In 1891 the Paris Liquor Saloon closed its doors. This was about the fifth attempt and the fifth failure of a saloon to function there successfully for any length of time. 41

Three years later the records show that Mr. Jacobson, a Gentile, who functioned as a sort of a physician, was running a
"drug" store in Paris. ${ }^{42}$ He seems to have been doing quite a little liquor business also, in fact, more business than he was doing in the drug line. Since his location was in the first ward, a delegation under Bishop West visited him and requested him not to sell to those who persist in getting drunk and to boys. ${ }^{42} \mathrm{Mr}$. Jacobsen said it was his only source of revenue and he was going to do just as he had done in the past. President James H. Hart expressed his contempt for a person who would go against the expressed desires of a community. He felt that the people should withdraw all of their business from his drug store and medical practice. The Stake Priesthood passed a resolution to use "every lawful means" to suppress his liquor traffic as it was "a public nuisance and demoralizing to the community."

There is no further account of L. P. Jacobsen's drug store, but the following year a member of the Latter-day Saint Church was running a "drug" store and selling liquor, 43 He had been selling it for quite some time, and he had been tried in the Bishop's Court, where he was disfellowshipped. Later, he was restored to fellowship but continued to sell liquor, He was again disfellowshipped and his case was referred to the High Council. He was now running a "drug" store, where he claimed that he sold liquor only for "medicinal" purposes or to "respectable" people. Privately, this man had said that he wasn't going to quit selling liquor because he could not afford to lose $\$ 2.50$ per day. Still he promised the High Council that he would quit as soon as he sold the ninety gallons he had on hand. However, this was a different ninety gallons from those he had on hand when he made the same promise before.

This person was summarily excommunicated from the Church, even though his objections were strong: "I object to being cut off from the Church for selling liquor for 'medicinal' purposes or keeping a drug store. . . ." He may have thought to lessen the evil of his business by diluting his product. He told J. S. Price that the courthouse pump (it was right across the street from his drug store) had brought him hundreds of dollars. 44

By 1900 only two towns in the valley were incorporated, Paris and Montpelier. The others still had nothing but social pressure to control saloons. During this year a saloon was opened in St. Charles. The citizens sent out word that they desired the assistance of their neighboring wards in their efforts to stamp out the saloon.

The liquor problem went through a state of change between the first years of settlement and the turn of the century. In most
cases the Church was much more tolerant with a person's drinking, unless it was a person holding an important position. There appears to have been a period during the first few years when liquor was not much of a problem. But this may be due to the scarcity of records, or, perhaps, a scarcity of liquor. The middle period was a period when the authorities were not always speaking against the evils of drinking, but part of the time against the evils of drinking too much.

In the $1870^{1}$ s the brethren sometimes asked forgiveness for drinking too much liquor. ${ }^{45}$ In 1882 it had been said that if there must beliquor it would be better to get it from Evanston or from the east. This indicated some tolerance of its use--not, however, because of the lack of evil results but because of the weakness of some of the people. As late as 1885 President Budge stated that it was a necessary precaution that alcohol did not "fall into the hands of those who make an improper use of it, "46 In 1887 the Church's attitude was expressed by President Budge when he said: "In the purchase and use of strong drink we must guard against it. Let us see to it that we leave it alone, and let alone those who seek to destroy the youth of Zion. Do not cherish or support them in any way. ${ }^{147}$ From this time on, the attitude of the Church was to leave liquor entirely alone.

Church policy in Bear Lake seems to have been to feed the people milk until they could stand meat. The second and third generations in the valley (and in the Church) were expected to be an improvement over the first generation, so far as the consumption of liquor was concerned.

At least some measure of success appears to have been attained. President Joseph F. Smith was a conference visitor in 1892, after an eight years' absence. He was speaking of the earlier days when he said, "Intoxicants were freely indulged in, at that time. The head was sick and the body was sick. It is different now. "48

About 1880 round dancing and liquor drinking were put on the same level, but during the next twenty years Bear Lake Stake gradually became more tolerant toward round dancing and less tolerant toward drinking. Although the penalty for drinking became less severe, trials became much fewer. The actual percentage of Latter-day Saint members who indulged in liquor in the pioneer period was low.

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## CHAPTER VIII

BEAR LAKE INDUSTRY UNDER THE UNITED ORDER

> Variety in the "Order"

In 1874 President Brigham Young and the Latter-day Saint Church authorities went through the colonies of the Church organizing what was called the United Order, a new name for an old principle. In the days of Joseph Smith it usually was called the Law of Consecration. Although the two were based upon many of the same principles, there were a member of differences between them. But the differences were not nearly so great as the differences in the various forms of the United Order itself. These ranged from absolute communism to a system of cooperatives. Under the extreme communistic forms, not only was all property owned in common but the whole village would eat at a community table, All work was planned on a communal basis.

Brigham Young gave the apostles and leaders great leeway pertaining to what form of the Order they wished to use. Lorenzo Snow in the Box Elder region and Charles C. Rich in the Bear Lake Valley chose the most conservative form, each inaugurating the plan through a system of cooperatives. As a result, the Order lasted much longer in these places than where other forms were used. In Bear Lake Valley, a few cooperative stores had already been organized when the United Order was installed. These were continued as before, but they became a part of the larger organization.

## The System Is Installed

In the spring of 1874 Apostle Wilford Woodruff came to the valley; there he and Charles C. Rich proceeded to establish the new plan. 1 They first organized officers for the whole valley. Charles C. Rich, who was acting in the capacity of stake president at the time, was chosen president, with William Budge, presiding bishop of Bear Lake, as first vice-president. Bishop RobertPrice became secretary; George Passey, assistant secretary; and Thomas Sleight, treasurer. The following directors were also appointed: Hezekiah Duffin, George W. Sirrine, Joseph C. Rich, Walter Hoge, John A. Hunt, George Osmond, Ira Nebekar, Charles E. Robison, and Niels Wilhemsen. ${ }^{1}$ Most of the directors were bishops or presiding elders.

The next day found Apostles Woodruff and Rich, Bishop Budge, and others proceeding through the settlements, installing a branch of the United Order in nearly every community. They first proceeded north where they organized a branch in Montpelier. ${ }^{2}$ Tuesday,

May 19, Bennington was established under the order, then Soda Springs (which was in the Bear Lake Stake but not in the Bear Lake Valley), Most of the organization was completed on this trip. The group then came back into Bear Lake Valley, where they began organizing the settlements along the west side. On Friday, May 22, they held a meeting with the saints in Liberty. At 4:00 p.m. of the same day they also completed the organization at Ovid, Their next call was Bloomington, the first settlement to the south of Paris.

On Sunday, May 24, they held meetings in St. Charles but did not organize there, since they "were not quite prepared to elect their officers. 13 On Tuesday, May 26, the group organized Fish Haven; on Wednesday, Laketown; and on Thursday, Woodruff. They then returned to Randolph to complete the organization there, The following day Elders Rich and Budge returned to Paris. Apostle Woodruff visited the Saints in the Rich county branches for a few days and then on June 3 organized Alma. Thus all settlements under the direction of the Bear Lake Stake, with the exception of Soda Springs and St. Charles, had been organized within a two-week period.

Cooperatives and the United Order spurred the people on to greatly increased accomplishments. In 1871 the cooperative store in St. Charles had already netted its shareholders 200 per cent profit on their investment "in the last sixteen months, " 14

After organization, each community was privileged to decide what cooperatives it wished to sponsor and what businesses it wished to conduct. ${ }^{5}$ The only request was that each one should be careful not to choose some industry that would clash with one already in existence. This did not mean that there should be no two communities in the same business. A cooperative dairy or saw mill would meet with approval in each and every settlement, but one cooperative shingle mill or woolen factory would be sufficient for the valley.

## The Paris Cooperative Institute

Under the direction of the United Order, the Paris Cooperative Institute was organized. It was not only to serve the citizens of Paris but also to serve the residents of all the settlements. In many instances where one unit of a business was sufficient for the whole valley, it was organized under the cooperative in Paris. The institute was organized with William Budge as president and general superintendent, and Robert Price was secretary and general manager. ${ }^{6}$ It started in business with a store at Paris, buying out a private concern; its capital stock was $\$ 3,057,7$ The general store was first managed by George Passey, then Edward Davis; later it was operated by Joseph
R. Shepherd and then by J. U. Stucki. ${ }^{8}$ It carried a general line of dry goods, some implements, and manufactured articles. These were freighted in from Evanston, about ninety miles to the southeast. The store also carried many patent medicines that were considered to be highly beneficial in those days. ${ }^{8}$

A cooperative dairy was organized with Thomas Passey as manager. The site chosen for it was in Nounan Valley about eighteen miles from Paris, Here there was plenty of grass and water. The dairy began by receiving 200 head of milk cows from anyone who wanted to turn in stock. ${ }^{9}$ In exchange, certificates of stock were issued accordingly. At first only butter was manufactured; then Swiss cheese was added. But since Swiss cheese entailed an enormous amount of hard handwork, they sent east for machinery to make American cheese. ${ }^{9}$ This proved to be less laborious; furthermore, the article produced was in greater demand.

Next a tannery was begun, but this seemed to develop very slowly, taking almost two years to get into opeation. Chester Southworth became manager of this enterprise; later on it was managed by Adam Segmiller. It appears that the shares of the tannery were issued separately from the dairy and the Paris mercantile store, for in April 1876 President H. S. Rich, presiding elder at Fish Haven, announced to the branch that the tannery at Paris was open for shares, 10 It appears also that stock in other branches of the Paris Cooperative Institute was handled in a very similar manner. The tannery leather was at first placed on the market in Ogden and Salt Lake, where it found ready sale and was declared to be as good as the best tanned in Utah, ${ }^{11}$ A short while later it was all retained for home manufacturing, as the co-op had organized a shoe shop where shoes and boots were manufactured, This division was managed by Thomas Minson, who had a number of assistants such as Henry Teuscher, Joseph Lewis, William Shepherd, Henry Rolton, and L. T. Shepherd, ${ }^{12}$ A harness factory was also installed. Between it and the shoe factory, the local tannery product had a ready home market, At first Charles Kelstrom managed the harness shop; later on Edward T. Shepherd took over its direction. ${ }^{12}$

A meat market opened which supplied fresh meat daily to the citizens. It was personally supervised by Robert Price, the general manager. ${ }^{13}$ A shingle and a planing mill was also added to the other enterprises. Shingles, lathes, pickets, and other articles were made; and planing of all kinds was done. The end of the first three years of cooperatives under the United Order found business and industry expanding and doing well. Not only had they furnished a great deal of employment and paid good dividends but much-needed goods were made available,

Pertaining to the Paris Cooperative Institute the Deseret News published a long article on August 1, 1877. Part of it reads as follows: ${ }^{13}$

The capital stock of the institution has now reached the sum of $\$ 18,000.00$ and an average dividend of thirtyfive per cent per annum has been declared on the stock investment. The original amount paid in on the stock and dairy has been entirely returned in dividends, with about $\$ 900.00$ additional. The actual cash and other things which were not available in the people's hands for cash sales, but which have been utilized, by judicious handling and trading, for the establishment of these various branches of industry. By these means, a great many comforts have been produced for the people, and employment found for a large number of persons, old and young.

As soon as opportunity offers, other industries will be added, and the institution will branch out until everything possible to be manufactured in that region is produced for the benefit of the stockholders and public.

It is frequently asserted, when cooperative efforts are advised, that nothing can be accomplished without large cash capital. The Paris Co-operative Institution affords an emphatic negative to this assertion. The mercantile establishment, which was made the foundation of these enterprises, started with a small cash capital, and wise management has turned into facilities for embarking in manufactures, property which the individuals holding it were unable to dispose of to advantage. Indus tries that were added later were a tin shop, managed at first by Charles Cole and later by William Pendrey, 14 and a tailor shop. Other settlements had co-op dairies, saw mills, stores, and sheep herds.

One reason the Paris Cooperative was able to build up so well was that the by-laws specified that half the yearly profits were to be retained and converted into capital stock. 15 This enabled them to branch into the various businesses, beginning with a small amount of cash. The by-laws also stated that no person could own more than $\$ 400.00$ worth of capital stock. This made it possible to have a large number of people interested in the institution. It also prevented an individual or a handful of individuals from gaining control.

By 1883 the Paris Cooperative was only one of six dairies manufacturing cheese. They were using a total of over 1500 head of
cows and producing over 200,000 pounds annually. The cheese was considered to be of better quality than eastern brands. 16

Since there was very little cash, the various cooperative stores and institutions issued their own scrip. Usually their help was paid in scrip and their goods were bought with scrip. This put a considerable amount of money in circulation and served the valley well as a medium of exchange, although it sometimes slightly inconvenienced a person. The scrip was paper currency, perhaps two inches by three and one-half inches, which promised to pay the bearer a certain amount of merchandise at the cooperative or department from which it had been issued. ${ }^{17}$

There was a general clearing house for this money; but when a person had saw-mill scrip and desired to purchase a pair of boots, he would exchange his scrip for shoe-department scrip with some person who needed lumber, or a person might deliver the lumber he had obtained with his scrip, to his neighbor for scrip which would be honored in some other department.

The extent and success of the movement in Bear Lake Valley is well described in the book History of Idaho Territory, which was published in 1884. The publishers had sent men into various counties of the territory of the state to seek out information, 18
. . . probably nowhere in the civilized world is cooperation carried on so successfully as it is among this peculiar people, and by it many places are settled which, without it, would have been impossible. Their fields are fenced, their water ditches dug, their roads are built, and almost every other public labor is performed on this principle. Nor do they stop here. If a saw-mill, threshing machine or any other piece of machinery is wanted it is built or purchased on the co-operative principle. Their mercantile institutions are mostly co-operative as are also their manufacturing enterprises; and the success that attends their colonies is principally due to co-operation.

The Paris Co-operative Institution was established in 1874 with a paid up capital of $\$ 3,057$ by seventy-five shareholders. In 1876 they purchased a ranch in Nounan Valley, twenty miles north of Paris and two miles east of the Oregon Short Line. They increased their capital to $\$ 10,000$ and added 200 cows and a cheese plant. Since the establishment in 1876, 257,000 pounds of cheese have been produced. The present capacity is 900 pounds daily,

It is virtually a business of the people, comprising, today 200 shareholders with a capital of $\$ 25,000$. Shares are $\$ 5.00$ each and no one shareholder can hold more than $\$ 400$ worth.

It pays annually $\$ 20,000$ for labor and has paid to its shareholders, since establishment in 1874, \$27, 000 .

In 1882 they manufactured 2, 870 pair of boots and shoes, tanned 900 pieces of leather, did a $\$ 6,000$ business in planing and shingle mill, made 35,000 pounds of cheese and evidence like prosperity in other branches.

This institution has demonstrated that by judicious management, co-operative institutions can be made the means of increasing the wealth of the people; that the citizens of moderate means, and even the poorer classes can, by a combination of efforts, do their own merchandising, and manufacture their own necessities and share the profits among themselves, and thus prevent the growth of monopolies, which become, in many instances, the tyrants of their patrons.

## The Valley's Cooperatives Decline

Three or four factors caused the cooperatives of the valley to begin a gradual decline. The biggest of these was the coming of the railroad. Because the valley was never able to produce a top quality leather, the tannery was one of the first industries to go, ${ }^{19}$ closing within two or three years after the advent of the railroad. 19 With it went the shoe business and the harness business. The shingle mill could manufacture shingles for as low as $\$ 2.00$ per thousand and still make a profit. However, they were made out of yellow pine (lodgepole pine), which curled on the edges very easily. The railroad could ship in Oregon red cedar shingles at $\$ 3.00$ per thousand. These would not curl as did the native brand and the people preferred to pay the difference. The railroad was able to bring many other goods, some of a better quality and many that formerly had not been available. People began to feel less dependent upon each other, and they felt no particular obligation to support the cooperatives if they could do better elsewhere.

