

A HISTORY OF _____
Cache
County



F. Ross Peterson

UTAH CENTENNIAL COUNTY HISTORY SERIES

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Cache County, Utah, has a wonderful historical legacy. The high alpine county hosted Native Americans for generations prior to its exploration and settlement by Europeans and white Americans. Geographically isolated but abounding in water, game, and beaver, the area became a beloved respite for the early trappers. Other explorers and traders also found their way into the beautiful valley, but the cold winters discouraged any type of permanent settlement until the late 1850s.

Once opened, the county became a haven for thousands of settlers. Numerous Mormon converts from the British Isles and Scandinavia joined fellow believers in acquiring the necessary land for survival. Their rich historical heritage is apparent through their successful pioneering, farming, dairy industry, and creative marketing. Cache County also has had a lasting impact on education in the West in the form of Brigham Young College and Utah State University. These institutions provided opportunities for thousands of people to expand their knowledge and prepare for careers. The county has transformed itself into a manufacturing and educational center as the twentieth century closes. This volume surveys the individuals and institutions that have created the county.

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F. Ross Peterson

1997
Utah State Historical Society
Cache County Council

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Preface

The legislation that created this project gave a very specific charge to the authors selected to write each county's history. Although great creative freedom exists within the guidelines, the settlement, economic, educational, cultural, religious, and political history of each county was to constitute the book. Specifically, the authors focused on county activities, not just on communities within a county. The historical form of county government outlines certain activities that dominate a county's existence: law enforcement, physical maintenance, and the work of a county attorney, assessor, and other officers. Cache County has a unique form of council government that distinguishes it from the state's other twenty-eight counties. Representing specific geographic districts, the seven council members effectively serve as a legislative branch of government. However, government is not the only aspect of Cache history that intrigues a student of history.

The county is politically interesting to students of economics and demography. Isolated geographically, Cache residents often reflect parochial views that reveal a genuine fear of the outside world and its

influences. Predominantly members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, thousands of residents have served missions throughout the world and a knowledge of the languages and culture of other nations and peoples is apparent and appreciated. Utah State University's graduates also go into a larger world with language skills and experience. Despite this, many county residents remain suspicious and fearful. The area votes as consistently conservative as any in the very conservative state. Unfortunately, attitudes are often reflected in a polarized view of the world—them versus us, outside versus inside, Mormon versus non-Mormon. This historical reality fails to recognize differences and values among groups, interests, and individuals.

To a degree, Cache County is isolated, although the recent expansion to four lanes of U.S. Highway 89–91 and its connection to Interstate 15 may change that. Some Utahns traditionally view Cache County as distant, cold, and parochial, and the evening television weather report often enhances the reputation for coldness, as temperatures are often ten degrees lower than in Wasatch Front communities. But Cache County is the economic, social, and cultural center of its own region, which also includes much of Rich County, southeastern Idaho, and, to a degree, Star Valley, Wyoming. This is in part due to settlement patterns and family connections, but it is also geographic in nature. U.S. Highway 89 is an important route that connects Cache Valley, Logan Canyon, Bear Lake, Montpelier Canyon, Salt River Canyon, Star Valley, Jackson Hole, Wyoming, and eventually Yellowstone National Park. U.S. Highway 91 moves north through Franklin County, Idaho, and provides easy access for Idaho residents to shopping, cultural or athletic events, or Utah State University, which has played a major role in enhancing the county as a regional center since it was founded in 1888. The perception of isolation is certainly not the reality of county life; but most Cache County residents do enjoy the quiet solitude of small towns, open space, and close friends.

Cache County is in some degree of turmoil at the state's centennial. There are numerous unanswered questions about how to plan, control, and accommodate the inevitable growth. Will rich farmland continue to be traded for subdivisions, parking lots, and urban

growth? Is there any master plan of development for the entire county? Will the citizen-directed 2010 Planning Project have any influence? What of U.S. Highway 89 through Logan Canyon? To what extent should the road be widened? and should all bridges be replaced? Can county communities remain as enclaves for traditional conservative values as the world changes and increasingly influences the county? Cache County and its valley have long been described as a place of beauty and serenity; how long can that remain so?

Ultimately, the primary resource of Cache County is its people. The mountains, lakes, streams, trees, and wetlands constitute a valuable resource; but, as I see it, people determine the worth of resources. As the county approaches the twenty-first century, there is a genuine need to evaluate the particular geographic entity that is Cache County, Utah, and understand its past in order to chart the future. Cache County is people as well as a place. From the Native Americans to the trappers to the settlers and beyond, the human impact on place is the story of this volume. The goal is to create a sense of achievement by recognizing the difficulties and examples of cooperative solutions. That is one of the county legacies. This volume tries to describe how county people worked, played, worshiped, learned, and served. The limitations of space mean that all cannot be included and discussed. Each person has a story, and the whole is made from the combination of a variety of parts.

There are many aspects of Cache history that need to be written; for example, contemporary agribusiness firms and local companies that have become significant merit histories, as do many individuals. Numerous public servants deserve specific interviews in order to assist future historians. Reed Bullen, Charles Bullen, Evan Olsen, Lyle Hillyard, Ann Skanchy, Seth Allen, Sid Groll, and many other representatives of government deserve expanded examinations. The county's political history needs close attention as well. There is still much to do; however, for the purposes of Utah's statehood centennial, this study of Cache County's history fulfills an obligation and becomes a starting point. It has been a fantastic experience.

Writing a local history is both enjoyable and demanding. There are many aspects of the complete story that cannot be told because of space limitations. Cache County is rich in primary resources; how-

ever, many of them remain in private hands and are unavailable to researchers. Sadly, many sets of letters, journals, and business records have been lost. The numerous surviving personal journals, photographic collections, business records, and letters (or copies of them) need to be gathered into Utah State University's Special Collections or other repository. After spending years working with such secondary works and primary sources, I make a plea for those who possess such records to so place them in safekeeping where they can be preserved for (and used by) future generations. I am grateful to those who have already done so.

I am grateful to the late A.J. Simmonds, who devoted three decades to researching, writing, archiving, and searching Cache County history. He taught me a great deal and his legacy of willingness to collect and use documents has not been forgotten. Robert Parson, a friend and colleague for life, helped me throughout the project. His history of Rich County provided significant guidelines. Craig Fuller and Kent Powell of the Utah State Division of History are close and patient friends who helped make this entire project a reality. The Utah State Legislature deserves considerable credit because it saw that a true centennial of statehood needed a tangible historical foundation. Cache County's state senator, Lyle Hillyard, remained a consistent and enthusiastic supporter, as did various state representatives. A Utah State University sabbatical and a sojourn at Deep Springs College in California gave me the time necessary to finish the book.