Many of the cooperatives in the settlements outside of Paris had no provision limiting the amount of stock that each person could hold. As a result, when some people became hard pressed for money, they sold their shares in spite of good dividends. This meant that certain enterprising men gradually gained control of some of the
cooperative businesses, making them more or less individual affairs. ${ }^{20}$ A few enterprising men could see the advantage and prof it to themselves in running a private mercantile or machine store. One store owned by a Gentile was doing well in Montpelier and this encouraged other men to start. H. S. Wooley, a "Mormon," was doing well in Paris.

The Paris Cooperative Institute, thinking that young blood would bring new business, decided to concentrate on the mercantile part with a new manager. ${ }^{21}$ In the spring of 1888 they hired J. R. Shepherd, an enterprising young man who had been clerking in Woolley Brother's' store, to replace Bishop Robert Price as general manager. 21 Since he did not understand dairy mariufacture, Nounan dairy was leased for two years to Bishop Price. The shingle mill and sawnill were purchased by Bishops Price and West. 22 Because Elder J. R. Shepherd did not like the management of the cooperative store, after a year or two he resigned to go into bus iness for himself. ${ }^{23}$

The next manager had to cope with more competition. He also had fewer members who were interested. Some branches of the business had been sold, making fewer stockholders. Also, some of the people who had gotten into financial difficulties had forced a change in the by-laws so that they could get their complete dividends. 24 This left less working capital and created some dissatisfaction.

By 1900 most of the mercantile and manufacturing cooperatives had either been bought by private individuals or had gone out of business. Yet many of the agricultural cooperatives were as strong as ever. The railroad furnished a ready market for cheese and butter. ${ }^{25}$ Some of the cooperative dairy herds had passed out of the picture, but people were still delivering their milk to the cooperative plant, where butter and cheese were manufactured. 25

The United Order and the cooperatives had served a good purpose in the Bear Lake Valley. Home manufacture and industry had been definitely accelerated thereby, and many of the daily needs of life were supplied. Perhaps the "Order" had outworn its usefulness generally, but as far as Bear Lake Valley was concerned a writer in the Bear Lake Democrat of July 15, 1882, summed up the situation fairly well: ${ }^{26}$

Let cooperative stores stop today, and goodbye to home manufacture. We want more of these manufactures instead of less. We want home made hats, home made soap, home made furniture. Sustain cooperative stores and we will have them all in our time.

The cooperative stores stopped; industry stagnated; and Bear Lake reverted to a solely agricultural community.

CHAPTER VIII

1. Wilford Woodruff to Deseret News, June 8, 1874.
2. See Appendix D. for a list of officers of each branch.
3. Woodruff, op. cit.
4. A. M. Musser to Deseret News, J une 23, 1871.
5. Jensen, op. cit., December 1, 1877.
6. Jesse R. S. Budge, "Early Days in Bear Lake Valley, 'The Paris Co-op, '" Utah Humanities Review, Vol. 2 (1948), p. 79.
7. Wallace W. Elliot and Co., op. cit., p. 223.
8. Budge, op. cit.
9. Deseret News, August 1, 1877.
10. "Teacher's Minutes and Ward Priesthood Meetings, Fish Haven, " MS, (Latter-day Saint Church Historian's Office: Salt Lake City, Utah), April 18, 1876.
11. Deseret News, August 1, 1877.
12. Budge, op. cit.
13. "L.D.S. Journal History," MS, June 10, 1878.
14. Budge, op. cit.
15. "L.D.S. Journal History," MS, Citing Bear Lake Democrat, January 14, 1882.
16. Wallace W. Elliot and Co., op. cit., p. 282.
17. Budge, op. cit.
18. Elliot and Co., op. cit., p. 222.
19. Statement by J. S. Price, personal interview, July 29, 1948.
20. "Bloomington Teacher's Minutes," MS, March 3, 1886.
21. J. S. Price, personal interview, July 29, 1948.
22. The Price Lumber Co. in Paris (1948) is the result of this purchase.
23. The present (1948) Shepherd Hardware Shepherd Clothing Co., and Shepherd Grocery and Dry Good, all in Paris, are the outgrowth of this move.
24. Ernest S. Penrose to Deseret News, September 1, 1888.
25. Statement by Orlando Kunz, personal interview, August 2, 1948. The Kunz Brothers' Dairy operated as a cooperative continuously from 1873 to 1941 , when difficulties encountered due to World War II caused its discontinuance.
26. "L. D.S. Journal History," MS, July 15, 1882.

## CHAPTER IX

## GOVERNMENT, CIVIL AND CHURCH

## Richland County Created

Politically and geographically it was not definitely known whether the Bear Lake settlements were all in Utah Territory or partly in Idaho. The Territory of Idaho had been created only six months previously when the first settlers arrived in Bear Lake Valley. The first legislative body did not meet until 1863, and the first elected body did not meet until January of 1864. The people followedtheir hopes and desires by accepting the jurisdiction of the Utah government.

In January 1884 the legislature of Utah, where Charles C. Rich had been representing Cache County, created Richland County, ${ }^{1}$ naming it in his honor. They also stipulated that the first settlement in the valley should be named in honor of Fred Perris, the surveyor. Through a corruption, the spelling of it became Paris. Officers pro tempore were appointed, and Jud Thomas divided the counties into voting precincts. At an election in August the temporary officers became permanent by election. David Savage was appointed prosecuting attorney, and Franklin W. Young, county clerk and recorder; selectmen (county commissioners) were John Alexander Hunt, David B. Dille, and Evan M. Green. Samuel H. B. Smith, a son of Samuel Smith (Joseph Smith's brother), became the first sheriff. Joseph C. Rich was appointed surveyor in accordance with the desires of Brigham Young. ${ }^{2}$

## Claimed by Idaho

In 1864 the Idaho legislature created Oneida County with the county seat at Soda Springs. The county then comprised all the territory now occupied by Oneida, Bannock, Bingham, Fremont, Bear Lake and part of Cassia, Blain and Custer counties. ${ }^{3}$ A set of county officials appointed by the governor arrived in Soda Springs and soon sent their representative to Bear Lake to collect taxes from the citizens. Because no definite boundaries were known, the people refused to recognize the Soda Springs officials. The tax collector threatened to assess the people and sell property if the taxes were not paid. ${ }^{3}$ "Considerable feelings were engendered on both sides--but happily--nothing hotter than words ensured [sic] and we continued politically to act as a part of Utah, having representation in the legislature and receiving some appropriation of money for making roads, "3

The whole of the Bear Lake Valley remained under the government of Utah until after the federal surveyor, Daniel G. Mayor, determined
that the forty-second parallel cut the valley in two, running almost exactly through the middle of the lake. This put about eighty per cent of the settlements and at least eighty per cent of the tillable land area into the state of Idaho. The survey was made in 1871-2. After this, only the southern end of the valley supposedly was represented in the Utah Legislature as Rich County.

## Bear Lake County Created

The Idaho part of the valley automatically became a part of Oneida County, whose county seat had by this time been moved from Soda Springs to Malad City. This left the people without a local county government in the Idaho section from 1872 until $1875 .^{3}$ Bear Lake became the tenth county (now ninth, as Alturas County was legislated out of existence) in a state that later was divided into forty-four counties.

The Latter-day Saint people in the Idaho part of the valley were rather reluctant to send representatives to the Idaho Legislature but they responded nevertheless. They were first represented in the ninth session by William Budge in the Council (territorial senate) and James H. Hart in the House of Representatives. 4

The county commissioners, temporarily appointed by the act creating and organizing Bear Lake County were Jonathan Pugmire, Jr., Edwin N. Austin, and J. C. Rich. ${ }^{5}$ At their first meeting, April 5, 1875, they appointed the following officers to act until a special election was held: ${ }^{6}$


Three road districts were organized, with William West, St. Charles, James Athay, Paris, and H. S. Phelps, Montpelier, as overseers. J.C. Rich, having been appointed clerk, resigned as commissioner. The first election of Bear Lake County was held on the first Monday of June when the following became the first duly elected officers of the county:


There were 217 votes cast at the election. 7
Since Oneida county was in debt when Bear Lake County was created, it was necessary for the latter to assume part of the debt. A settlement was made between the two counties, and Oneida received her proportion of the taxes assessed in 1874. The total debt of Oneida County was $\$ 8,008.35$, with only $\$ 113.09$ cash on hand. The amount of tax assessed in Oneida that year was $\$ 11,995.20$. Inside the limits of Bear Lake County the amount of tax was $\$ 2,772.56$ and the pro rata amount to be paid to Oneida County was $\$ 1,839.80 .8$

Bear Lake County had paid taxes to Utah in 1874. Utah refunded them and Bear Lake County paid her just debts to Oneida County. One thing that seems to have been overlooked at the time was the amount of money in the school funds. ${ }^{9}$ There appears to have been quite a balance on hand in this department, and when it was brought to the attention of Oneida County they seemed reluctant to pay it. Two years later William Budge became impatient, went to Malad, and received settlement. 9

The first tax levied by the county on each $\$ 100$ worth of taxable property was as follows:

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The road tax was $\$ 4.00$ in money or two days' work of ten hours each for each person liable for said tax. This same type of road tax had formerly been assessed when Bear Lake was included in Rich County.

The chief duties of the county commissioners seem to have been with building of roads, levying of taxes, and attending to school business.

The schools were able to get along on such a low tax because they were a combination individual, church, and public affair. Other duties included the matter of remitting taxes, naming a grand jury and issuing licenses. There is a note in the county commissioners' minutes remitting taxes (the county portion) on Latter-day Saint Church property (farms and cattle) because of feeding the Indians and other charitable labors. The business of stray cattle and fences seemed more the job of the priesthood than of the county.

In 1876 the county general tax was lowered from $\$ 1.30$ to $\$ .50$ but others were raised $\$, 35$, making the tax an even $\$ 2.00$. This still left a cut in taxes of \$.45 for the year.

There was no jail in the valley for many years, in fact, not until the coming of the railroad. On January 1, 1882, a contract was awarded to W. J. Smith and George Ashley to build one. Their bid of $\$ 275$, the lowest offered, was for labor only. It seems that the Paris Drarnatic Association was functioning well, for on the date the jail contract was issued they were paid $\$ 24$ for hauling rock for the jail, 10 No doubt they found that it was necessary to have money in order to express one's best dramatic talents, so they proceeded to earn it through various projects.

Perhaps the commissioners were trying to be too saving when they planned their jail. A note in the minutes of October 2, 1882, makes record of a jail break of that day--just nine months after the contract was let to build it.

The largest undertaking by the commissioners in the building line was that of constructing a courthouse. They awarded a bid on June 2, 1884, to Woolley Brothers, who were to do all the buil ding and furnish everything except the rock for the foundation. It was to have a ninefoot foundation built of rock, five feet above the ground and four feet below. A contract was let to Walter Hoge, Hugh Findley and T. I. Smedley to furnish forty cords of rock for this purpose, at $\$ 5.65$ per cord. The commissioners' minutes do not state the exact amount of the bid on the courthouse; but they do list the fact that at each of four intervals during the building process, $\$ 1,500$ were to be paid and that the balance was to be paid when the building was officially accepted. A rejected bid of $\$ 9,275$ cash or $\$ 9,850$ in warrants is listed,

The building was officially accepted by a board of commissioners selected for the purpose on November 10, 1885. 11 It has now (1963) been in use for seventy-eight years, having had two additions but only minor repairs to the original building, and it is still a fine looking structure. Anyone who sees it will concede that it was a job well done. Incidentally, a janitor was hired on an agreed three months' basis at his suggested figure of $\$ 12.50$ per month. The courthouse and jail
were built on a lot purchased from William Hoge and a Mr. Horsley for $\$ 250$.

On June 1, 1891, the county roads were ordered by the commissioners to be narrowed from eight rods wide to six rods. They also ordered a surveyor to proceed with the necessary survey. Because someone felt they had no authority to do this without the vote of the people, it was taken into court. The district court declared the act to be unconstitutional, but a number of people had already moved their fences out, and the county commissioners refused to order them to be put back again. This caused quite a stir among the church leaders, who discussed the proposition in priesthood and other Church meetings. Because of the disenfranchisement of all Latter-day Saint Church members in Idaho, the county offices had been out of their control or influence since October 28, 1886. ${ }^{12}$ Through pressure, Church leaders were successful in preventing most of the important streets from being narrowed down, but a number of side streets were diminished.

## Church Government

Organization. Although Bear Lake Valley was first settled in 1863, there was no stake organization until 1869. (A stake, a district in Latter-day Saint terminology, comprises a group of wards or branches of the Church.) It appears that Apostle Rich was the sole ecclesiastical head of the region, appointing presiding elders or bishops over each particular settlement.

In 1869 David P. Kimball was called by President Young to go to Bear Lake to be the president of the stake. He left immediately for his northern destination, where he was nominated and unamimously accepted on June 20, 1869. 13 Present were Brigham Young and Daniel H. Wells of the First Presidency, and John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Ezra T. Benson, Charles C. Rich, George Q. Cannon, and Brigham Young, Jr., of the twelve apostles. 13 Next a high council for the stake was chosen, consisting of George Warren Sirrine, James H. Hart, John A. Hunt, Niels C. Edlefsen, Harley Mowrey, Thomas Sleight, Joseph C. Rich, Lewis Ricks, W. W. Sterrett, E. N. Austin, Miner Wilcox, and Alonzo Bingham. George $W$. Sirrine, being the oldest, was appointed president of the High Council. ${ }^{13}$ This stake of Zion embraced all of the settlements of the Bear Lake Valley.

On June 20 of the next year Joseph C. Rich became first counselor to President Kimball, with Solomon Hale taking his place on the High Council. ${ }^{13}$ In January 1872 James H. Hart became second counselor to President Kimball, Niels Wilhemsen succeeding him on the High Council. 14 In June of 1870 Brigham Young and many more of the leading "brethren" were again in the Bear Lake Valley. They traveled to the various settlements holding meetings and giving words of encouragement. 15

Bear Lake Valley's disadvantages as a settlement became quite noticeable after a few cold winters and early fall frosts. Not as many settlers voluntarily entered the region as the Church had expected. Hoping to more quickly occupy the land of the valley, Brigham Young decided to officially call another large group as missionaries to settle there,

On his return from this visit the party held meetings in Cache Valley, where President Young officially called William Budge to settle in the Bear Lake Valley as presiding bishop of that region. ${ }^{16}$ His commission as presiding bishop of Rich County was signed in Brigham City on June 24, 1870, by President Young, Daniel H. Wells, and George A. Smith. ${ }^{16}$ This made an apostle, a stake president, and a presiding bishop, each presiding over the same area, although in a somewhat different capacity. It appears to the writer that a very definite understanding of duties would have been necessary in order to avoid conflict.

At the afternoon session of General Conference of the Latter-day Saint Church on Sunday, October 9, 1870, President Young called a large number of people to help Apostles Charles C+ Rich and Lorenzo Snow in settling the "northern part of Utah." 17 A little later on another group was called to go to the Bear Lake Country. The Bear Lake people were anxious to have more settlers, as is evidenced from portions of a letter written by Bishop Budge in the spring of 1872 : ${ }^{18}$

Our country is so far north, and so high that an impression prevails, to some extent, that it is almost uninhabitable. This is a great mistake, and we desire an increase of population for its own advantage, and to improve and enhance our social pleasures, and make more effective our public labors. I will endeavor briefly to state our condition and prospects in this beautiful valley of Bear Lake.

Like all new valleys, when first settled it was very frosty and it is to some extent so still, although we are perfectly satisfied with our prospects for raising grain, when we have a season without grasshoppers. Cache Valley, in my time, was subject to severe frosts and if grain was put in late farmers were anxious about its safety on that account. Before the valley (great now in its resources) was settled it was considered by many familiar with it now, as unfit for human habitation, and had it not been for the foresight and perserverance of Brigham Young it is doubtful when it would have been settled. No one there a few years ago thought of raising corn with profit; now it really is a great corn country; although still subject to frost some seasons. Bear Lake Valley is passing through the same favorable changes, which will the more strikingly appear as the country is settled and cultivated.

This country has suffered greatly from the ravages of the grasshoppers since their appearance in the Territory. We have no grasshopper eggs here now, and are in hopes of being free from their depredations hereafter, and we are likely to be so as any other locality of the surrounding country.

Our valley is not adapted for an extensive grain raising region as some others are, although all kinds of small grain of the best quality have been and are being raised every season; but it is perfectly adapted to stock raising. We have good pasturage, an abundance of hay, so much so that, even without improvement in grasses or clearing, not half of it any season has even been cut, and few men have ever explored the herd grounds in our neighborhood. Water is plentiful, and timber and wood of all kinds, common to the altitude are practically without limits. We have several good saw and shingle mills, and owing to the lay of the country the canyon roads are as good as streets usually are. Our winters are a few weeks longer on the spring end than Cache Valley, but that is nothing when the people are prepared for it. On the other hand, to those who are in search of homes, or who ought to find more room for their growing families, think of the facilities offered here. Anybody strong enough to put wood on a wagon can get it easily; and then there is encouragement to improve stock and take care of it, which is a very profitable labor from good and abundant pasturage. If we raise no grain we have still an advantage, as it is with proper preparations easier to raise stock than grain, and much more profitable.

This winter we are very short of hay, and in consequence are likely to sustain a loss, but we have never been short of grass, of which hay is made, and again, our common practice is to winter our stock without stables, and almost without covering of any kind to protect them from the storms. Such a course is cruel to the animals, and most unprofitable to the owner. As it requires a great deal more hay to merely keep an animal alive in cold weather than would be necessary to keep an animal in good condition, if otherwise properly cared for. Our Danish brethren act wisest and are prospered most. They take care of their stock, and in return their stock takes care of them.

Bear Lake is an excellent country, the length of winter is fully made up in our delightful summers, and then how healthy the people almost universally are. No one complains of this country who has reasonable patience and knows how to live in it.

In the spring of 1874 David P. Kimball, after presiding as stake president for five years, moved away. He had become, fairly wealthy man, having made a great deal of money as a freighter, ${ }^{19}$ but through his generosity, much of his wealth had disappeared. He had put up funds to outfit a brass band, had built a school house almost entirely at his own expense, and had often helped many of the settlers in need. 20

Upon his departure, Charles C. Rich assumed the duties of stake president until the reorganization of the stake in 1877. ${ }^{21}$ At a special conference in August 26, 1877, the Bear Lake Stake of Zion was permanently organized. William Budge was installed as stake president, with James H. Hart as first counselor and George Osmond as second counselor; clerk of the stake was Thomas Minson. Members of the High Council were appointed as follows: John U. Stucki, Miner Wilcox, Hyrum S. Rich, Anders Beck, Thomas Sleight, Lewis Ricks, Harley Mowrey, Peter Greenhalgh, Hezediah Duffin, Anders Jacobsen, and John Welker; there was one vacancy left.

Niels Wilhemsen was installed as president of the High Priests Quorum. The bishops, many of whom had been functioning for a number of years, were either appointed or re-appointed as follows: Paris being divided into two wards at this time. Henry J. Horne became bishop of the first ward and Robert Price bishop of the second ward; Bennington, Joseph U. Moore, bishop; Bloomington, William Hulme, bishop; Fish Haven, Robert Pope, bishop; Liberty, Edwin Nelson Austin, bishop; Laketown, Ira Nebekar, bishop; Montpelier, Charles E. Robinson, bishop; Meadowville, Joseph Kimball, bishop; Georgetown, Henry Lewis, bishop; Ovid, Peter Jensen, bishop; Preston (later, Wardboro) Henry Dalrymple, bishop; St. Charles, John A. Hunt, bishop; Randolph, Randolph S. Stewart, bishop; Woodruff, William H. Lee, bishop. No appointments were made at the time for Bern, Eden, or Soda Springs. 21

William A. Hymas was appointed president of the Elders Quorum, and Henry J. Horne, president of the Priests Quorum. It appears that one priests' quorum served the purpose of the entire stake. These officers were ordained and set apart by members of the twelve apostles-John Taylor, Lorenzo Snow, Franklin D. Richards, and Charles C. Rich. ${ }^{21}$ The special conference was held in the Bowery at Paris. The next conference, with William Budge as stake president and in which Charles C. Rich represented the general authorities, became known as the first quarterly conference of the Bear Lake Stake. It was held on Saturday and Sunday, November 10 and $11,1877 .{ }^{21}$

Civil functions. The bishops of the various communities were not only the ecclesiastical head of each settlement, but they also functioned automatically as the civil head. No town was incorporated until 1891 , when Montpelier became a village. It became an incorporated town three years later, 22 but by 1900 only one other settlement (Paris) had been incorporated. 23

In line with Church policy the people were urged to settle their difficulties in the Church courts, the first of which was the Bishop's Court. Of course these were extra-legal, but parties usually abided by the courts' decisions or appealed them to the stake authorities, who would hear the case as a higher court. The ward records and the stake high council records are filled with trials of both a civil and a religious nature.

No case or problem was too big or too small to handle. On one occasion a man entered suit for $\$ 5.00$ against his neighbor for damages from the neighbor's chickens, 24 He offered it as a test case to see whether there should be a ruling made for everyone to keep his chickens locked up. The court decided he was entitled to the $\$ 5.00$ damages, but that people did not have to lock up their chickens. However, they were responsible for whatever damage was done. ${ }^{24}$

In one instance a lawyer from Cache County wrote to the Bear Lake High Council asking their assistance in getting a member of the Bear Lake Stake to turn over to him (John F. Maddison) the sum of $\$ 64.25$, which belonged to the estate of Mr. Law's deceased wife. Mr. Maddison was administrator of the estate of Mrs. Law, who had willed her money and property to parties other than her husband. The high council heard the case; and two members of the high council were assigned to speak for each side. Also Mr. Law was present and told his side of the case. The decision exonerated "Brother" Law of any wrongdoing, but it directed him to return the money with a reasonable rate of interest, if interest were demanded, within one month's time. The accused expressed himself as willing to comply with the decision. 25

Any problem of life or government was discussed in the stake priesthood meetings. For example, it was decided to have all stray cattle driven to Paris and put in charge of the presiding bishop. 26 The bishop of Montpelier wanted help from the other settlements in constructing a bridge over Bear River. The stake president said that if county funds could not be used then they ought to unite and perform the work by donation. 27 The county commissioners' minutes for the following month show that the stake president (Charles C. Rich) and the bishop of Montpelier (C.E. Robinson) were appointed to investigate building the new bridge over Bear River. 28

Much of the business carried on by the county commissioners, the only local civil government in the valley, had its origin in the priesthood meetings of the Church. Other examples are these: (1) the priesthood group passed a resolution authorizing the county commissioners to regulate cattle drives. 29 (2) "Brother" Wallentine asked that a petition to build a courthouse be presented to the commissioners. Walter Hoge, Hezekiah Duffin, and Thomas Sleight were appointed a committee to draft a petition, 29 A month later the commissioners
decided to advertise in the Bear Lake Democrat for sealed bids for the erection of a cour thouse. ${ }^{30}$ President Hart wanted to know if the people wanted a law passed regulating the herding of sheep in and around the towns in Bear Lake County. ${ }^{31}$ "It was the census of the meeting to try to procure legislation to tax dogs."32 The next commissioners' meeting declared a dog tax of \$2.00. 33

Stake Priesthood Meeting was a place where the pulse of the people was felt in civil as well as in spiritual affairs. The county commissioners and the Church authorities worked well together until the dis-enfranchisement of the Mormons in Idaho and the subsequent appointment of non-Mormon commissioners in 1886. Bear Lake Valley was a literal theocracy. Twenty-two years of theocratic rule had served the people well, and although they were not wealthy, they were contented and prosperous.

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## CHAPTER X

## POLYGAMY AND POLITICAL FRANCHISE

## Strife Begins

Actually the Latter-day Saint people never did practice polygamy, which means that men have more than one wife and women have more than one husband. The Latter-day Saint people practiced polygyny-men having more than one wife.

The strife between Gentile and Mormon, as caused by polygyny, began to show its effects in the valley about April 1, 1882, President Budge stated in Stake Priesthood Meeting that the merchants in Salt Lake and Ogden had refused to sign petitions, with three or four exceptions asking Congress not to legislate against the Latter-day Saints without proper investigation. ${ }^{1}$ He remarked:

Are we prepared to sustain our avowed enemies by trading and dealing with them? The best way is to do our trading with ZCMI, Salt Lake City, the branch stores, or send cash for our supplies. The people should be taught these things that there may be a united action among the people.

The priesthood then voted to sustain the ZCMI stores, those of Church members who obtain their goods for cash, or the Evanston merchants (merchants in the town of Evanston, Wyoming, the nearest railroad point at the time) who had always manifested a helpful and friendly spirit toward the Latter-day Saint people. ${ }^{1}$ It is to be noted that they were not discriminating against any Gentile who manifested "friendliness" toward them.

Only a few days before (March 22, 1882) Congress had passed the Edmunds Act, aimed directly at the practice of polygyny among the Latter-day Saint people. The first anti-"polygamy" legislation, passed in 1862, had proved to be rather ineffective. President Lincoln had signed the bill but did nothing to enforce it. When finally a test case was tried, the Supreme Court, on January 6, 1879, declared the law to be constitutional. ${ }^{2}$ This had the effect of causing the anti-'Mormons'to clamor for more stringent legislation. ${ }^{3}$ Other bills such as the Wade, the Cragun, and the Cullom Bills were introduced but failed to pass Congress. Finally under pressure the stringent Edmunds Act was passed in 1882.

An article in the Idaho Statesman in February of 1882 illustrates the pressure that was being applied by certain Idaho politicians. ${ }^{4}$ It deplored the fact that the state's delegate to Congress, Mr. Ainslie, had helped a
four-wives "polygamist" (George Q. Cannon) toward obtaining his seat in the House of Representatives. The paper mentioned that Mr. Ainslie had had two terms and would no doubt seek a third. It intimated the graveness of the situation and generally endeavored to cause enough opposition so that Mr. Ainslie could not be re-elected. ${ }^{4}$ In this case, polygyny was being used as a political football, for Mr , Ainslie was a Democrat and the Idaho Statesman was a Republican newspaper.

The Edmunds Act defined "polygamy" as a crime, leaving the penalty the same as the Anti-Bigamy Law of 1862, three years in jail and a fine of $\$ 500$. In addition it made cohabitation with more than one wife a crime, punishable by a fine of not more than six months in jail and a fine of $\$ 300$. This law provided that even if a man married two or more wives before 1862 , if he continued to live with them he was subject to fine and imprisonment. Later interpretation of this law was so broad that whether a man lived with more than one wife or not, as long as he contributed to the support of them and their children he was adjudged guilty. ${ }^{5}$ "Nothing but absolute abandonment could meet the requirements of the law as interpreted by the federal courts. ${ }^{6} 6$

The courts also devised the "segregation" scheme. Under this new doctrine of "segregation," if a man had been living with two or more wives for three years (the period of the statute of limitations) the grand jury might "segregate" --that is, divide up the three years into periods of a year, a month, a week or a day each--and bring in a separate indictment for each one of these "segregated" periods. With the three years being "segregated" into periods of one day each, the offender, for three years' continuous cohabitation, might be indicted 1,095 times, with cumulative fines and imprisonments amounting to $\$ 328,590$ in fines and 547 years and six months imprisonment. ${ }^{7}$

Such interpretations drove many men in Idaho, as well as in Utah and Arizona, into hiding. The "segregation" doctrine was declared unconstituional by the Supreme Court of the United States February 7, $1887 .{ }^{8}$

The Edmunds Act further excluded all guilty persons from voting or holding office, down to the county officers, and declared all offices vacant. It legitimated all babies born to so-called polygamous marriages before January 1, 1883. This meant that all tho se after such date were branded as illigitimate. The Bear Lake Democrat punning on this situation published the following article on June 17, 1882.9

Whereas, for aught we know, the Bear Lake Democrat circulates very extensively among the spirits yet unborn, and whereas, the provisions of the Edmunds bill are very obscure to many people, and rather so to Mr. Edmunds himself, who has intimated to us that he was slightly under
the influence of New England rum when he conceived it, and that those who voted for it were more or less suffering from an attack by Reverend Dr. Newman's hot Scotch punch.

Therefore, is this to give notice that all children of plural marriage who shall with malice pretense, defiantly, obstinately, contumaciously and with their eyes open allow themselves to be born after the hour of $12 \mathrm{p}, \mathrm{m}$. on the 31 st day of December, A.D. 1882 shall be subject to the following penalties, to wit:

1. They shall adopt for their coat of arms the bar sinister.
2. They shall be ineligible to the offices of President of the U.S., Justice of the Peace, and Road Supervisor.
3. They shall be libel [sic] for contempt, and subject to a fine not exceeding the value of their personal property at the time the offense is committed,
4. They shall then be dismissed with a caution that if found guilty of the like offense again, they shall be immediately weaned and brought up on spoon victuals.
In event of a dispute as to the exact moment of birth, the matter shall be decided by reference to Andrew Calloway's sun dial, from which there shall be no appeal. Children to be born will please govern themselves and make their arrangements accordingly. Ignorance of the law is no excuse.

By order of the National Committee on Infantry Tactics. Hail Columbia, Jun.
Yankee Doodle, Jun.
The passing of the Edmunds Bill was recognized as a very severe measure by the Bear Lake Saints, yet they showed no evidence of succumbing or submitting to the abolition of polygyny. Before the bill had been completely passed, this rather ironic note was published in the Bear Lake Democrat: ${ }^{10}$

## EUREKA.

At last they have devised a plan to completely uproot polygamy, as the following dispatch will show. Washington, 23--the bill agreed upon by the Senate Judiciary Committee, and which will be reported to the Senate tomorrow by Senator Edmunds, contains provisions which will, if enacted into a law, completely uproot polygamy in Utah. The most important section of the bill disfranchises all persons who practice
polygamy and disqualifies them from holding any office whatever in territory or within the borders of the United States.

So now the struggle is over! The conflict is ended! The warfare is ceased! The excitement will abate and the Mormons will meet their doom! No more worry about the end of polygamy.

In April of 1882 James H. Hart, a member of the Bear Lake Stake Presidency, published a poem of twenty-two verses which he had written. It shows the depth to which the people were stirred, and also the confidence and assurance the Saints had that their gospel principles would be victorious. The first two verses and the last two verses are given here: ${ }^{11}$

## THE 'MORMON" CRUSADE

The anti-"Mormon" hosts seem going mad Their case is desperate, --their symptoms bad Convulsed with venomed spleen and Christian hate, They're rushing wildly to their dismal fate.