Joel Ricks and S. George Ellsworth, mentors and colleagues, paved the way for this book by collecting and writing history and encouraging students for a combined sixty years. All of those communities that formed committees to create a published history did a great service to the county. Dr. Doran Baker, an engineer and writer of history who adopted the valley and remains one of its most avid historical supporters, continues to explore local history. The Cache County Historical Society—in my view, the best county organization in the state—continues to provide avenues for the discussion of history. The late Vera Christensen and her colleague Jean Pugmire deserve great praise for maintaining momentum in a purely volunteer organization. County executive Lynn Lemon and the Cache County Council, especially Ann Skanchy, provided leadership and

cooperation. Under the legislation, they had a responsibility to gently remind me of my task and pending deadlines. Julie A. Anderson, who is the best secretary imaginable, Kami B. Peterson, and Natalie Rowe typed the manuscript and helped considerably with editing and clarity. The entire Special Collections Department at Utah State University, directed by Ann Buttars, are public servants in the truest sense of the term.

My Scandinavian progenitors came to Cache County in 1862, but Mormon church leaders sent them to Bear Lake the very next year. Their posterity subsequently continued to drift back to their first American homeland. Cache County is a special place, and my family is more than grateful that we call it home. Their continual love and support is a sustaining reality that allows me to push forward with my dreams. I love them deeply and thank them for a wonderful life together.

General Introduction

When Utah was granted statehood on 4 January 1896, twenty-seven counties comprised the nation's new forty-fifth state. Subsequently two counties, Duchesne in 1914 and Daggett in 1917, were created. These twenty-nine counties have been the stage on which much of the history of Utah has been played.

Recognizing the importance of Utah's counties, the Utah State Legislature established in 1991 a Centennial History Project to write and publish county histories as part of Utah's statehood centennial commemoration. The Division of State History was given the assignment to administer the project. The county commissioners, or their designees, were responsible for selecting the author or authors for their individual histories, and funds were provided by the state legislature to cover most research and writing costs as well as to provide each public school and library with a copy of each history. Writers worked under general guidelines provided by the Division of State History and in cooperation with county history committees. The counties also established a Utah Centennial County History Council

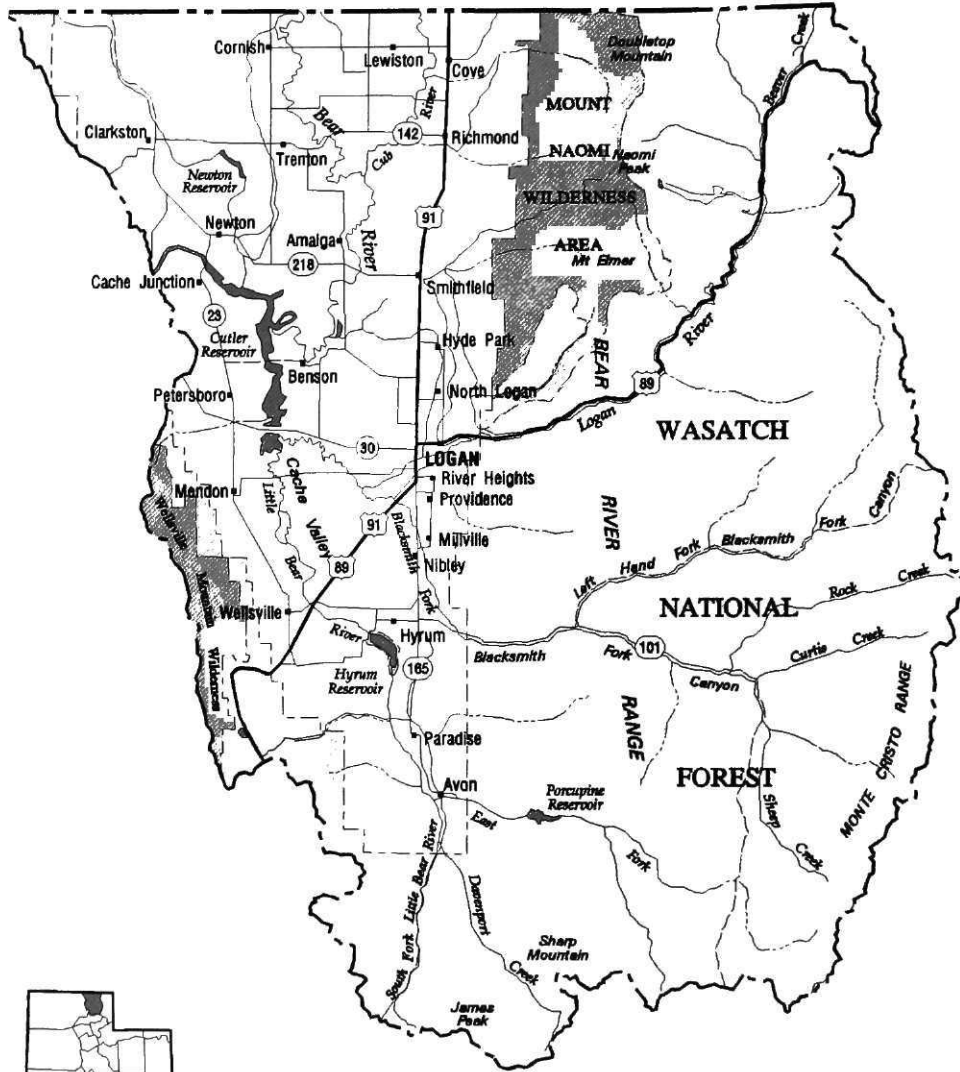
to help develop policies for distribution of state-appropriated funds and plans for publication.

Each volume in the series reflects the scholarship and interpretation of the individual author. The general guidelines provided by the Utah State Legislature included coverage of five broad themes encompassing the economic, religious, educational, social, and political history of the county. Authors were encouraged to cover a vast period of time stretching from geologic and prehistoric times to the present. Since Utah's statehood centennial celebration falls just four years before the arrival of the twenty-first century, authors were encouraged to give particular attention to the history of their respective counties during the twentieth century.

Still, each history is at best a brief synopsis of what has transpired within the political boundaries of each county. No history can do justice to every theme or event or individual that is part of an area's past. Readers are asked to consider these volumes as an introduction to the history of the county, for it is expected that other researchers and writers will extend beyond the limits of time, space, and detail imposed on this volume to add to the wealth of knowledge about the county and its people. In understanding the history of our counties, we come to understand better the history of our state, our nation, our world, and ourselves.

In addition to the authors, local history committee members, and county commissioners, who deserve praise for their outstanding efforts and important contributions, special recognition is given to Joseph Francis, chairman of the Morgan County Historical Society, for his role in conceiving the idea of the centennial county history project and for his energetic efforts in working with the Utah State Legislature and State of Utah officials to make the project a reality. Mr. Francis is proof that one person does make a difference.