The storm is culminating fast and furious,
To know the ultimatum some are curious Just to listen to the secret angel tell--
"The Lord controls the storm and all is well."
Then fight, ye angry fiends, as best ye may, And fortify yourselves against the day That's stealing on you like a thief--tomorrow! The day of vengeance! and your day of sorrow!

The reign of truth and liberty must come And Saints from every land be gathered home Then "hold the fort" 'till Christ shall come again And with his Royal Priesthood rule and reign!

James H. Hart

Idaho's Politicians Fight the L. D.S. Church
The "most bitter and unrelenting enemy the Church ever had was Fred T. Dubois, "12 a graduate of Yale University who had come to Blackfoot, Idaho, in 1880. By 1882 he succeeded in getting the appointment of United States marshal. He possessed a flare for politics, however, and was not only going to see that all federal legislation against the "Mormons" was enforced but was also going to be active in getting new
legislation passed. He became the anti-Mormon crusader in devising new restrictive laws. To create anti-Mormon sentiment, he and his associates, H. U. "Kentucky" Smith and Harry Bennett, established a paper, the Idaho Recorder, at Blackfoot. ${ }^{13}$ They were unscrupulous in this paper, which was sent to prominent men all over the territory, 13 and through their efforts a strong anti-'Mormon'sentiment was built up. "Kentucky" Smith, assisted by Willard Crawford and Harry Bennett, under Dubois' guidance, drew up a test oath that every Idaho citizen was to take before he could vote or hold office. This discriminating oath was designed to not only disfranchise the polygynists but also to disfranchise every Latter-day Saint whether he practiced polygyny or not. The test oath submitted to the thirteenth territorial legislature in January of 1885 , was as follows: ${ }^{14}$

You do solemnly swear or affirm that you are a male citizen of the United States over the age of twenty-one years; that you have actually resided in this territory for four months last past; and in this county thirty days; that you are not a bigamist or polygamist; that you are not a member of any order, organization or association which teaches, advises, counsels, or encourages its members, devotees, or any other person, to commit the crime of bigamy or polygamy, or any other crime defined by law, as a duty arising or resulting from membership in such order, organization or association, or which practices bigamy or polygamy or plural or celestial marriage, as a doctrinal rite of such organization; that you do not, either publicly or privately or in any manner whatever, teach, advise, or encourage any person to commit the crime of bigamy or polygamy, or any crime defined by law, either as a religious duty or otherwise; that you regard the constitution of the United States and the laws thereof and of this territory, as interpreted by the courts; as the supreme law of the land, the teachings of any order, organization or association to the contrary notwithstanding, and that you have not previously voted at this election so help you God!

Just before the vote was taken in the Council (territorial senate), Mr . James E. Hart, the council's youngest member and delegate from Bear Lake County, received permission to speak. He proposed an amendment to the bill, which, if accepted, would disfranchise only those Latter-day Saint members who were actually practicing plural marriage. However, it also would have disfranchised any Gentile who was immoral. The substitute oath was to state: ${ }^{15}$ "You do solemnly swear that you are not a bigamist or a polygamist or that you do not cohabit with any other woman who is not your wife."

Upon hearing this motion Judge Brearley of Alturas County jumped to the floor and shouted: "My God, Gentlemen! We can't accept Hart's proposal. That would disfranchise all of us. "15

Mr. Hart said, ${ }^{15}$ "No! It wouldn't disfranchise all of us, I married a good, pure Mormon girl in a place that I consider sacred, where we promised to be true to each other and, so help me God, I intend to do just that!"

Although Judge Brearley's remark indicated that the lawmakers were at least as sinful as they considered the "Mormons" to be, the amendment was rejected and the test oath passed as originally drawn. This kept all members of the Latter-day Saint Church from voting or holding office for nearly ten years, disfranchising about one-fourth $(25,000)$ of the population of the territory. The Church members devised a scheme to take the oath, and gain their political rights. This plan, however, was to officially withdraw from the Church shortly before an election and afterwards be re-baptized into the Church. Although this method was officially sanctioned, ${ }^{16}$ only a small percentage made use of it. One member stated: ${ }^{17}$

I left my native land, left friends and relatives, I have been deprived of my franchise for my religion, but I am not yet willing to leave the Church. I can live without voting, but not without my religion, and I will not voluntarily take my name from its records.

## The Polygynists Are Hunted

Mr. Dubois was relentless and unwavering in his war upon the Latter-day Saint people. He hired many deputies who would prowl around at all hours of the night in order to catch a victim. He said that he would not stoop so low as to hunt through a man's house for him but that he knew plenty of men who would. ${ }^{78}$ Never were more than one per cent of the Latter-day Saint population of Idaho "polygamists" (William Budge estimated a maximum of 150 at any one time). 19 However, they were hounded continually. Usually the family had to live with the blinds down, even in the day time, to prevent deputy marshals from peeking in the windows. Emily Matthews Rich stated that "during this period I never remember the time when our blinds were raised. The rooms were always dark. "20

The people in Paris had a rather novel, though strenuous, way of finding out when the marshals were coming. The deputies would come to Montpelier on the train and then would have to secure hovse transportation to Paris. This necessitated crossing the Bear River bridge. As soon as the marshals passed, this person would ride to Montpelier and telephone Paris. At first there was only one telephone line through to Paris, in Woolley Brothers' Store. Someone would sleep in the store in order to answer the phone. In 1883-4, Ezra Rich, a young boy of
nineteen, worked there in the daytime and slept there at night. Whenever a telephone call came during the night, he wo uld tell his friend Dick Sutton, the blacksmith, who immediately saw that the dozen or so polygynists, most of them rather elderly men, were notified. ${ }^{21}$ Since everyone knew who they were, it was not difficult to take them the news.

Whenever the deputies arrived in Montpelier during the daytime, someone was sure to see them and notify as many towns as possible. Upon one accasion Bishop William L. Rich of Montpelier saw the deputies leave town, and he immediately telephoned the news to Paris. There was one other business phone in Montpelier, at the time, in the Gentile section, and both phones were on the same line. Someone overheard Bishop Rich and immediately notified the deputies of his act. At noon the deputies appeared at his home with a subpeona for him to appear in court. It happened that by then he had left town with some cattle. The subpeona therefore was left with his wife and she was ordered to give it to him when he returned in the evening.

To appear in court to answer questions would have been awkward, for the bishop was, himself, a polygynist, although the federal men did not know it. Mrs. Rich, terribly worried, told some of her neighbors. Word reached Joseph C. Rich, a lawyer and older brother of the bishop who at this time had been excommunicated from the Church on grounds of drinking. Although he hadn't been feeling too well toward his brother, he immediately proceeded to the bishop's home, where he walked in and said: "Emma, I hear you have a piece of paper you don't want." "I surely have, Joseph," "Let me see it." He looked it over, then put it in his packet. "Tell William to stay out of town for a few days." Mr. Rich went to the deputies and returned the subpeona, telling them that the bishop was out of town for a few days. Nothing more was ever heard of the incident. ${ }^{22}$

Later the deputies adopted the method of getting off the train just before arriving in town. They would then secure a team from someone who would keep their arrival a secret, and drive to the various towns. Still they often found the news of their coming had preceded them, because Julia Budge, who operated the Deseret Telegraph Company in Paris, was acquainted with the telegraph operator at McCammon, Idaho. This place was sort of a rendezvous for the deputy marshals who were after polygynists. Whenever passible, this friend informed himself of their plans and notified Miss Budge as to the date they intended to arrive in the Bear Lake Valley. ${ }^{23}$

In Paris there was a man with a tin horn, who, for a time, whenever word came that the deputies were near would go up and down the streets and sound the alarm. On one evening when the deputies arrived at two $0^{1}$ clock in the morning, the whole town was out to greet them. ${ }^{24}$ When the deputies came, the polygynist men would scatter to the hills or other
secret hiding places. President J. U. Stucki and Bishop C. W... Nibley (who was at this time a resident of Paris) on one occasion hid in the tower of the tabernacle then under construction. ${ }^{25}$ A certain Brother Lewis was caught because he stopped to change his trousers, after having, in his excitement, first put them on with the back to the front. 26 But the deputies were not always outwitted. On one occasion they arrived in Paris in the early hours of the morning and managed to make eight arrests, 26

There was a reason as to why the deputies were so relentless and persistent. They "received fees for each summons for jurymen, each service of subpoena, and for all arrests. "26 'The United States Attorney received a fee of $\$ 100$ for each conviction secured through a trial and $\$ 50$ for each case in which a plea of guilty was entered. "26

Upon one occasion (1885), deputy marshal Fred Bennett arrived at President Budge's residence in the middle of the night. When Mrs. Budge and her oldest daughter came down stairs, they found that Mr. Bennett had entered the kitchen. The door between it and the living room was locked. Before they could get him to stop pounding on it the door was splintered. He then left his assistant at the rear door and went around to the front, where he was admitted. He rushed upstairs and began to strike the bed clothes to make sure President Budge was not hiding in the folds of the covers. ${ }^{27}$ His search was fruitless, President Budge was later (January 2, 1887) arrested in Ogden, however, and taken to Blackfoot for trial, He was one of the few Latter-day Saint men who was able to gain an aquittal. This was because the judge instructed the jury to bring in a verdict of aquittal on grounds of insufficient evidence. His remarks to the jury were: ", . . you may retire and render your verdict, but if you convict the defendant I shall set aside your verdict." 28

Each polygynist had a good place of retreat. Samuel Matthews of Liberty had various hiding places. At first he hid in a room in the attic, but this was rather unsatisfactory. He then excavated a hole under the floor of the bedroom. The trap door used to enter the hole was covered by a large box. As a result, even though the deputies searched the house, they never found the hiding place. 29 The marshals were after him, now and again, for about seven years before he was arrested, an event which he records in his autobiography. 30

One day while I was grinding a hay knife the mars hal came around the shed and saids "Good morning Mr. Matthews! I have been looking for you for quite a while!" I said, "And I have been watching you," The marshal took a paper out of his pocket, but he shook so that he could not read it. I said, "Let me read it." He said I would have to come with him.

I told him I would have to get my horse in the field. They were afraid I would run away as a man had done the day before, but I told him I would not. The marshal held my horse while I saddled it. Then he took me to Montpelier and turned me over to William Hobson, who said, "Who is your lawyer?" I said I never had one in my life. I was never arrested before. He said, "Hell, you are a lucky man, I have been in the pen twice." He told me to get a lawyer. I got Joe Rich. Then I got George Hellier and Christian Hoggenson to go my bond. I was bound over to appear at the next term of court. Bill Hobson said he thought he could fix things up so I would not have to go to jail, but they had to have a little money. They wanted about $\$ 200$. I had sold my cattle so I had the money at home. I had to pay the marshals $\$ 150$ and gave Joe Rich $\$ 25$ for his services.

In general the deputy marshals were of the ruffian, lawless type, who were not particular what they did as long as there was money in it.

One morning at three o ${ }^{\prime}$ clock two deputies came to arrest Bishop Robert Price of Paris. One was a federal man and the other was Dick Williams from Montpelier; both had been drinking. Bishop Price was tired of running away and had previously decided to give himself up the next time they came for him. He therefore did not take advantage of an opportunity to escape that presented itself. The officer had carried a warrant for Robert Price for over five years and had begun to think there wasn't any such person. Mrs, Price got breakfast for the bishop and the two deputies before they left. Dick Williams was so drunk that, after the others had gone, he had a runaway and broke his outfit all to pieces. The federal man took Mr. Price to Boise but went to sleep on the way. At McCammon they had to change trains and it was necessary for the bishop to wake him up to make the transfer. After the bishop's case was "fixed" for about $\$ 150$, he returned home, ${ }^{31}$

However, all Bear Lake "Polygamists" were not so fortunate as Bishop Price and Bishop Matthews in having their cases "fixed" for a fine, and many of them had to go to the penitentiary. Examples were ${ }^{32}$ Samuel Humpherys of Dingle and Elder George C. Parkinson, who served time in the Boise penitentiary; "Brother" Levern and "Brother" Hale of Bennington; Elder Andrew Jacobsen, who served time in a Detroit prison; and Elder Ezra Clark who said he "had been privileged to preach to the spirits in prison--those in bodies-- for the past six months. "33 These and many others served sentences for what they considered to be the sake of their religion. It was very rare for an Idaho jury to acquit a "Mormon," Mr. Dubois made the staternent on one occasion to his friend "Kentucky" Smith, who oddly enough, was acting for a polygynist against whom there was very little evidence: "'Kentucky,' you could not secure the acquittal of one of those polygamists because we have a jury


WILLIAM BUDGE

He came to Bear Lake Valley in 1870 to be Presiding Bishop for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; which office he held until 1877. At this time he became President of the Bear Lake Stake and presided until 1906. As the leader of his people and the husband of three wives, he was a forceful figure during the polygynist troubles in Idaho.
that would convict Jesus Christ. "34 The marshal had secured the privilege of having juryman summoned by open venire, thus permitting him to choose his jury. ${ }^{35}$

## Polygyny Abolished in the Latter-day Saint Church

On March 3, 1887, the United States Congress passed the Edmunds Tucker Act, which disincorporated the Church, confiscated Church property, abolished woman suffrage, declared "polygamous" children disinherited, and contained other drastic measures. ${ }^{36}$ The bill became law without the signature of President Grover Cleveland. In 1889 the stringent test oath was incorporated into a constitution for the state of Idaho. Idaho became a state July 3, 1890, 37

These body blows were too much for the Latter-day Saint Church. In September of 1890 the Church issued what became known as the Manifesto, 38 a statement declaring the abandonment of plural marriage by the Latter-day Saint Church. ${ }^{39}$ It was accepted by the vote of the people at General Conference, October 6, 1890. 39 In December of the same year the Church appealed to President Harrison for amnesty, which was given after due consideration, and the Edmunds-Tucker Act was repealed. ${ }^{40}$ However, the act was not repealed until Fred T. Dubois, who had been Idaho Territory's last delegate to Congress, and was now Senator, had done all he could to oppose removing the restrictions. ${ }^{40}$

Idaho's hatred was so bitter that even after disposing of polygyny Latter-day Saint Church members were faced with new legislation. In 1891 a law was passed disfranchising Latter-day Saint Church members for all time, ${ }^{41}$ It was not until 1893 that the Idaho State Legislature finally withdrew its restrictions and the Latter-day Saints were again given the right to vote. ${ }^{41}$

After the Manifesto, the Church decided on a new political policy. Up to this time they had advocated a solid vote. Now, they advocated dividing on party lines. At a conference in Bear Lake Stake on November 8, 1891, President Budge said: ${ }^{42}$

Our coreligionists in Utah have divided politically into parties. The Latter-day Saint understanding is that the constitution gave them certain privileges which they have contended for through the courts. They were obliged to hold together. What is the propriety of division? The bone of contention has been removed, we are prepared to cooperate with our fellow citizens and thus purify politics. The Latterday Saints in Idaho make up one-third of the population. We must necessarily divide in politics, but let us agree to differ, do not contend and quarrel, but make choice of good earnest men who will seek the good of the people, whether Democrats of Republicans. Seek the best men and the best measures. We wish to reform abuses, we want to take part in the government. ${ }^{4}$

Not all Gentiles in Idaho were anti-Mormon. Thomas Donaldson writing in 1941 stated: ${ }^{43}$

Our Idaho Mormons were law abiding, frugal, and good citizens. I feel safe in saying that polygamy among them was far in the minority. At any rate it was quite astounding to hear Idaho men denounce polygamy, especially when many of the denouncing Gentiles were masses of corruption. I know several women, who had been burdered with two or three husbands, and who never were able to make clear why they were detached, declare loudly against the evils of polygamy. It was quite amusing.

The prejudice against the Saints was mostly occasioned by the apparently answering obedience and loyalty to the Mormon Church. The Gentiles considered this devotion too anti-American and anti-republican. But there was another reason. The lands occupied by the "Mormons" were attractively fertile, and thus arose jealousy, It was thought that expulsion of "Mormons" would result in a nice whack up of lands among the Gentiles. Extending the National Survey lines in over their territory had brought "Mormons" and Gentiles in active competition and perhaps greed rather than religious intolerance really lay at the foot of most Gentile opposition. Mormons in their home life were modest and conventional.

The Edmunds confiscation act, the most rigorous and undefensible act of confiscation ever passed by a lawmaking power, settled the "Mormon" question in Arizona and Utah, as well as in Idaho.

Mr. Donaldson's views picture the politicians and anti-Mormons of early Idaho as rather sinister individuals. Many of them may have been, but it must be kept in mind that the practice of plural marriage was decidedly against the principles and practice of every Christian church except the Charch of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Time has shown that after the removal of polygyny the Mormons and Gentiles of Idaho were able to adjust their differences to the point of living in harmony together. By 1900 the Gentiles were still far outnumbered in Bear Lake County. Yet the two groups were well adjusted and willing to cooperate with each other.

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## CHAPTER XI

## THE TABERNACLE AND ACADEMY

## Other Interests Come First

The first necessity in Bear Lake Valley, outside of the home, was for a community building in which all could meet to worship, to hold school, and to have some kind of recreation. The first building of such a nature, one built of logs in Paris during the first winter, established a general pattern in each community. At first one building served for all purposes; but as soon as possible other public buildings were erected, keeping each community occupied for a number of years. Wherever a stake conference was held there was no building large enough to hold the crowd. Often, however, the mere recognizing of a need is not sufficient to take care of it; other matters must be attended to also. At least such was the case in Bear Lake Valley.

As early as 1871 the people began hauling rock to build a tabernacle in Paris. They intended to rush it through to completion "at an early date, "l but their plans were too ambitious. The Church was calling for money for the Perpetual Emigration Fund. ${ }^{2}$ A temple was under construction in Salt Lake, and funds were expected from the outlying settlements. ${ }^{3}$ On August 12, 1867, the Bear Lake Elder's Quorum was asked to contribute whatever each member felt that he could. The following list of contributions of that date shows the scarcity of ready money, but the willingness of each to pay in kind and according to his capabilities: 4

For the Salt Lake Temple
Daniel Jacobs . . . . . . . . . . . . . $\$ 25.00$
M. Mattson. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 5.00

Amos M. Birgin . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 5.00
M. Nealson. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 5.00

Leonard Floyd . . . . . ... . . . . . . . . 1.00
P. B. Hollengreen . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1.00
M. Booth . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 10.00 and 1 three-year-old steer
B. H, Allred. . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1 yearling
S. Bunderson. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1 yearling

Ole Mattsen . . . . . . . . ... . . . . . 1 yearling
J. Monsen . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1 yearling

John Sorenson ............... 1 yearling
William L. Allred . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1 yearling
V. M. Pugmire . . . . . . . . . . . . . I yearling

Andrew Jensen . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1 yearling
Jents Bunderson . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1 yearling
Neals Johnson . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1 yearling
William West . . . . . . ......... 1 yearling
C. G. Keetch . . . . . . ......... 1 three-year-old steer
Z. Anderson . .............. 2 three-year-old steers
J. T. Barker . . . . . . . . . . . . 1 two-year-old steer

On December 21, 1876, the Deseret News stated: ${ }^{5}$
One hundred and sixty head of cattle arrived from the Bear Lake and Bear River Valley Country, donated by the brethren of that region to the good work of building the temple. Eight head were from the High Priests, forty-four from the Seventies, and the balance from the Elders Quorum.

In 1877 the Church began construction of the Logan Temple, which was to be built by the Saints in Cache Valley and other northern regions. Charles C. Rich, Charles O, Card, and Moses Thatcher were appointed as a committee to construct it. This meant that the Bear Lake Settlers would be called on to make sizeable donations. By November 1877 Bear Lake Stake had worked out $\$ 2.75$ per head, Cache Valley $\$ 2.00$ and Brigham City $\$ 1.00 .^{6}$ During 1877 , with a stake population of 3,418 Bear Lake contributed a total of $\$ 11,150.80$, or an average of about $\$ 3.27$ for every man, woman, and child in the stake. ${ }^{7}$ The settlement of St. Charles had contributed $\$ 4,417$ for the Logan Temple, and almost a similar sum had been raised toward the erection of their own meeting house; the total of the two amounted to $\$ 12.00$ for each man, woman, and child. 8

By February 1880 Bear Lake Stake had contributed $\$ 34,286,27$. The total contributed by the three temple stakes (Bear Lake Stake, Cache Stake, and Box Elder Stake), and the Church Presidency amounted to $\$ 192,499,37.9$ The Logan Temple was finished by May 1884. During this period the Bear Lake Saints contributed around $\$ 60,000$ having reached a total of $\$ 14.09$ per capita, with a stake population of around 4, 400. ${ }^{10}$

Before the temple was completed the people began again to think of a tabernacle. The Bear Lake Democrat stated: ${ }^{11}$

The Logan Temple will soon be completed, and the pecuniary condition of its people has much improved since it was commenced. Our greatly increased population and general time of prosperity, fully warrant the undertaking of such a work as we have indicated. Let steps be early taken for the building of a large and substantial tabernacle that will be a credit to our stake and adequate to the wants of a large and thriving community.

On February 5, 1882, a committee of five was appointed in Stake Priesthood Meeting to draw up plans for the tabernacle. It was also decided at this time to build it of stone. ${ }^{12}$

At the Stake Conference the following week the people voted to erect a tabernacle on the public square. It was decided to build a house that would be fifty feet wide by ninety-five feet long, and twenty-five feet high, with a vestry and council chamber attached. The council chamber was to be twenty by twenty-five feet. The building, which was to cost around $\$ 12,000$, was to be placed on the west center of the public square forty feet back from the street. The cost was to be "apportioned equally, and according to circumstances to the different settlements of the stake, i13 But President Taylor, upon meeting with the building committee, advised them to concentrate upon completing the Logan Temple. This advice was accepted, and the people expected to begin the next year, ${ }^{14}$ Again, however, the temple delayed them.

Finally the work in Logan was completed. In the same conference (May 1884) talk in which President George Osmond announced this accomplishment he said: 15 "Our Stake Tabernacle is the next work and one which we badly need."

## Tabernacle Construction Begins

By May 1884 steps had already been taken to begin the actual construction. President Budge was made superintendant of work. On July 5 he announced that already between 1, 100 and 1,200 loads of rock had been laid on the ground. ${ }^{15}$ Construction of the walls began one week later, In order to keep the work going steadily and as late in the year as the weather would permit, it was necessary to raise enough to pay $\$ 60.00$ per day for labor. This meant that $\$ 1.50$ per head for each person in the stake, or a total of $\$ 6,200$, had to be raised. ${ }^{16}$ This was done proportionally by the wards in the stake. The masons kept busy and the walls were built up to the square during 1884. On August eighth the Bear Lake Democrat stated: ${ }^{17}$

The walls of our new tabernacle begin to loom up above the surface of the ground so that they can be seen at a distance. The stone cutters are busy dressing stones with which to lay the water table out of beautiful red sand stone obtained in Indian Creek Canyon [this was about twenty miles south of Montpelier just south of the hot springs on the east side of the lakeland hauled about fifteen miles out with wagons. Everything around the building has an appearance of beauty,

After five years of sincere effort the tabernacle was ready for dedication. Every home product possible had been used in it. The shingles
had been made by the shingle mill. 18 Only four inches wide and especially selected, so as to prevent curling as much as possible, they lasted over forty years. Half of them were rounded on the end and half were made square so that when they were laid, four rows of square ones could be followed by four rows of round ones.

The tabernacle was not built with means that the people had to spare, "but by sacrifice." The total cost reached $\$ 50,000$, a sum quite different from the amount of $\$ 12,000$, the estimated cost in 1882. Some time between then and the commencement of the building in July 1884 the plans were considerably altered. Joseph Don Carlos Young, the architect, may have helped alter the plans. At any rate, a completely different building was constructed. On July 20, 1889, the Deseret News published an excellent description of the building, giving the dimensions and other interesting facts. From this it is easy to see that the plans grew considerably in the two-year period: ${ }^{19}$

All who have seen the Bear Lake Stake House [Tabernacle] unite in pronouncing it one of the handsomest and most substantial structures in this region. It is built of rock, that of the walls proper being of a dark hue, while that of the butments and facings is red sandstone. The latter had to be conveyed from the quarry, a distance of eighteen miles.

The building faces west, and is of liberal dimensions, its length being, inclusive of a semi-circular projection at one end, in which is located the vestry, 127 feet six inches, while the width is seventy-three feet four inches. The front elevation is strikingly handsome, being embellished by a tower which rises to a height of eighty feet, exclusive of the vane. Another smaller tower is located near one corner of the front. There are seven entrances, three in front and two on each side, while the entire structure is amply lighted with a suitable number of appropriate windows. The choir is unique and attractive. It is semi-circular in form. It is in the part of the building of that shape that abuts from the rear. It has an o gan stand, and has a capacity for seating fifty singers. In front of it is the stand, which has two elevations, besides the Bishops compartment of it, which is on the level with the floor.

A special feature of the building is that, notwithstanding its unusual length, all the people seated on the lower part of the auditorium can command a full view of the stand, including the lowest portion of it. This advantage is gained by inclining the floor at an appropriate angle from the stand to the extreme end of the hall. The gallery surrounds the whole of the interior with the exception of the east end, where the stand and choir are located. It is supported by pillars, which, by running clear through from floor to roof, also sustains the latter.

L. D. S. TABERNACLE IN PARIS, BEAR LAKE VALLEY

Constructed 1884-1889 at a cost of \$50,000. Joseph Don Carlos Young was the architect. One hundred and twenty-seven feet and six inches in length and seventy-three feet and four inches in width. Considered to be the finest church edifice in the State of Idaho in 1899.

The ceiling is admirable. The middle portion of it is a species of nave, being almost semi-circular in form, with an isle paralleling it on each side. The whole is thrown into panels by timbering, the wood being appropriately stained. This gives it a somewhat heavy and subdued appearance, in keeping with the character of the exercises conducted within it--the worship of God.

Under the building is a basement constructed in such a way as to render it suitable for the introduction of radiating apparatus for heating. In due time this improvement will be added.

This elegant building was designed by Joseph Don Carlos Young, of this city, and does excellent credit to his tastes and skill. It has a seating capacity bordering on 3,000 . It is nearing completion, being so far advanced in that direction that for some time public meetings have been held in it. By the time it receives the finishing touches it will have cost in the neighborhood of $\$ 50,000$. It is a substantial monument of the enterprise of President Budge and Council and the people of Bear Lake Stake, who are noted for being possessed of a generous disposition and much public spirit.

On September 15, 1889, the dedication services for the Tabernacle were held, 20 with President Wilford Woodruff and President George $Q_{\text {, }}$ Cannon in attendance. The dedicatory prayer was offered by President Cannon, followed by a talk from Wilford Woodruff, after which President George Parkinson of Oneida Stake spoke, mentioning: "We have no such building in Oneida Stake as this. "20 He was followed by Thomas Rich, who recounted much of his past labors and experiences in settling the country. He mentioned that he had brought the first team into the valley twenty-seven years ago (this would have been in 1862, when he, with Colonel Thomas Martineau and others, explored the valley), and camped on the site where Montpelier had since been settled. President Cannon then read from the Bible--Matthew, Chapter Thirty. This was followed by a dedicatory anthem. The benediction was given by Elder George Reynolds. ${ }^{20}$ Almost one-half of the stake population, which ranged from Soda Springs, forty miles north, to Woodruff, nearly seventy miles to the south, and over into Star Valley, fifty miles to the east, was present on the day of dedication. ${ }^{20}$

Although the building had been completed and dedicated, one part was left unfinished--the payment of the bills. The drain on the citizens had been heavy. For one thing, the government's anti-polygamy measures had put a strain upon the people. The polygynists often had gone into hiding, thus, losing valuable working time. In addition, there were donations for the Defense Fund, an assessment on the wards to raise money to hire lawyers and pay the fines of those men who were convicted of violating the
the anti-bigamy laws, It was a joint fund among all of the Idaho "Mormons," Moreover, the Bear Lake Saints were still continuing their donations on the Salt Lake Temple. ${ }^{21}$ Thus, the final bills on the Tabernacle were not paid until 1893. This included installation of a pipe organ that was made in 1892.22 The last indebtedness of $\$ 475.00$ was paid by the First Presidency of the Church because the Bear Lake people had paid "so muchmore on the special temple donations than was asked for. "22

The Bear Lake Stake Tabernacle at the time of construction was the largest Church building in the state of Idaho, 23 Mr . Hyrum T, French wrote in 1914: ${ }^{24}$ "This Tabernacle is one of the finest church edifices in the state. " The History of Idaho, published by the Lewis Publishing Company in 1899, pays an even more glowing tribute to the tabernacle, stating: "It was built at a cost of $\$ 50,000$ and is by far the finest church edifice in the state. ${ }^{125}$

## Early Schools and the Academy

Beginning the second winter in the valley (1864-65), the young people found that even in Bear Lake Valley, they had to attend school. Joseph C. Rich and George Osmond taught the first school in Paris. It seems that they started late in the fall, teaching until the snow became so deep that the pupils couldn't get to school. ${ }^{26}$ This made the school year a rather short one.

Bloomington was not settled until the summer of 1864 , but the residents were ambitious enough to build a log school house that very year, ${ }^{27}$ The school building measured sixteen by twenty feet, had a dirt roof, and a conspicuously large chimney. The floor, the type called a punchin floor, 28 was made by laying the logs side by side and smoothing the top side. The building was divided into two rooms with a wagon cover and was heated from a big fireplace. ${ }^{28}$ James H. Hart and George Osmond conducted the first school here. 29 The basic subjects (the three "r's"), along with spelling, were about all that was taught. In fact, that is all the scholars had time for, because work was pressing. The students usually went to school only two or three months of the year. ${ }^{29}$ In some settlements, at times, they would go to school only three months every other year. 29

At first, their school supplies consisted of a spelling book, a slate, 30 and perhaps one or two reading books for the room. Gradually reading books became available. Anyone who could master the fifth reader was said to have been consid ered an educated person. 31 Penmanship and spelling were greatly emphasized, and a good brand of writing was produced. ${ }^{31}$

In 1871 James H. Hart became county superintendant of schools. Not much was done by the county officers in providing school facilities, however, for it was considered to be more the business and problem of the Church.