ALLAN KENT POWELL
CRAIG FULLER
GENERAL EDITORS



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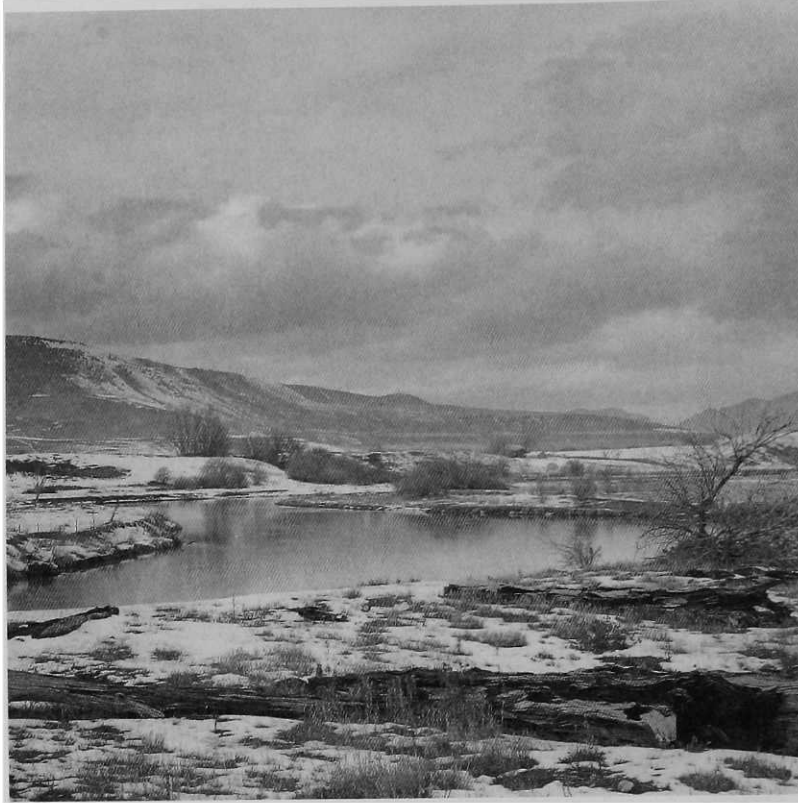
CACHE COUNTY

BEFORE SETTLEMENT

You have an abundance of grass just springing up and buds beginning to shoot, while the higher parts of the mountains are covered with snow, all within twelve to fifteen miles of the valley.

—DANIEL POTTS

Each of Utah's twenty-nine counties has unique qualities of history and geography, although all share some definite similarities. Cache County is geographically unique because of its topography and physical characteristics. The county is also part of a self-contained valley; yet it is more than the valley because the high mountains that surround the valley on east and west are an integral part of the county. However, much of Cache Valley lies beyond the forty-second degree parallel, which is the boundary between the states of Utah and Idaho. Thus, although many Utahns think of the county and the valley as the same, they are not—a political, social boundary divides what is topographically one. Before extensive settlement the Cache Valley was viewed without any artificial boundaries, and this extended into the early years of the pioneer Mormon colonizing experience.



Bear River west of Lewiston. (Craig Law photograph)

The 4,500-foot elevation of the well-watered valley floor is low enough that Cache County can be considered an irrigated agricultural paradise. Although much of the quality farmland has fallen victim to asphalt and residential subdivisions, Cache County has long been (and still remains) Utah's agricultural breadbasket. Numerous streams find their way down the canyons on the east side of the valley and eventually merge with the Bear River. The Bear River, which drains over 6,000 square miles in the states of Wyoming, Idaho, and Utah, slices into the valley through Idaho's Oneida Narrows and meanders across the state line into the central valley of Cache County until it cuts through to the west and eventually makes its way to the Great Salt Lake. The Little Bear River comes out of the southeast corner of the county, as does Blacksmith's Fork River. The Logan River

cascades through Logan Canyon, merging with the Bear River in the middle of the valley. Most of the larger tributaries are now dammed and many of the creeks have diversions that provide irrigation water for both agricultural fields and domestic garden plots during the summer months. The Wasatch Mountains to the east of the valley exceed 9,000 feet in elevation, and the Wellsville Mountains on the west climb to nearly 9,000 feet.¹

The entire valley was once covered by Lake Bonneville, an ancient lake that covered much of northern Utah. Rivers and canyon streams flowed into the valley as the lake was rising and then evaporating, and they left residue on a series of benches along the foothills to the east. For instance, Utah State University sits on a bench approximately 4,700 feet above sea level, or two hundred feet higher than the valley floor. When Lake Bonneville reached its highest altitude, the water level measured approximately 650 feet above Logan's Main Street. The alluvial fans or benches are generally comprised of gravel and other sedimentary materials, and are now covered with homes, a university campus, and orchards.²

The county is approximately forty miles long and averages twenty miles wide. Rich County is to the east, Box Elder County to the west, and Weber County directly south. Approximately 80,000 residents call this high alpine valley their home. Most of the county's inhabitants live along a twelve-mile strip nestled against the eastern foothills; nearly three-fourths of the residents live from Hyrum to Smithfield, with Logan, the county seat and largest community, near the center of the strip. Cache County can be seen as a microcosm of the Wasatch Front's relationship to Utah. Its densely populated strip in a generally rural region resembles the densely populated Wasatch Front's relation to the state. In both cases, nearly 80 percent of the residents live in the urban strip.

The beauty of Cache County can be seen through the course of a year. Indeed, spectacular Logan Canyon may illustrate the seasons as dramatically as any place in the West. The canyon and its river bearing the same name merge to create one of nature's showpieces. Winter is usually long, with abundant snow, important to county agricultural and recreational activities. The whiteness of the snow, the icy river splashing over rounded rocks, and richly dark evergreens

show the canyon at its best, as many enjoy winter skiing at Beaver Mountain, snowmobiling, sleighing, or fishing. Others relish the solitude of cross-country skiing or snowshoeing into nearby protected areas.

Spring is less certain in Cache Valley. It always comes and is beautiful, but the time of its arrival and duration varies. Thousands of calves are born, new green leaves appear, eventually the grass turns luxuriant green, and migratory fowl move north. The odors of the county's numerous dairies are a pleasant reminder of the nature of the valley. Cache County was called Willow Valley by early trappers, and it has long been noted for the green foliage on its abundant trees. Summer is characterized by luxurious alfalfa and corn fields creating a beautifully patterned valley floor. The area's reservoirs provide water for crops and domestic use and are also used for waterskiing; the streams are heavily fished. Cool nights and mornings help make the hot summer days bearable. The communities are alive with activity, and many are graced by lighted recreational areas and parks. Autumn is the favorite season of many. The changing colors of the canyon foliage of red mountain maple and yellow aspen precedes the changes in the valley's trees. Clear, cool days followed by frosty nights establish an aura of freshness. The diverse valley foliage gradually changes to hues of orange, red, and yellow and then drops to the ground. Winter follows, and the cycle begins again.

Cache Valley provides abundant varieties of fish, birds, game, water, and grasses. Surrounded by high mountain peaks, Cache Valley early on was a coveted area for numerous groups of people, from Native Americans to the Anglo trappers and explorers. It was not until the late 1850s that permanent settlers arrived.