Each ward was to see that its people were provided with a school, the task of the bishopric, under the direction of the stake officers. In one of the Church meetings an announcement would be made of a mass meeting to elect school trustees. 32 Sometimes these would include the bishopric, the Sunday School superintendant (after Sunday Schools began), and as many others as were deemed advisable. ${ }^{33}$

After the northern part of Rich County was cut off from Utah, the residents began paying taxes in Idaho, and in 1875 Bear Lake County was created. At the commissioner's meetings on April 6, the county was divided into twelve school districts, numbered from the south to the north; Fish Haven became Number One; St, Charles south, Number Two; St. Charles north, Number Three; Bloomington Number Four; Paris south, Number Five; Paris north, Number Six; Liberty, Number Seven; Ovid, Number Eight; Preston, Number Nine; Montpelier, Number Ten; Bennington, Number Eleyen; and Georgetown (in the extreme north), Number Twelve. 34

Two mills on the dollar were levied as a school tax, ${ }^{34}$ the minimum the law would allow. No doubt the reason for this was that the idea still prevailed that the major responsibility should be in the hands of the Church. Usually the school house was the Church also, but sometimes separate buildings were constructed. For many years the schools in most districts were a combination of church, private, and public schools. The Church provided the building, the pupils paid so much per month tuition, and the county provided a small amount to help out in one way or another. At first the amount was very meagre.

In 1863 William N. B. Shepherd announced that he was in favor of sustaining schools by taxation, beli eving that if this system were introduced the people would greatly benefit by it, 35 for the existing system was too mixed up. Mr. Shepherd was a member of a committee which had been appointed to study the school situation, and which recommended to the county commissioners a tax of eight mills on the dollar. ${ }^{36}$

Two years before, William Budge had deplored the hiring of Gentile teachers. At that time there were two non-Mormon teachers employed in the valley. 36 He recommended that young men from Bear Lake be sent to the university to prepare for teaching. There gradually grew to be some tension as to whether the schools should be Church-controlled or not. Some communities included a few non-Latter-day Saint families. Of course, Montpelier, which became half Gentile, presented a different problem from the other districts.

Paris had quite a number of non-Latter-day Saints also and in December 1894 there were three schools in existence within the boundary limits of the Paris second ward--a church school (Bear Lake Stake Academy, later called Fielding Academy), a district school, and a Presbyterian
church school. 37 Nearly all of the children in the church and district schools were Latter-day Saints as also were quite a few of the scholars in the Presbyterian school, ${ }^{38}$ The Presbyterian minister, Reverend Boyd, who had come to Paris about 1884, was at first given the freedom of the meeting houses (Latter-day Saint Church buildings); but, after denouncing Church leaders, this privilege was withdrawn until he could stick to "principles," They then built a church of their own and employed a lady school teacher. ${ }^{39}$

Most of tie school problems arising between "Mormons" and non"Mormons"were worked out very amicably. The Stake Presidency and High Council received a letter in March of 1887 from a non-Mormon", Williarn Quayle, who was living in Cottonwood (now Dingle). He requested a hearing before the stake officers because the bishop had ordered the school house torn down and moved before the school term had ended. It seems that Mr. Quayle had been good enough to guarantee the teacher's salary. While the moving was being done, there was no tuition coming in from the scholars and the children were deprived of the schooling. A hearing was granted at which each man presented his case. The bishop gave his reasons for doing as he did, and Mr. Quayle gave his objections. Just what could be done about the matter was hardly clear in the record, but the decision rendered was in favor of Mr. Quayle. 40

A school case in Bloomington was rather amusing, for it seemed to be a case of people versus the people. A meeting of the citizens was called in order to "adjust the claims of the citizens of Bloomington and the school trustees" as to who owned the school house. Mr. William Hulme was elected chairman of the meeting and Edward Haddock, secretary. When the meeting was thrown open for discussion, a number of people spoke about the house having been built by the citizens by subscription. Also, it was mentioned that the school trustees had made repairs and fitted it up as a school house. A committee of three citizens was then appointed to confer with the school trustees concerning the matter. ${ }^{41}$

One week later another citizens' meeting was held at which the committee presented its report. George Osmond, chairman of the meeting, called for a report. The chairman of the committee stated that they had met with the trustees; that said trustees claimed half of the lot and $\$ 150$ repairs on the house, along with the desks and other school house furniture; and that the committee had allowed this claim and offered the school trustees the half lot known as the Tabernacle lot with the house now upon it belonging to the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association of Bloomington. This was offered in lieu of all claims on the half lot and schoolhouse, The trus tees agreed to accept the offer, and the meeting was then thrown open for discussion, after which the citizens unanimously accepted the work of the committee. It was also moved and carried that the minutes of the meetings be recorded in the Bloomington Ward Record Book. 42

It is only natural that many teachers were employed out of necessity who were not the best qualified. The Territory of Idaho, wishing to better qualify its teachers, passed a law requiring them to attend teachers' institutes held in the various counties, 43 The penalty for lack of attendance, after being duly notified, was that the district not represented would be restricted from sharing the public funds.

Church leaders were also interested in having well-qualified teachers. In Stake Priesthood Meeting President Budge mentioned this law and the penalty, and, favoring its enforcement, urged all teachers to attend. The superintendant A. Galloway mentioned that it might encourage the teachers "in their labors" if they were better paid. Finally, the Priesthood group took a vote in favor of holding teachers' institutes 'not less than once in two months and not less than a two-day session. "43 Since all this took place in a priesthood meeting in 1885, it seems that Church and state, so far as schools were concerned in the Bear Lake Valley, were still closely integrated at that time.

This was the spring, however, when Idaho disfranchised all Mormons, but it took about two years before their political rights in county government in Bear Lake County were taken away. ${ }^{44}$ At this time all polygynist officers were deposed and non-Mormons were installed in their places. Although the Mormons got along well with the non-Mormon officials, they did not feel disposed to let the Gentiles handle the education of their children; and the idea of Church schools, separate from any state aid, began to take shape in the valley.

Agitation for a School of Higher Learning. Toward the close of the colonizing period the people began to realize that the valley needed a higher school of some kind. A few of the young people were going to school in Salt Lake and Provo, but such an expense was too great for many of the families. It was felt that a good school at home would help out considerably. As early as 1880 the plan was to use the four acres on the east side of the public square to build a high school, 44 but nothing definite was begun at this time. In April of 1882 the Bear Lake Democrat stated that the establishment of a high school was "fast becoming a necessity, " giving as reasons the expense of leaving home and the temptations involved: ${ }^{45}$

We earnestly invite the attention of Bishops, trustees, and other leading men of our community to this important matter. If proper public spirit is exhibited in the building and furnishing of a suitable Academy; and then followed by due liberality in procuring and sustaining competent teachers, the benefits resulting would far more than compensate for the exceptions made. Let us have a high school.

Two months later the paper again called attention to the need of a "High
or graded school:"
If we cannot build a suitable schoolhouse, let us rent a building and fix it up for the purpose, where there is a will there is a way and it is certainly time that such a will was manifested.

Persistence brings success, although it often takes time and patience. Finally, in 1887 a graded or "higher school" was organized under the auspices of the Church, with Gottlieb L. G. Hessell as the first principal. 46 President William Budge became president of the board of trustees. The s chool, given the name Bear Lake Stake Academy, 47 first was nothing more than a graded school. Some of its scholars were those "who had passed public school age without getting a public school education, "47 Brigham Young sent Elder Karl G. Maeser to Bear Lake in 1889 to solid ify the Church school movement there and put the Academy on a sound basis. 48

It is interesting to note that one of the requirements for entrance into the Academy was non-use of whisky and tobacco. 49

The school first held forth in the county courthouse, with from fifty to seventy-five students in attendance. From the courthouse it was moved to a tinshop and then to one of the meeting houses. Here it remained for quite some time, until an old furniture store was vacated and fitted up for it. It is said that during these years the teachers often donated much of their salary in order to keep the school functioning. At different times it appeared that it would have to close its doors, but each time some unexpected support came.

As the nineteenth century ebbed away, the schools of Bear Lake Valley were pronounced good. A historian said of them: 50

The public schools of Bear Lake County take high rank. New school furniture and apparatus are to be found in every school district and over half of the school districts have new and commodious school houses. Examinations have been frequent, so as to prevent any individual teaching school who could not come up to the required standard.

Constructing a Building for the Academy. The building of a permanent home for the Academy had to wait for the Tabernacle to be finished. Then President Budge said: ${ }^{51}$

Let the wards get through quickly with their public work and be ready again for something of a stake nature say in the building of an Academy for the education of our children.

But the people still had too many other burdens. About the time the Defense Fund, Emigration Fund, Tabernacle debt, and Salt Lake Ternple donations all had been paid or discontinued, the people were asked to respond with money to build a monument to Brigham Young in Salt Lake City, 52

Even though the donations for this cause extended over the next five or six years, the people did not wait until everything was completed. In 1896 they definitely decided to go ahead with construction of the Academy. Seventy-five to one-hundred young people were leaving the valley each year to go to school elsewhere, 52 taking an average of $\$ 200$ per person out of the valley that could well be spent at home. The Academy was to be a school for rich and poor alike, but it would be to the bigger advantage of the poor who could not send their children away to school. 53 It was felt, however, that all of the young people, whether rich or poor, would be better off at home. ${ }^{54}$ Also Church headquarters were urging that each stake build a school of higher learning to take care of the young people when they graduated from district school. 55

After a definite decision to build, the next problem was to decide in which town. It will no doubt be a revelation to the people of Paris to know that Bishop W. W. Clark of Montpelier made a motion that the Academy be built in Paris. ${ }^{56}$ But the decision was not to be rushed, and a committee was appointed to study the matter. When a conclusion was reached, Paris was the choice, although St. Charles made a strong bid for it. Professor E. Maeser drew up plans for construction of a school building. that would accommodate 300 pupils in six classrooms--fifty pupils per room. 57 Considered sufficient for the time, this plan would include the main building and one wing, with another wing to be added later. The cost of the building with one wing, estimated to be $\$ 5,245$, included a brick and rock foundation, but did not include the hauling of the brick, sand, and lime: 57

Elder J. U. Stucki offered to donate a four-acre site on a hill approximately one-half mile due west of the courthouse. His offer was accepted. 57 The original site mentioned in 1880 (the east four acres of the public square) seems not to have been considered, 58 On April 27, 1896, a special academy gound dedication was held on the chosen site, with President William Budge presiding. A prayer was offered by Thomas Sleight. Then the song "High on the Mountain Top" was sung, after which President W. L. Rich, Elder J. U, Stucki, Principal E. Maeser, Bishops William West, Robert Price, President J. H. Hart, and President William Budge each spoke concerning the importance of the work about to be undertaken and its advantages to the people. 59

President James H. Hart was appointed by the building committee to be superintendent of construction. 60 paid; most of it in donated labor. 61

By mid-July, over $\$ 1,000$ had been By October, because the money had
been slow coming in, the building committee was in debt $\$ 250$ for lime, $\$ 400$ to the brickmakers, and between $\$ 500$ and $\$ 600$ to the masons and tenders. ${ }^{62}$ A special meeting was called to create a little more enthusiasm and to stress the importance of the building to those people who lived furthest away. 63 It appears that some of them were not enthusiastic about building a school in Paris, for they felt that the money could be better spent in their home community. Yet, as a general rule, the response, even from such communities as Laketown, over thirty miles away, was excellent. ${ }^{63}$

The committee built the main section and the south wing first. 64 By 1899 the second story was completed, and in the spring of 1900 the wall of the third story was built. In August it was announced that another month's work would complete the building. But on September 13, 1900, a slight set-back occurred. A terrific windstorm came up about six $o^{\prime}$ clock in the evening, breaking down a part of one of the walls. Nevertheless, in October the roof was put on the building as the final achievement of the Saints in Bear Lake Valley during the nineteenth century. In 1901 the pupils of the Academy moved into their new home, although the building was not quite completed inside.

Except for about \$2,800 in labor tithing contributed by the Church headquarters, the local people had constructed the Academy entirely by donation either of labor or capital. The total cost had amounted to $\$ 65,000.65$ Along with a new building, the Academy received a new name--Fielding Academy in honor of Mary Fielding, mother of President Joseph F. Smith, who was the president of the Church at that time. He attended the dedication as an honored guest on November 10, 1902.


Built in Paris, Idaho, 1896-1902, at a cost of $\$ 65,000$. It was planned by Professor E. Maeser. Destroyed by fire 1928.

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## CHAPTER XII

## FOLKLORE--THE BEAR LAKE MONSTER

## The Origin of the Story

> Climb a tree, quick, here comes the Bear Lake Monster:
> With Joseph C. Rich astride, acting as sponsor.
> Hide in the branches, well, and all stop breathing;
> Finding no boys to eat, soon they'll be leaving.

> Hush, through the brush they rush, all decked in sage and yellow.
> Just see the horses run, just hear the cattle bellow. Oh, Joe, you cruel foe-good riddance to the sponsor; Just hear them blow, there they go good-bye, you horrid monster:

On July 27, 1868, Joseph C. Rich sent an article to the Deseret News concerning the Bear Lake Monster. For many years afterwards the monster story became such a part of the lives of the people and their visitors that to leave it out would make any history of the valley incomplete. The article, published in the Deseret News on August 3, 1868, stated that the Indians had a tradition about a monster who had captured and carried away Indians while bathing but that it had not been seen since the buffalo inhabited the valley. The Indians described it as being "of the serpent kind" but with legs about eighteen inches long on which it sometimes walked as it came out on the shore a short distance. They also reported it to be able to spurt water upwards out of its mouth.

After settlement of the valley, several people reported seeing some kind of a huge animal, but they were usually alone and no one gave much credence to their reports until the story had been about forgotten. Then along the first part of July a certain Mr. S. M. Johnson of South Eden was going along the lakeshore when he thought he saw the body of a drowned person in the lake. He went closer to the shore, thinking that the waves would soon wash it in. Then he saw the head and part of the neck of some kind of animal he had never seen before. "It had ears or bunches on the side of its




This cartoon of the Bear Lake Monster was at one time published in the Deseret News.
head nearly as large as a pint cup. The waves at times would dash over its head, when it would throw water from its mouth or nose." As the animal did not drift with the waves Mr. Johnson thought that a portion of the body must be on the bottom of the lake.

The next day three women and a man saw a monstrous animal near the same place. It was swimming when they first saw it, and they said it could swim faster than a horse could run on land; ${ }^{2}$

On Sunday last as N. C. Davis and Allen Davis of St. Charles, and Thomas Sleight and J. Collings of Paris with six women, were returning from Fish Haven, when about midway from the latter named place to St. Charles their attention was suddenly attracted to a peculiar motion or wave in the water about three miles distant. The lake was not rough, only a little disturbed by the wind. Mr. Sleight says he distinctly saw the sides of a very large animal that he would suppose to be not less than ninety feet in length. Mr, Davis don't [sic] think he (Davis) saw any part of the body, but is positive it must have been not less than forty feet in length, judging by the wave it rolled up on bo th sides of it as it swam, and the wave it left in the rear. It was going South, and all agreed that it swam with a speed almost incredible to their senses, Mr. Davis says he never saw a locomotive travel faster, and thinks it makes a mile a minute fast. In a few minutes after the discovery of the first a second followed in its wake, but seemed to be much smaller, appearing to Mr. Sleight about the size of a horse. A larger one followed this, and sotill four large ones, in all and six small ones had run southward out of sight. One of the large ones before disappearing made a sudden turn to the west a short distance; then back to his former track. At this turn Mr. Sleight says he could distinctly see it was a brownish color. They could judge somewhat of their speed by observing known distances on the other side of the lake, and all agree that the velocity with which they propelled themselves through the water was astounding. They represent the waves that rolled up in front and on each side of them as being three feet high from where they stood. This is substantially their statement as they told me. Messrs. Davis and reliable persons whose veracity is undoubted. I have no doubt they would be willing to make affidavits to their statements.