It can be assumed that the Cache Valley was traversed and perhaps inhabited by ancient inhabitants of the continent as much as 10,000 or more years ago. Groups of these hunter-gatherers doubtless made use of the foodstuffs of the region. More recently, from some 700 to 2,000 years ago, members of what has come to be called the Fremont Culture perhaps made use of the region, as scholars have determined that the culture extended into southern Idaho along the eastern edge of the Great Basin. Artifacts from all these people are scanty in the region, and the material is of most interest

to specialized scholars; this very general history will only make note of the presence in the county of human beings from ancient times. By A.D. 1300 the Fremont Culture had essentially disappeared or been absorbed by more recent arrivals, Numic-language-speaking ancestors of the Native Americans who inhabited the region at the time of historical contact with Euro-American explorers and trappers.

Few Native Americans in historical times utilized the Cache region as a permanent home, probably because of the severity of the winters there. However, acknowledged winter camping grounds were near the confluence of the Bear and Little Bear rivers and at Battle Creek in Idaho. The Shoshoni Indians who lived along the Cache Valley rivers called themselves the Pangwaduka, or “fish-eaters.” They called the Logan River, Guinavah, which translates as “bird water”; and that name has survived for a well-known campground in Logan Canyon. Many of the current wetlands of the central valley did not exist prior to the damming of the Bear River, when the stream flowed freely and did not have “trash fish,” and so it is believed that trout became the principal part of the diet of the region’s nomadic peoples. Many migratory fowl used the area. The numerous rivers provided easy hunting for bears (for whom one of the rivers is named) as well as for Native Americans.³

Many Native Americans passed through Cache Valley in search of food. Primarily, they moved into the valley from the north and gradually hunted and fished their way through the entire region. Most Native Americans in the valley were Shoshoni, whose extended family reached from northwestern Nevada throughout all of southern Idaho and northern Utah and into central Wyoming. Once they acquired horses, probably by 1750, the Shoshoni bands traveled through the Rocky Mountains on annual excursions. Horses provided a greater hunting ability and mobility that helped make the Shoshonis depend more on hunting than on gathering foodstuffs.⁴

Anthropologists have attempted to reconstruct Native American life and to teach contemporaries much about the early inhabitants of the West. According to some studies of the Shoshoni nation, a general profile emerges that may fit these people. Typically, a chief and a council governed a group, usually an extended family, which traveled

and lived together. The leadership exercised some degree of economic, political, and military control over their followers, most of whom consisted of relatives. They directed the trips to find food as well as the activities of war parties, if needed. Once contact was made with whites, the role of the chief and council became significantly more complex. The United States government always searched for leaders to negotiate treaties; it thus described groups of Indians in terms of the leaders it recognized. In reality, the Shoshoni had a much more complicated system of leadership. According to historians and ethnologists, as many as five different bands lived in and around Cache Valley.

The Shoshoni who migrated into and through Cache Valley depended on the area to provide their necessities. The Shoshoni faced competition from their native neighbors to the south and east, the Utes, who also hunted along the Bear River and its tributaries. Consequently, the Cache Valley peoples rarely moved very far south. They were restricted by the Blackfeet and the Crow Indian tribes to the northeast and by the Nez Perce to the northwest. The high desert of Nevada proved inhospitable to the Shoshoni, so a corridor along the Bear River, the Portneuf River, and the Snake River system defined the patterns of their group movement. Although periodic confrontations arose between the Shoshoni and other groups, they proved able to survive harsh winters and other natural difficulties. They relied on the natural bounty of the mountain valleys—such as elk, deer, buffalo, fish, and fowl—to sustain themselves. Their lifeways changed considerably once trappers moved into the area.⁵

The fur trappers, whose primary objective was to trap beaver, also fished and hunted other animals. Their impact on buffalo is dramatically illustrated by an examination of three primary sources. Peter Skene Ogden, the leader of area trappers working for the British Hudson's Bay Company, recorded that he saw two large herds of buffalo in the valley in 1825. Five years later Warren Angus Ferris saw many buffalo on the valley floor. However, in 1843 U.S. government explorer John Charles Frémont noted that there were no buffalo in the valley. This valuable resource for Native Americans had disappeared from the region in a very short time.⁶ Partly as a result of this,



Family group of Bannock in tipi encamped near Medicine Lodge Creek, Idaho, 1871. Bannock were frequent visitors to Cache Valley. (W. H. Jackson photograph, S. George Ellsworth Collection, Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

the Indians turned to cattle brought by overlanders and settlers as a promising source of food.

Local Native Americans depended on elk, deer, and antelope as well as buffalo for food and clothing; and, in fact, their ability to survive depended in great part on the availability of these resources. As trappers and then settlers competed for the animals, hunger, poverty, and often starvation resulted for the native population. In addition, other tribes also felt the pressure and competed more fiercely for the available foodstuffs. Nathaniel Wyeth reported that he saw only Shoshonis in Cache Valley in 1833; but he saw Ute, Crow, and Blackfoot Indians in the valley in 1836. Although they continued to fish and seek smaller game, the result recorded by Frémont in 1843 was that the natives in Cache Valley had little game, few roots, and almost nothing stored for the potentially harsh winter. Within fifty years, the greater Shoshoni nation went from control of much of the

northern Rocky Mountains to being restricted to life on treaty-mandated reservations. From the Duck Valley Reservation in Nevada to Fort Hall in Idaho, Washakie in Wyoming, and even a small locale near Bishop, California, the Shoshoni people were dispersed throughout the western United States.

The interaction of Native Americans with trappers, explorers, and settlers gives only a glimpse of these early human inhabitants of Cache Valley. The invasion by whites was gradual, yet the cumulative result proved devastatingly destructive to a vibrant and intriguing culture. By the 1880s the Native Americans' collective presence in the area was no longer an issue or a threat to the new immigrants, the land had now been claimed by the United States government and the settlers. The transfer of power significantly altered Indian traditions. A.J. Simmonds recorded that one older member of the Shoshoni tribe indicated that Temple Hill in Logan and some of the other area foothills were viewed as sacred healing places by the Native Americans.⁷ Few of the newcomers really cared about the consequences to the Indians of their annexation of the land.

The fur trade is a vital chapter in the history of North America. From the time of the earliest settlements in eastern Canada and New England, the fur trade was central to the economy of both French and British colonies. Trappers followed streams and rivers into the depths of the continent in their desire for more pelts. The trade ultimately proved quite destructive to lands and peoples as the game was depleted in regions, which meant that subsequent trappers must move farther upstream or into another valley or beyond yet another mountain range. The early wandering trappers were genuine pioneers in that they preceded settlement; but their rough maps, memories, and journals acted as guides for permanent settlers who followed them into the valleys of the continent. By the early 1800s, shortly after the famous Lewis and Clark expedition, British, French-Canadian, and American trappers made their way into the Rocky Mountains and eventually into Cache Valley.

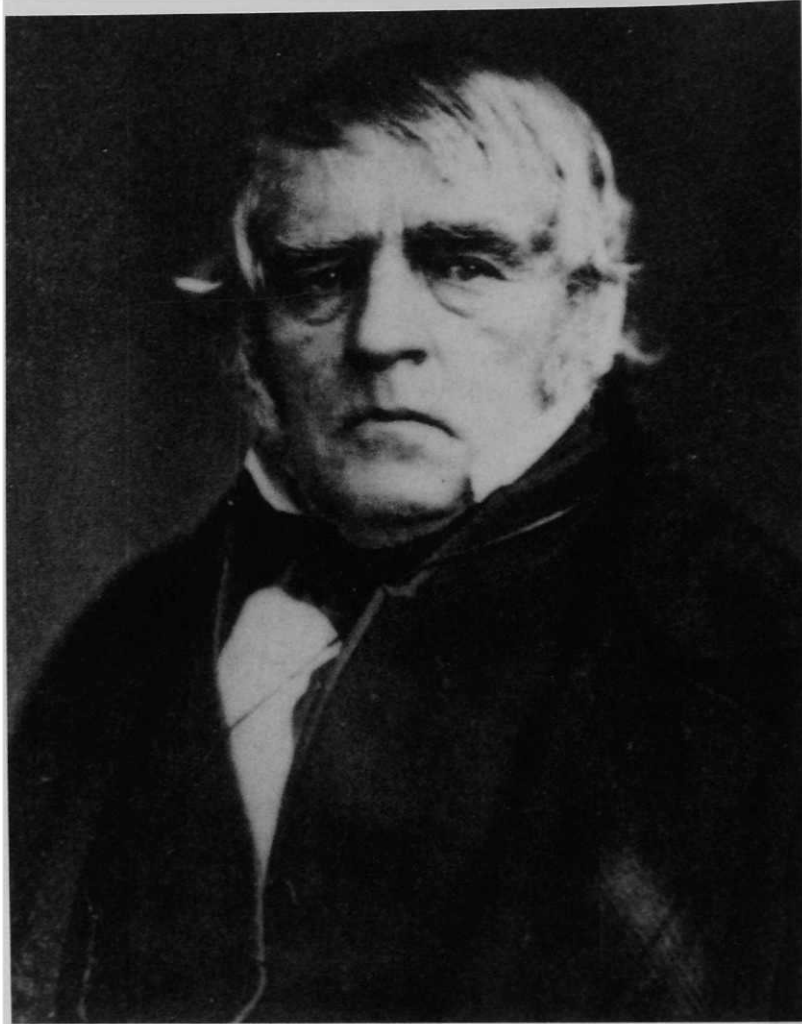
The north end of Cache Valley may have been visited as early as 1818 by Canadian trappers under Michael Bourdon. Bourdon, a French-Canadian, named the Bear River and probably christened the three rivers in southern Cache County that he thought were forks of

the Bear. The Logan River he called the Little Bear; Blacksmith Fork, he named Middle Fork; and South Fork was the name bestowed on what is now the Little Bear. This group of adventurers also may have been the first to call the heavily wooded stream banks Willow Valley. Five years later Bourdon met death in Idaho at the hand of Blackfoot Indians; later, when some of his colleagues returned to Cache Valley, they renamed the Little Bear (Logan) the Bourdon River. That name lasted in popular usage for only about three years, at which time the river was renamed for another slain trapper, the American adventurer Ephraim Logan.⁸

By the mid-1820s, Cache Valley's rivers became the temporary home of numerous traps belonging to a variety of trappers and traders representing the Hudson's Bay Company, William H. Ashley's Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company. The men of Ashley's company came into the valley in 1824 when a party led by John Weber followed the Bear River south into Utah in the fall of that year. Among Weber's men were Ephraim Logan and Jim Bridger, who took the assignment of finding out where the Bear River went. With colleagues he constructed a rawhide boat and then followed the stream to the Great Salt Lake near Corrine. Originally, because of its brackish water, Bridger thought the lake was part of the Pacific Ocean. Later explorations proved that the water not only was a lake but also that it did not empty into another stream leading eventually to the ocean. Weber and his men spent the winter of 1824–25 trapping most of the Cache Valley tributaries of the Bear River.⁹

The next spring, in 1825, Peter Skene Ogden led a large Hudson's Bay Company group of trappers into the valley. With fifty-eight men, sixty-one guns, 268 horses, and over 300 traps, Ogden's group arrived in Cache Valley in late April. By May they could see that Weber's efforts the previous year had depleted the number of beaver in the lower streams. Weber Canyon is as far south as the Hudson's Bay Company trapped in Utah, but its men did explore and examine Cache Valley. Some of Weber's men tried to winter in Cache Valley in 1825, but heavy snow drove them out by Christmas.

Ogden noted in his journal: "Our course this day was west over a fine plain covered with Buffaloes and thousands of small gulls the



British Fur Trapper Peter Skene Ogden. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

latter was a strange sight to us I presume some large body of water near at hand at present unknown to us all.”¹⁰ In all probability, Ogden was somewhere near present-day Lewiston in Cache County. Earlier he wrote that “we have so far not seen Birds or Fowls of any kind save and except Ravens and Crows in abundance and for insects we have no cause or complain, fleas, wood lice, spiders and crickets by millions.”¹¹ Ogden also commented after leaving Cache Valley that “we

have seen no wood of any kind except Willows for these two months past.”¹² It is hard to imagine that Peter Skene Ogden traveled from central Idaho to Ogden Valley without encountering large stands of evergreens, but the route he took was mostly through sagebrush country. After spending a few days trapping in the south end of Cache Valley, Ogden moved south into the Ogden Valley and reached the site of present-day Huntsville by 20 May. When some of Ogden’s trappers found out there how much more the American companies paid for pelts, they deserted the Hudson’s Bay Company. Faced with the problem of desertion plus the reality that many of the streams had been trapped, Ogden retraced his journey through Cache Valley and returned to the Snake River by late summer.¹³

This episode with Weber and Ogden highlights an international economic struggle over beaver pelts and geographic domination in North America during the 1820s. The British Hudson’s Bay Company wanted to deplete the beaver in the Utah and Idaho mountains in order to help keep Americans on the eastern slope of the Rockies. By 1818 the British and Americans had agreed to joint occupation of the Pacific Northwest, which included Idaho. Utah in the 1820s belonged to Mexico. Fur trapping expeditions, including those of Alexander Ross from the British and Jedediah Smith for the Americans, probed the Utah and Idaho mountains to counter the other nation’s trapping and trading activities. Great Britain definitely wanted to keep the Americans out of Idaho even though it had agreed to joint occupation. The trapping expeditions proved to be pawns on an international chessboard, and Cache Valley, because it straddled the international boundary, became a key location of great interest to diplomats. In spite of any international considerations, the trappers continued to search for beaver, whose pelts were in great demand for hats.

Many famous and well-known American trappers came through Cache Valley, and the 1826 trappers’ rendezvous on the Blacksmith Fork River near Nibley attests to the valley’s popularity. Besides Smith and Bridger, James Beckwourth, the great African-American trapper, James Clyman, and Thomas Fitzpatrick all came. William Ashley had concluded that in order to keep his men in the mountains trapping, he would bring the necessary supplies to a predetermined place in the



American Fur Trapper Jim Bridger. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

summer. He arranged to exchange the supplies for furs, and then Ashley took the furs back to St. Louis. In late May 1826 Ashley arrived in Cache Valley and made his way to the Blacksmith Fork River, which trappers had earlier renamed because they had cached a set of blacksmith's tools near the river along with many other supplies. The trappers, Americans and Canadians, began to gather along with Native Americans. James Beckwourth recalled the atmosphere of 1826.