This made quite an array of people who had laid claim to seeing monsters in the lake. Mr. Rich asks, "Is it fish, flesh or serpent, amphibious, amfabulous or a great big fib, or what is it; I give it up, but live in hopes of someday seeing it, if it really exists. ${ }^{2}$ At the end of the article was a postscript which read: ${ }^{2}$ "Dear Brother Cannon: I have talked with some
of the parties in relation to the monster story, and it is as Joseph has stated. I am, yours truly, Charles C. Rich. "

## Excitement Created

Three days after the appearance of this first article, the Deseret News told of the great excitement that was being exhibited over the story. ${ }^{3}$ Before a month had passed, someone from the Deseret News staff mentioned that they had talked with many of the leading men in the Bear Lake Valley who all firmly believed in the story as it had been published. ${ }^{4}$ Hardly a person there doubted the statements that had been made. Furthermore, the Indian tradition corroborated all that had been said. They stated that within their memory two of their number had been carried off by the monsters, and they would not camp by or bathe in the lake.

Plans had been discussed for the capture of one or more of the monsters, but at that date no effort had been made. Until the question of their existence was settled, it was mentioned that the lake would not be a very popular place for fishing. Someone had timed their speed with a watch, and a boat would have no chance of escaping if its occupants were pursued or came in contact with one of the creatures. ${ }^{4}$

The News further states: Our readers . . . can form their own conclusions . . . . The accounts are fishy, decidedly so, but we cannot dispute the persons who make them . . . . We must believe they saw something remarkable, whether monsters or not we hope time will soon decide.

A short time later Mr. J. C. Rich addressed another communication to the Deseret News expressing his sorrow that "certain persons" in Utah doubted the story when he had supposed that the mere fact that his initials were attached to the statement would render it indisputable: ${ }^{5}$

I am sorry they don't believe it, because they might come up here someday, and through their unbelief, be thrown off their guard and gobbled up by the Water Devil. There are avery few people even here, who disbelieve the monster 'doctrine' but as a general rule they are not prospered in what they undertake and their intellects are tottering; they are not considered competent to act as Fence Viewers, and no doubt the General Government will, in time, withold from them the blessing of paying internal revenue.

Mr. Rich then tells how Mr. N. C. Davis had recently seen two more of the monsters who were spouting water about ten feet high--"say a barrel full at a time." Mr. P. U. Cook and others had seen one jogging along at about a mile a minute and it seemed to be just cruising. Mr. Cook was
making plans for the coming summer to capture one. His plan was to use a large "Bearded hook," attached to twenty feet of cable, which would then be fastened onto 300 yards of rope one inch thick: ${ }^{7}$

At the end of the rope will be a large buoy with a flag staff inserted, and a sinker to keep the staff in a perpendicular position. The stars and stripes will float from the staff. To this buoy will be connected a hundred yards of three quarter rope, which will be fastened to the switch end of a tree on the shore. The hook being baited with a leg of mutton or a young Indian, and allowed to sink twenty feet in the water by means of a smaller buoy, completes the plan. When the monster swallows the bait, he will necessarily take in a few yards of cable chain; this will prevent him from biting off the rope, and as the cable will no doubt be heavy on his stomach, he will back out, which will have the effect of fastening the hook into his vitals. About this time there will be some tall squirming and pulling; if anything breaks it must be the small rope between the flag buoy and the beach. He has still 900 feet of rope to play on, and the large buoy can be followed by the flag all over the lake, or until he concludes to give up the ghost. Mr. Cook is sanguine of success. Others propose erecting dead falls at different places in the lake. If these plans all fail, I shall draw one of them up near the shore with a spy glass and harpoon it; or, I will sub-let the capturing business to N, P. Austin, who will run the lake thru a fine strainer, and starve him to death for want of water.

I have received letters from various parts of the world asking the length, breadth and thickness of the animal, and one "Feller" in the nineteenth ward, writes "that he will believe the whole yarn if I will only knock off the length and velocity." I immediately waited upon Mr. Sleight, who avers its length is not less than ninety feet. After laboring with him some time I succeeded in persuading him to fall a quarter of foot in its length, providing that difference be added to its velocity in running. The animal now remains exactly eightynine feet and eight inches long, and still growing.

Someone had requested the loan of one of the monsters for his settlement but the Bear Lakers could not consider such a proposition because the monsters were necessary to keep the Bear Lake Country from being overrun with fish. ${ }^{7}$

After so many articles had appeared in the news concerning the monsters, it was natural that all persons in the Bear Lake Valley would always be observant whenever they were near the lake. Everyone would be so anxious to see something that his imagination would work overtime should the slightest disturbance on the surface of the lake be observed.

A writer who visited the Bear Lake Valley in November of 1868, and who called himself "Monsterio, " states, however, that although he stayed in the vicinity of the lake only a few days he could easily get the signatures of nearly twenty respectable people testifying to the fact that he never saw the monster. He said the monster business was in his opinion a "Rich" affair and if he ever got close enough to it, he intended to brand him J.C.R. on the left hip. ${ }^{8}$

In 1869 President Brigham Young and his party were visiting in Bear Lake Valley. As they drove along the beach they looked into the waters and across the surface of the lake hoping they might see something that would satisfy their curiosity, which had been aroused by the strange tales they had heard. 9 Although they were unsuccessful, they talked to and stayed with many reliable people in St. Charles who claimed to have seen the monsters: ${ }^{9}$

A family with whom Brother Woodruff and myself conversed . . . several members of which were in the company which saw the ten that were described in the News last summer; speak so confidently and calmly upon the subject, and describe so accurately the appearance of these creatures in the lake, that however much one may be disposed to be skeptical he cannot but accord sincerity to them.

One of the party had seen a part of the body of one of the creatures raised out of the water before the rest of the group had been attracted to them. He had since seen three of them. ${ }^{9}$

The Indians had taken a great deal of interest in these stories and claimed that their ancestors told them about them. They were telling some pretty good-sized stories themselves about the creatures. ${ }^{9}$

The witnesses were so numerous and the reliability of the characters of most of them so good that the reading public in the intermountain neighborhood was pretty well convinced that some type of odd creature existed in the lake. This led to much speculation and numerous conclusions as to whether the monster was something new and different or a common animal of some kind that just had not been observed closely enough. One person whose initials were T.W.E. convinced himself, from the description given, that these strange creatures were nothing more than some member of the seal family, ${ }^{10}$ He felt that the wonder concerning them would cease if they were called by their proper name. He analyzed the habits and anatomy of the seal family, showing how well they correlated with those of the monstrous creatures. He felt that they probably came in originally from the ocean when the water was hundreds of feet higher than at present and wereleft there when the water receded. 10

Two skeptics, Thomas Rich and Milando Pratt, were traveling along the borders of the Lake when the conversation turned to the monster, and each expressed the idea that the sight of one would gratify him ${ }^{11}$ A short while later there was much commotion in the lake and they saw part of the body of a creature that was larger around than the body of a man, the head resembling a walrus minus the tusks. "The portion of the body out of the water was ten feet long. "The entire length of the creature was about forty feet. It swam toward the east side of the lake with the motion of a serpent, and the two men viewed it for about fifteen minutes. 11

The following year (1871) a pleasure boat capable of accommodating about twenty persons was to be launched on the lake. Since the monster had not been seen that spring, it was felf the pleasure seekers would be encouraged to enjoy the beautiful lake. Everyone would feel much safer on the lake if he knew the monster was not around.

In 1874 the noted Gentile traveler John Codman came through the Bear Lake Valley, ${ }^{13}$ He described an Indian legend abatt two lovers who, upon being pursued by some of their fellow tribesmen, plunged into the lake and were changed by the Great Spirit into two large serpents. Then he said: ${ }^{13}$

There is really good reason to believe that the lake is inhabited by some abnormal water animals. We conversed with seven persons, among them our friend, the Bishop, who at different times had seen them; and they told us that many other individuals could verify their report. The length of the monsters varies from thirty to eighty feet, and their bodies are covered with fur like that of a seal. The head is described like that of an alligator. In one instance the animal came close to shore and was entangled in the rushes, where he squirmed and splashed, and made a horrible noise like the roaring of a bull.

Mr. Codman further said that whatever the creatures might be they did not exhibit themselves "for our benefit. "13

For the next several years very little was written about the monster. It seems that he was not making his appearance very often. Those who had been living on the shores of the lake declared that they had not seen the creature and neither had their children, who bathed in the lake daily, 14 "It may be that the animal is particularly fond of Indian meat and will eat no other and only makes semi-occasional visits to the surface, "14

In 1883 a correspondent who signed himself "Tramp" made a visit to the Bear Lake Valley. He found that many people still believed in the veritable existence of the monster. From talking to them, he describes it as being sixty to two-hundred feet long--"What is a few feet to a monster?"15 It had a mane like a horse and eyes a foot or so apart and as big as one's head. He stated further: "I believe it has spectacles; cause--age I suppose. It must be old as it has been known to feed on Indians many years ago. 115

## The Power of Imagination

There was a certain fisherman who did not believe the monster story. He had fished on the lake for many years but had never seen it. One day an excursion from the south end of the valley came to the lake to fish. They had caught a great number, but because they had on new clothes they hired the fisherman to clean their fish, As he was employed in this process, one of the party looked out upon the lake and saw an object far out in the water swimming toward the shore. Everyone in the group thought of the monster stories, and was certain that they were probably on the very spot where the Indians had been gobbled up.

The fisherman stared in amazement. "Like Paul he was converted instantly, " There sure enough was the being whose existence he had doubted, coming toward shore at a great speed. The fisherman said it was a little less than a hundred feet long, if any. It headed for a shore point that jutted out into the lake. One of the spectators who was braver than the rest grabbed a gun and ran to a bush on the shore toward which the creature was swimming. He fired and a great splash followed the report. Then all was quiet. A few of the bravest jumped into a boat and rowed to the now lifeless creature. When they hauled it into the boat, they found that it was a half grown beaver. 15 "Yet so curiously did it reflect itself on the water that it really appeared to be from fifty to one hundred feet long. 115

The monster used to come out occasionally on the shore where, if it couldn't get meat, it would eat other things. It often ate barbed wire, on one occasion one hundred bales of it. This made it so heavy that it couldn't swim or keep its head out of the water, whereupon it sank to the bottom of the lake and died. 16

A composite description of the monster would produce an animal something like the following: A creature with a brown-colored body, somewhat bigger in circumference than a man, anywhere from forty to two hundred feet long. Its head was shaped like a walrus without tusks or like an alligator's, and the eyes were very large and about a foot apart. It had ears like bunches, about the size of a pint cup. It had an unknown number of legs, approximately eighteen inches long, and it was awkward on land but swam with a serpent-like motion at a speed of at least sixty miles an hour. No one ever described the back part of the animal since the head and forepart was all that was ever seen. The rest was always under water.

Early in 1894, when Mr. Joseph C. Rich announced the coming launching of a fifty-passenger steamboat, he wrote a lengthy article telling of all the wonderful things he had done in the Bear Lake Valley. Among the list he stated: "I discovered and made famous by publication in the Deseret News that wonderful first class lie--'The Bear Lake Monster. ' 117

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4. Deseret News, August 23, 1868.
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## CHAPTER XIII

## CONCLUSION

The Latter-day Saints colonized the Bear Lake Valley to establish permanent homes and to "build up Zion," where they could worship accoridng to the "dictates of their own conscience," and where their children would grow up strong in the faith of their fathers. They expected to work hard and endure privations, but they hoped for and believed in success. At first, their efforts were tested rather severely because of the hard winters and their continuous failure to produce a full crop. Faith in their goal of building "Zion" seems to have sustained them.

Not all who went there with an eye to settlement remained; the job of producing the necessities of life was too difficult. Those who did stay faced their problems with a will. Treating the Indian with kindness and fairness produced good results. They worked long hours in the summer and prepared well for winter, and they cooperated with each other for the betterment of their society. They traveled long hours to attend to their Church duties. Moreover, they sacrificed much in a material way to donate to the various causes of their church. They sincerely believed the doctrine of plural marriage as taught by their Church; and they were willing to endure persecution for it, although only a handful of men practiced it. Yet they readily accepted the Church's decision to bow to the will of the state and nation by abolishing it.

The Bear Lake Saints endeavored to bring up their children in the ways of the Lord according to their understanding. They strove to provide wholesome recreation and entertainment through drama, dance, and various types of socials, and they fostered education, encouraging their children to gain knowledge of the world as well as of God.

They founded a commonwealth that would have abolished poverty had the system continued as successfully as in the first years of its development, But the desires of the individual for more personal wealth, along with modern trends, put a stop to their outstanding cooperative methods. As a consequence the industrial development of the valley was retarded.

In general, the settlers accomplished well their goal: they established permanent homes; the majority of young people became strong of character; and most of them remained loyal to their Chur ch. Brigham Young's mis sionaries to the Bear Lake Valley had succeeded in their purpose.

## APPENDIX A

Letter of Brigham Young to Thomas L. Smith ${ }^{1}$

Great Salt Lake City

June 2, 1849

Mr. Thomas L. Smith

Sir:

I am in receipt of your letter of May 26 th and feel very much obliged for your kind offers ther ein to me and also to our people. We shall undoubtedly wish to trade more or less with you from time to time, when you bring goods to this place by your taking the proper currency of the valley for pay, if we continue to be blest in our labors we shall be able to redeem our largest paper currency with gold in a very few weeks which will be our principal means of exchange in all future transactions but I must say that your skins are sold sadly too high in this place, for in St. Louis we could buy skins at $\$ 1.50$ each, which you are asking $\$ 3.00$ for, but if you bring down the price of your skins, robes, etc., so as to accommodate our people and be recompense for yourself, it would then be to our mutual advantage.

I feel glad that the Indian that Mr. Vasquez had sent us word was murdered, is alive and well, and that the Indians know that Mr . Tucker was innocent, as also that other that were with him; if men will be wicked enough to kill a poor Indian and then accuse innocent men of the crime, they will fall into it themselves and be caught in their own snare.

I hope that the severe illness you have been laboring under during the past winter is leaving you, and that you may soon be restored to active health and vigor is the wishes of your friend.