Shortly after, General Ashley and Mr. Sublet came in, accompanied with 300 pack mules, well laden with goods and all things necessary for the mountaineers and the Indian trade. It may well be supposed that the arrival of such a vast amount of luxuries from the East did not pass off without a general celebration. Mirth, songs, dancing, shouting, yarns, frolic, with all sorts of extravagances . . . were freely indulged in. The unpacking of the medicine water contributed not a little to the heightening of our festivities.¹⁴

After the exchanges and merrymaking, four trappers went to the Great Salt Lake and floated around the lake in bullboats. It took Jim Clyman, Louis Clyman, Black Harris, and Henry Fraeb twenty-four days to complete the trip, and their report stated that they did not "ascertain its outlet, but passed a place where they supposed it must have been."¹⁵

Although Jim Beckwourth is often credited with naming Cache Valley, Jedediah Smith used the name Cache for the location at the time of the 1826 rendezvous. The caching in the valley of surplus goods, tools, and equipment contributed to the name, and it is probable that some trappers wintered in the valley every year until the 1840s. However, some trappers continued to use the Willow Valley name for the area. Daniel Potts wrote a letter to his brother in which he described Willow Valley in 1826:

Willow Valley is better supplied in this point [timber] this valley has been our chief place of rendezvous and wintering grounds. Numerous streams fall in through this valley, which, like the others, is surrounded by stupendous mountains, which are unrivaled for beauty and serenity of scenery.¹⁶

Potts then described one of the aspects that distinguishes Cache Valley in June: "You have . . . plenty of ripe fruit, an abundance of



American Fur Trapper James Beckwourth. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

grass just springing up, and buds beginning to shoot, while the higher parts of the mountains are covered with snow, all within twelve to fifteen miles of this valley.”¹⁷

Before leaving to return to St. Louis with his \$60,000 worth of furs, Ashley sold his share of the company to Jedediah Smith, William Sublette, and David Jackson. Ashley left for Missouri after accomplishing his personal economic objective for the fur trade—he was now a man of independent means. The trappers that year sent back

the required government documentation that they were doing business at Fort Defence in Cache Valley. Whether or not a permanent structure existed at the Blacksmith Fork is a matter of conjecture, but it is likely that trappers who wintered in the valley constructed some type of shelter. The new partners subsequently split up and began to seek beaver in other areas; however, for the next few years, Cache Valley and Bear Lake remained the primary rendezvous sites.

After the gathering in 1827, the company sent four men to trap the lower reaches of the Snake River. The four were killed near Twin Falls by Shoshoni Indians. When the men did not return to Bear Lake in the summer of 1828, their colleagues realized they were not coming back. Among the missing was Ephraim Logan. For some unrecorded reason, the trappers thought enough of him to rename in his honor the Bourdon River and the canyon through which it flows. His fame spread quickly because an entry in George Yount's 1829 journal mentions that his group went into winter quarters at Logan's Hole.¹⁸ Yount's description leaves no doubt that the trappers wintered in Cache Valley. Ephraim Logan's name is well preserved in the valley and mountains.

One of the best-remembered trappers was Warren Angus Ferris. Originally employed by John Jacob Astor, Ferris worked for the American Fur Company and came to Cache Valley from Bear Lake through Logan Canyon. On the way into the valley, Ferris encountered grizzly bears, mountain sheep, elk, and a variety of other game. For many of his six years in the mountains, Ferris spent time in Cache Valley. He wrote extensively about his years as a trapper in the Rockies, describing Cache Valley as one of the most extensive and beautiful valleys of the Rocky Mountains.

According to Hiram Chittenden, historian of the fur trade, the name Cache stemmed from a rumor that William Ashley recovered bear furs cached in the valley by Peter Skene Ogden. Warren A. Ferris, party to a tragic episode during the winter of 1832, gave another account. "A man in the employ of Smith, Sublette, and Jackson, was engaged . . . in constructing one of those subterranean vaults for the reception of furs . . . (and when) nearly completed . . . a large quantity of earth fell in upon the poor fellow . . . his companions believed him to have been instantly killed, knew him to be well buried, and the

cache destroyed, and therefore left him and accomplished their object elsewhere.”¹⁹ James Beckwourth takes credit for first using the name of Cache to replace Willow Valley; and he also acknowledged the extensive use of caches in the valley.

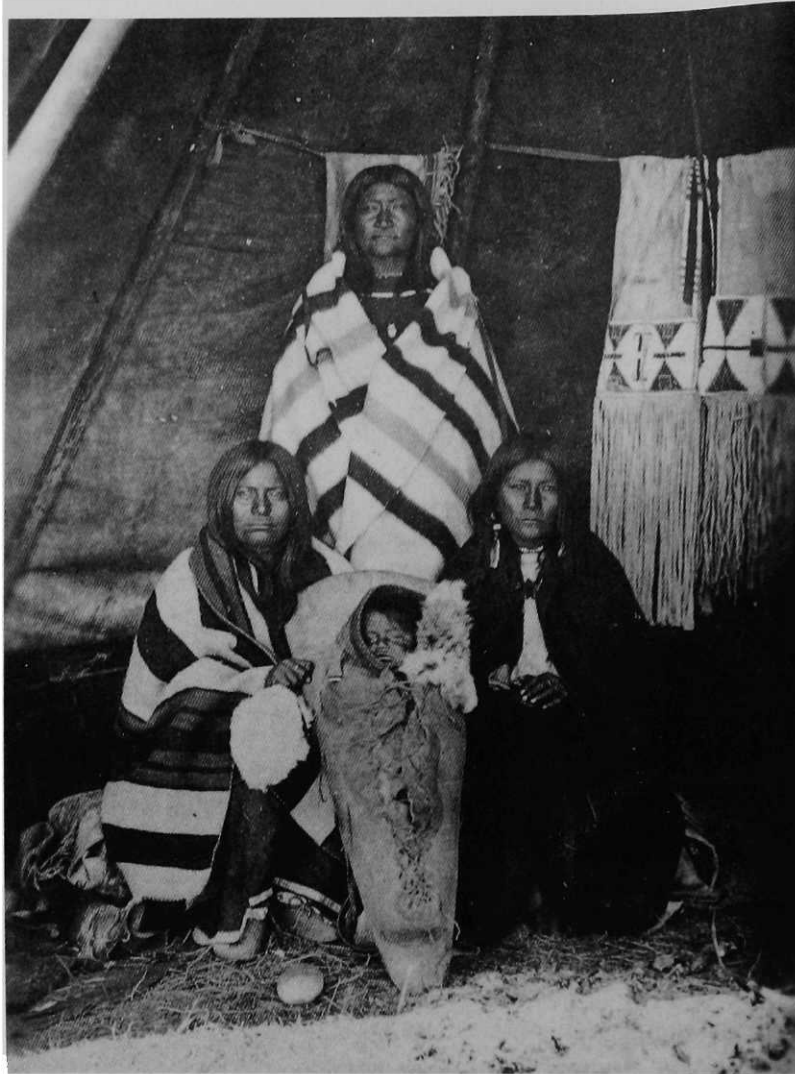
In 1832 Captain Benjamin L.E. Bonneville, on leave from the U.S. Army, came into the Rocky Mountains to trap. Equipped with nearly one hundred men and twenty wagons drawn by mules and oxen, Bonneville established a base camp on the Green River in what is now Wyoming. One of his colleagues, known to history as Matthieu, was given the assignment to go west, north of the Uinta Mountains, and make trapping arrangements with the Native Americans there. According to Washington Irving’s accounts, Matthieu decided to catch up with Bonneville, who had pressed on to the Salmon River country. Matthieu either was guided or perhaps tried a short cut that brought him into Cache Valley. He still had some wagons and equipment. As the snow piled about his small group of men, Matthieu dispatched five men to hunt for game near Sheep Rock on the Bear River, where the river turns south above Grace, Idaho. The men were attacked by hostile Indians; three were killed and the other two retreated to Cache Valley. Matthieu later abandoned his camp and connected with Bonneville near Fort Hall in early February 1833.²⁰ Warren A. Ferris reported that “an express arrived, bringing information that four men belonging to a detachment from Bonneville’s company, which separated from him on Green River were killed about a month previous near the Sheep Rock; and that the remainder of the party were in winter quarters in Cache Valley.”²¹

It is possible that Matthieu left most of his supplies in Cache Valley. Historian A.J. Simmonds gave three plausible sources for a discovery of a cache of supplies near Smithfield. John Fish Wright, one of the pioneer settlers of Smithfield claimed that when he began plowing, “an old cache was dug up and a number of log chains and ox yokes were found. John Edwards also found the bones of a yoke of cattle still yoked together.”²² Joel Ricks, Jr., claimed to meet an old French-Canadian trapper in 1870 who said that he came into Cache Valley about the year 1832, with a large Hudson’s Bay Company group which was seeking locations for trading posts. Ricks said that he was told “they cached their extra supplies, two small cannons, a

lot of ox yokes, chains, etc. in the cottonwoods on Summit Creek, and returned for them the next year.”²³ The man trapped in the valley for years afterward. Even though Ricks postulated that these were the materials unearthed by Wright or Edwards, the trapper said the original party returned the next year for its goods. Since he was working for the Hudson’s Bay Company and said nothing of Matthieu, it is unlikely there is a connection.

John Dowdle, one of the cowboys who came into Cache Valley in 1855 as a herdsman for LDS church cattle, also reported artifacts of some type of military expedition. Since Bonneville was a military man and some think his trapping venture was actually a cover to disguise his true mission to ascertain British strength in the jointly occupied region, Matthieu’s group could be viewed as military in nature. Dowdle claimed that “There was a small log pen made by a company of U.S. soldiers in A.D. 1833. . . . We find these soldiers wintered at this place. The title of this place is found on the maps, marked Sumit Creek now Smith Field, Cache County Utah Ter.”²⁴ According to Dowdle, the soldiers lost most of their mules during the winter and had to cache their supplies. He wrote: “I met a German in Loss Angeous California in 1864, who claimed to be a member of that company. He gave me sufficient evidence to satisfy me that he was there, he gave me a full description of the place.”²⁵ The German gentlemen claimed they made a covered box out of their wagon boxes and placed in it cannon, blacksmith tools, picks, shovels, “cro bars,” plows, whiskey, muskets, powder, and lead. After burying it, they drove over it with their teams so that all signs of it being there would be erased. It is obvious that someone in Cache Valley had cached their belongings. There may have been two groups caching goods, one from the Hudson’s Bay Company, the other a U.S. military expedition. It is apparent that Bonneville’s men also were in the valley during that period, but it is less clear if they buried anything. One site is described as three miles west of Smithfield near the Bear River. Whether they built a shelter, corrals, or cabin is speculative because Wright and Edwards only reported that they dug up bones, yoke, and chains. Nevertheless, trappers, explorers, and emigrants continued to visit Cache Valley.

Osborne Russell, one of the later trappers, whose journal has



Group of Shoshoni women and child in cradle inside Shoshoni lodge, 1870. (W. H. Jackson photograph, S. George Ellsworth Collection, Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

become a Western American literary classic, described the valley in 1840:

I followed Bear River down to Cache Valley where I found 20 lodges of Snake Indians and staid with them several days. They had

considerable number of Beaver Skins but I had nothing to trade for them. They told me I would go to the Fort and get some goods return and spend the winter with them they would trade their Furs with me.²⁶

Russell then went to Fort Hall and got the supplies requested. In late November he returned to Cache Valley. "On arriving at the Village I found several Frenchmen and half breed trappers encamped with the Snakes One Frenchman having an Indian wife and child invited me to pass the winter in his lodge and as he had a small family and large lodge I accepted the invitation."²⁷

A few years after Russell's departure, Major Moses "Black" Harris, another noted trapper, advised Brigham Young that Cache Valley was much more desirable than the Salt Lake Valley. Allegedly, Jim Bridger concurred. Cache Valley always remained a favorite of many trappers, and they left their imprint through various place-names and numerous journal descriptions.

While the last of the trappers continued to criss-cross the West, emigrants and exploring expeditions passed through Cache Valley. Many of the old trappers became guides for these parties and utilized their vast knowledge to lead a variety of expeditions throughout the West. One interesting group of pioneers made their way through western Cache Valley in 1841. John Bartleson and a group of Oregon-bound travelers, which included Father Peter John DeSmet, a Jesuit priest of fame in Idaho, left Missouri in June. They were guided by Thomas "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick, a former trapper who knew Cache Valley well. In early August they arrived at Soda Springs in present-day Idaho, a noted resting place. Bartleson went to Fort Hall, built by Nathaniel Wyeth in 1834, to find someone to guide him to California because Fitzpatrick knew little of the upcoming terrain, Indians, or other hazards of what is now Nevada.