Brigham Young

## APPENDIX B

The Pioneers of the Bear Lake Valley in $1863^{2}$

Alexander Allen
Clark Ames
Mrs. Clark Ames
Nettie Anderson
Charles Atkins
Ann Atkins
Julius A. C. Austin
Newton F. Austin
Alonzo Bingham
Sarah Bingham
Rueben Bingham
William Bird
Ann Bird
Andrew Bird
Amanda Bird
Mary A. Bird
David Bowen
John Bunney
Annie Bunney
Ann M. Bunney
John F. Carlson
Mrs. John F. Carlson
Lander Clifford
John Clifton
Hannah Clifton
Elizabeth Clifton
George Clifton
Heber Clifton
Mary C. Clifton
Sarah Clifton
Phineas W. Cook
Phoebe I. Cook
August P. Cook
Alonzo Cook
Henry H. Cook
John Cozzens
Phineas H. Cook
Ann E. Cook
Martha Cozzens
John Dee
James Dimmick

Marinda Dimmick
James H. Dimmick
Thomas Dimmick
Hezekiah Duffin
Elizabeth Duffin
George Ellis
George Ellis, Jr.
Edward Ellis
Matthew Fifield
Mrs. Martha Fifield
Henry Gassman
Levi Gifford, Jr.
Richard Goodrich
Peter Greenhalgh
Gideon Harmonson
Mrs. Gideon Harmonson
William Harmonson
John Hendricks
Christian Hogenson
Peter Hogenson
Agnes Hogenson
Ebenezer Landers
Mrs. Ebenezer Landers
Alexander Lowe
Charles Mallory
Thomas Mantle
Mrs. Thomas Mantle
John Maughan
Mrs. John Maughan
(child) Maughan
Alonzo Merrill
Orson Merrill
Mrs. Alonzo Merrill
John Miles
Hezekiah Moore
Harley Morey
Isaac Palmer
Fred Perris
James Poulsen
Maren K. Poulsen
Charles Raymond

| Hannah Raymond | Marianne Sleight |
| :--- | :--- |
| Charles C. Rich | William R. Teeples |
| Joseph C. Rich | Harriet B. Teeples |
| John Rich | Isaac Thorne |
| Lewis Ricks | John Turner |
| Emmorette Ricks | Amy Turner |
| Alvira Ricks | John Walmsley |
| Mary Ricks | Gilbert Weaver |
| David Roberts | Sarah Weaver |
| David Savage | Gilbert E. Weaver |
| Margaret Savage | Evelyn Weaver |
| Sidney Savage | Sarah J. Weaver |
| William Severn | Evan A. Williams |
| Mary Severn | N. Norman Williams |
| George W. Sirrine | Robert Williams |
| Thomas Sleight | Mrs. Robert Williams |

## APPENDIX C

List of pioneers called in conference in October 1870 to help Charles C. Rich and Lorenzo Snow settle the "Northern" part of Utah. ${ }^{3}$

Ezra T. Clark
Brother Vitsall
John L. Brushes
David Hess
Niels Washlstrom
Ludwig Suhrke
Charles C. Robinson
John A. Robinson
Charles A. Berry
Horace Drake
John Luther Dalton
Ebenezer Farns
Charles Hubbard
James Peterson
Jeppe George Folkman
Joseph Evans
Joseph Thomas Kingsbury
Carl Marcussen
Wilhelm Hiskey
J. E. Lane

Daniel F. Law
Benjamin Clark
Peere Fordham
William Jenkins
Walter Hoge
James Johnson
Franklin Merrill
Albert M. Merrill
Daniel Bryan

Lewis Gerand
George B. Morris
George Clissold
William Andrus
Benjamin Wright
Frederick Y. Bishop
Charles K. Wright
Henry Lewis
Joseph E. Mullet
Milo Andrus
Aaron Andrus
Samuel M. Price
David B. Bybee
Alma Peterson
Charles Peterson
Thomas Ashment
Benjamin Peart
Miron Higley, Jr.
Henry Dixon
Niels Rasmussen
Ezra F. Martin
Andrew J. Johnson
Robert Collins
Fritz L. Johnson
Benjamin M. Harmon
Henry Hayward
Robert S. Wood
Stephen Tehobald

## APPENDIX D

Following is a list of officers of the United Order in the outlying settlements of the Bear Lake Stake as organized in June 1874. ${ }^{4}$

Montpelier: President, Charles E. Robinson; Vice-President, John Cozzens; Secretary, John Lasuer; Directors, Hyrum S. Phelps, David Osborne, James Holmes, Henry H. Dalrymple.

Bennington: President, James Moore; Vice-President, Dudley Merrill; Secretary, Amos R. Wright; Treasurer, Benatt Nielson; Directors, Augustus Bingham, George Lindsay, David Lindsay.

Soda Springs: Not organized at the time.
Liberty: President, Edwin N. Austin; Vice-President, William Alfred Hymas; Secretary, William Henry Kennington; Treasurer, Evan S. Morgan; Directors, John Martin, Samuel Matthews, and James McMurray.

Ovid: President, Peter Jensen; Vice-President, John Johnson; Secretary, Edward Lashbrook; Treasurer, Niels Johnson; Directors, Niels Peterson, Peter Jacobson, Christian Olson,

Bloomington: President, George Osmond; Vice-President, William Hulme; Secretary, Edward M. Patterson; Treasurer, John Welker; Directors: Christian Madson, James W, Welker and Peter Greenhalgh.

Fish Haven: President, Hyrum Rich; Vice-President, Robert Pope; Secretary, John W. Edwin Stock; Treasurer, John Stock; Directors, Henry Howell, Hugh Findlay, Phineas H, Cook.

Laketown: President, Ira Nebekar; Vice-President, William B. Gibbons; Treasurer, Nathaniel M. Hodges; Directors, John Mosley, Edwin Lamborne, Moroni Pickett.

Woodruff: President, William H. Lee; Vice-President, Peter Cornea; Secretary, William Longhurst; Treasurer, John Coz; Directors, Richard Bee, Samuel Bryson, Aurgurg E. Eastman.

Randolph: President, Randolph H. Stewart; First Vice-President, William Howard; Second Vice-President, Archibald McKinnon; Secretary, George A, Peart; Treasurer, Wilford Woodruff, Jr.; Directors, Robert Alder, Samuel Brough, Neil Peter Christiansen.

Alma: President, Sam Pike; Vice-President, Andrew Wallworth; Second-Vice President, William G. Burton; Secretary, James Stoddart; Treasurer, Matthew Morris; Directors; James B. Downs, John Simms, Mark Jackson.

St. Charles: Not organized at this time.

## APPENDIX E

The Case of N. F. Austin versus J. M. Phelps ${ }^{5}$
Paris, August 17, 1882
To President of the High Council I hereby prefer a charge against J. M. Phelps for jumping my land and assisting others in jumping it, and for lying, and ask for a hearing of the case at an early date. Respectfully, N. F. Austin.

Voted that two councilors speak on each side.
President G. Osmond spoke upon the importance of the calling and duties of a high councilor, wished the parties concerned (in speaking) to keep themselves strictly to the subject. Silas Wilcox said he sold the land in dispute to N. F. Austin, he obtained the land by purchase from the squatters who first owned it in the year 1877. He occupied it until he sold to N. F. Austin about a year since. The hay has been cut every year, there is a corral on it and a small preemption house. William Crawford who kept some sheep there had put up the corral and he has furnished part of the timber with the understanding the land belonged to himself and when Crawford took away the sheep he gave him the corral. About the time Phelps filed on the land N. F. Austin had hauled some of the material away from the claim. There was no defined boundaries and no stakes had been driven but his claim ran a little north of the warm springs. Some hay had been cut on the land and hauled away during two years that he had been away.
E. N. Austin said about a year since, his brother had applied to him to have the land filed upon. His brother N. F. Austin had filed on it as a desert entry. The notice which N. F. Austin had put up was dated somewhere about last November, he could not state positively the time.

Thomas Nelson said he knew the original owners Nathan Davis was first owner and Brother Bennett and William Dustin were the next owners. He mowed the land for those last named owners. He also knew the land was sold by these men to S. Wilcox and he in turn to N. F. Austin.

Walter Hoge testified that J. M. Phelps had laid claim to the land and put up script on it about a year since. Phelps stating to him at the time that Austin had previously claimed the land but that he had recently hauled his improvements away.

Sarah Austin said that J. M. Phelps had said one day, in passing the house that he was only lately aware of N. F. Austin's claiming the land. But the land had now been secured and he (Phelps) was to have part of the land for the trouble he had taken. She replied that he had better see her husband, who she believed, would contest the case.
N. F. Austin said he bought the claim about August a year since as had been stated and he told J. M. Phelps what he had done and also about hauling away the lumber, this was previous to his jumping the claim,
J. M. Phelps stated that he never heard Austin make any such statement as he had just claimed. He explained how he came to take up the land and that he was entirely ignorant of any claim of N. F. Austin's and in fact it was prior to the time which he claims to have bought the land.
E. N. Austin testified that N. F. Austin's notice was posted on the land somewhere about November 1881. (in answer to question) said it remained there about a month or six weeks when some one destroyed it.

Meeting adjourned for thirty minutes: resumed; roll call: all present.
W, Hoge said he had made out no land papers for defendent, held to the statement he had formerly made, viz, that Phelps in an interview stated to him that N, F. Austin claimed the land formerly but that he had hauled off the timber. He kept a stake of Brother Phelps about two weeks but did not remember making out any land papers for him.
J. M. Phelps tried to refresh Brother Hoge's memory about making out the land papers. Brother Hoge admitted that he might possibly have done it but he failed to remember it.

Thomas Nelson stated that Mr. Crawford told him that he had no claim on the springs and did not want any further than to wash his sheep.

OPINION OF COUNCILORS -- A. Beck said it had been proven that Brother Austin had a good claim to the land. It was not proven that J. M. Phelps was ignorant of the fact when he filed on the land. Considered N. E. Austin's claim should be respected.
R. Price (acting) said there had been neglect on the part of complainant to make valid his title. Believed the statement of Phelps as to his ignorance of the existance of a previous owner. Phelps claims only one fourth of the
land. Considered that if Austin contests the claim in the law courts that defendant should pay the expenses and in the event of the suit being lost that he should deed over to N. F. Austin his share of the claim.
G. B. Spencer (acting) considered that defendant should be responsible for his action, and should stand the losses of expense, incurred, of recovery.

Miner Wilcox said that Brother Spencer had spoken his mind in that defendant shculd bear the expense of suit but he considered that his share of one fourth of the claim would not be sufficient remuneration in the event of contestant losing the suit.

Plea -- N. F. Austin considered that from sixty to eighty tons of hay could be cut from the land and he thought he ought to be remunerated for the loss he sustained.

J, M. Phelps said he did not know that Austin owned the land, said he was willing that he should have every foot of the hay land and he would fence it for him if that would satisfy him. That if the brethren would give him time he could prove that he had been trying to get that land long before Austin claims to have bought it.

SUMMING UP AND DECISION -. President George Osmond said it had been proven that the land in question had been owned by different men for many years and that the hay had been repeatedly cut off it, In the face of these facts he would try to a certain degree to give defendant the benefit of the doubt as to his ignorance of its occupation or of the existance of a claimant that if he tried to get possession prior to Austin's purchase it would not make it any better, but only change the name of the contestant to Silas Wilcox.

The land in all justice and equity should belong to Brother Austin who had been energetic in trying to secure his land by legal process.

Decided that J. M. Phelps reimburse or pay N. F. Austin for all the expense in prosecuting the suit to recover the land in the event of his losing the suit that he should give to N. F. Austin his share of the claims. The decision was sustained unanimously by the council.

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2. D. C. Rich, op. cit., p. 10.
3. Andrew Jensen, "History of the Bear Lake Stake," MS, October 9, 1870. No distinction was given as to which were to go to Box Elder County and which were to go to the Bear Lake Valley.
4. Wilford Woodruff to the Deseret News, May 23, 1874. See also Andrew Jensen, op. cit., of same date.
5. "B. L.S. High Council Minutes, Book 1," MS, October 18, 1882.

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Rich, J. C. "Interesting Facts About Bear Lake County," News Examiner (Montpelier, Idaho), April 17, 1947. This article was originally published in the Bear Lake Democrat (Paris, Idaho) in 1894.

Rich, Standley H. 1919 Annual Financial Report of Bear Lake County. Paris, Idaho: Paris, Idaho, 1920.

Smith, Joseph F. and Edward H. Anderson (editors), "Baptism of Washakie, " Improvement Era, XI (1907-1908), 628-30.

Smith, Joseph F. and Edward H. Anderson (editors), "Death of Chief Washakie, " Improvement Era, III (1899-1900), 472-5.

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E. PERSONAL INTERVIEWS --(made in 1947 and 1948)

Austin, Torrey L. Age 66. Liberty, Idaho. Son of E. N. Austin, who was the Latter-day Saint bishop of Liberty Ward for forty-four years.

Broomhead, Minnie. Approximate age 75. L. D.S. Church Historian's Office, 47 East South Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah. Daughter of William Broomhead, early president, 1877-1906.

Budge, Margaret Sutton. Approximate age 72. Daughter of John Sutton, the blacksmith, bone specialist and all-around medical man of early Bear Lake.

Cole, Zula Rich. Approximate age 71. Logan, Utah. Oldest daughter of William L. Rich, bishop of Montpelier and later a member of the Bear Lake Stake Presidency.

Cruikshank, Mrs. Fred. Montpelier, Idaho. Daughter of Ed Burgoyne, early settler of Montpelier.

Davis, Jefferson. Age 84. First white child born in Montpelier, Idaho. Now spending the winters in California.

Hart, James E. Age 91. Salt Lake City, Utah. Son of President James H. Hart of the Bear Lake Stake Presidency. Only living member of the Idaho Territorial Legislature (1948).

Hart, Alfred A. Age 77. Bloomington, Idaho. Son of James H. Hart.
Kunz, William J. Age 84. Son of John Kunz, founder of Bern, Idaho.
Kunz, Orlando, Bern, Idaho. Latter-day Saint bishop of Bern (1948).
Price, Joseph S. Age 74. Salt Lake City, Utah. Formerly of Bloomington, Idaho. Son of Bishop Robert Price of Paris, who was also general manager of the Paris Cooperative Institution.

Rich, Emily Matthews. Age 78, Paris, Idaho. Daughter of Samuel Matthews, early pioneer of Liberty, Idaho.

Rich. Mary Elizabeth Jacobs. Age 88. Paris, Idaho. Daughter of Daniel Jacobs, pioneer of St. Charles, Idaho in 1864.

Rich, Dr. Edward I. Age 80. Ogden, Utah. Son of Charles C. Rich.
Rich, Jesse P. Age 65. Logan, Utah. Son of WilliamL, Rich and father of the writer.

Rich, Louise Rogers. Age 64. Logan, Utah. Mother of the writer. She attended the Presbyterian School as a girl in Paris, Idaho.

Rich, Standley H. Son of Joseph C. Rich, who wrote more articles on early Bear Lake History than any other individual.

Sarbach, Fred. Age 84. Worked on the Tabernacle and the Fielding Academy as a stone mason.

Rich, Martha Cozzens. Daughter of Bishop John Cozzens, original pioneer of 1863 to Paris, Idaho, and 1864 to Montpelier, Idaho.

Sleight, Viola. Daughter of Thomas Sleight, pioneer of Bear Lake Valley in 1963, who kept a diary all his life.

Spidell. Nellie G. Age 74. Montpelier, Idaho. Historian for the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, Montpelier, Idaho,

Wright, Conover, Age 52. Bennington, Idaho. Son of Amos Wright by his second wife; Indian missionary and bishop of Bennington.

## F. THESES AND DISSERTATIONS

Barrett, Ivan J. "History of the Cotton Mission and Cotton Culture in Utah. " Un published Master's thesis, Department of the Division of Religion, Brigham Young University, 1947.

Beal, Samuel Merrill. "The Salmon River Mission." Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of History, University of California, 1934.

Fox, Feramorz Y. "The Mormon Land System." Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Economics, Northwe stern University.

Meservy, Joseph Robert. "A History of Federal Legislation Against Mormon Polygamy and Certain United States Supreme Court Decisions Supporting Such Legislation, " Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of History, Brigham Young University, 1947.

Romney, Thomas C. "The State of Deseret." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of California, 1929.

## G. UNPUBLISHED ARTICLES

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Nelson, Ann. "The First Mail Carrier," MS. In possession of Russell R. Rich, Provo, Utah.

Spidell, Nellie. "A Historical Sketch of Bear Lake County," MS. In possession of Russell R. Rich, Provo, Utah.

- "Scrapbook of Bear Lake History." In her possession at Montpelier, Idaho.

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