Although he was unsuccessful in finding a guide, Bartleson remained determined to go to California, not Oregon. Fitzpatrick advised the group to go on to Oregon with the main party. Josiah Belden reported the resolve of the minority group: "Fitzpatrick advised us to give up our expedition and go with them to Fort Hall, . . . since there was no road for us to follow to California. As we had

planned to go to California, we decided that we would not give up but continue on and do the best we could to get through.”²⁸ Thirty-two people and nine wagons, following Bartleson’s lead, left the group near Alexander, Idaho, and followed the Bear River into Cache Valley. John Bidwell, only twenty years of age but determined to go to California, followed Bartleson and described their brief (five days) but difficult passage through Cache Valley on the west side of the Bear River, where these pioneers with their wagons created a new road. North of Preston, Idaho, they ate chokecherries and then continued south. Bidwell’s journal of 15 and 16 August records:

We continued our journey along the western foothills, over hills and ravines, going to almost every point on the compass in order to pass them. The day was warm, the grass has been very good but now it is parched up. We had come about 15 miles and camped on a small stream coming from the mountains not far from us.²⁹

He reported the next day that they traveled another twelve miles and found chokecherries “very large and exquisitely delicious.” On 17 August the small wagon train crossed from Cache Valley into the Great Salt Lake basin, turned west, went north of the lake, and eventually made their way to California. In retrospect, their journey was a miraculous success. Five years later the Donner party would not be as fortunate.³⁰

Two years after the Bartleson company traversed Cache Valley, in 1843 a party led by John Charles Frémont followed the path of the Bartleson train into the valley in late August. Frémont’s sojourn in the valley was brief, but his description of 29 August 1843 is vivid: “The thermometer at sunrise was 54; with air from the N.W., and dark rainy clouds moving on the horizon; rain squalls and bright sunshine by intervals. I rode ahead with Basil to explore the country.”³¹ Frémont and his companion traveled about three miles along the river and then turned off on a trail toward the west. They surprised a small party of Shoshoni Indians and apparently communicated by some type of sign language. The Indians told them the pass through to the next valley was a very good one. By noon they had reached Weston Canyon and explored it as a route into the Malad Valley and then into the greater Salt Lake basin. Frémont wrote, “We

halted at the gate of the pass, on either side of which stole a little pure water stream, with a margin just sufficiently large enough for our passage.”³²

Frémont and his men moved southward, exploring the remainder of the west side of the valley throughout the day. He concluded his descriptions of the day by writing that they “set out to explore the country, and ascended different neighboring peaks, in the hope of seeing some indications of the lake, but though our elevation afforded magnificent views, the eye ranging over a long extent of Bear river, with the broad and fertile Cache Valley in the direction of our search, was only to be seen a bed of apparently impracticable mountains.” It is obvious that Frémont saw the valley as broad and fertile. The next day his group moved out of the valley to the west and then south to the Great Salt Lake. In all probability, Frémont only visited the Idaho portion of Cache Valley, as he cut through Weston Canyon toward present-day Malad. Frémont’s U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers colleague Captain Howard Stansbury later stayed much longer in the valley and his record and observations are more complete.

Stansbury came into Cache Valley during the summer of 1849, the year after Utah and the remainder of the American southwest became part of the United States as part of the provisions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ending the Mexican War, and two years after Mormon pioneers arrived in the Salt Lake Valley. Stansbury’s mission was to include a recommendation as to whether or not area’s valleys could support a military post. Stansbury and his men ascertained that Cache Valley would be an ideal place to winter the army’s stock but saw no need to construct a fort there.³³ By 1849 the United States had also acquired control of the Oregon Country, which included the Idaho portion of Cache Valley, and had established a military post at Fort Hall, north of present Pocatello. Stansbury convinced the command at the Fort Hall post to send their excess mules, cattle, and horses to Cache Valley for the winter. Unfortunately for the army, Cache Valley’s heavy winter that year destroyed over half of the stock, so the experiment lasted but one year and Cache Valley was removed as a potential site for a military post. Stansbury also suggested that a military road might be constructed from the Blacksmith

Fork River to Fort Bridger, which connected to both the Oregon and Utah trails. On a positive note, Stansbury viewed the valley's future as promising because of the abundance of water, timber, grass, and the potential for agriculture.³⁴

By the end of the 1840s, Cache Valley was still part of the general nomadic home of many Native Americans. The region had been trapped extensively, had hosted numerous trappers' rendezvous, and had provided winter lodging. Government explorers and wagon trains had traversed the valley, reporting its virtues as well as its winter hazards. Eventual white settlement seemed inevitable in view of the mass migration of Mormon immigrants into other valleys of Utah. As increasing numbers of pioneers gathered, the need for new land compelled further expansion. Cache Valley hitherto had always been explored from the north and there was a possibility that westward-moving non-Mormon pioneers might settle there. Mormons did not want Oregon or California pioneers to detour into the mountain valley and then decide to stay. Both the 1849 gold rush to California as well as the Mormon need for more land contributed to the settlement of the valley. Mormons had gradually moved north into Weber County and then along the eastern foothills to present-day Box Elder County. As Native Americans gradually withdrew from the lower Bear River valley, they viewed Cache Valley as a haven that might perhaps avoid the white immigrant onslaught. They were wrong; but it took until 1855 for the Mormons to make their presence known.

ENDNOTES

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3. See Brigham D. Madsen, *The Northern Shoshoni* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1980); Julian H. Steward, *Basin Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, Bureau of Ethnology Bulletin 120 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1970), 41–42.

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of Idaho (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1958); *Chief Pocatello* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1986); *The Lemhi* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1979); *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985).

5. Brigham D. Madsen, "The Northeastern Shoshoni in Cache Valley," in Douglas D. Alder, *Cache Valley: Essays in Her Past and People* (Logan: Utah State University, 1976).

6. David E. Miller, "Peter Skene Ogden's Journal of His Expedition to Utah, 1825," *Utah Historical Quarterly* (April 1952): 172,174. See also John C. Frémont, *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842, and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1833–44* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1845), and Warren Angus Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains* (Denver: The Old West Publishing Company, 1940).

7. A.J. Simmonds, "Looking Back," *Herald Journal* (Logan), 7 November 1987.

8. A.J. Simmonds, "Looking Back," *Herald Journal*, 25 November 1990. Simmonds studied trapper place-names in Cache County and explored the story of Logan and why his name is the one that remained.

9. Dale Morgan, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press) 1994, remains one of the best accounts of fur trapping in the West. Utilizing numerous trapper journals, especially James Clyman's, Morgan was able to reconstruct an accurate account of trapper activities.

10. Miller, "Peter Skene Ogden's Journal," 172.

11. *Ibid.*, 170.

12. *Ibid.*, 176.

13. Morgan, *Jedediah Smith*, 151.

14. James Beckwourth, *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972).

15. A.J. Simmonds, "Looking Back: Journal of James Clyman," *Herald Journal*, 28 May 1986.

16. A.J. Simmonds, "Looking Back: Daniel Potts," *Herald Journal*, 29 June 1986.

17. See Dale L. Morgan, *The West of William H. Ashley* (Denver: Old West Publishing Company, 1964).

18. Simmonds, "Looking Back," *Herald Journal*, 25 November 1990.

19. Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains*, 47–48.

20. Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 126.

21. Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains*, 189.
22. Simmonds, "Looking Back," *Herald Journal*, 8 January 1989.
23. Joel Ricks, Jr., *Utah Since Statehood*, vol. 4 (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1920), 228, in Utah State University Special Collections, henceforth USUSC.
24. John C. Dowdle, Diary, Merrill Library, USUSC.
25. Ibid.
26. Osborne Russell, *Journal of a Trapper* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1955), 112–13.
27. Ibid., 113.
28. See John Bidwell, *A Journey to California* (Berkeley: Friends of the Bancroft Library, 1964).
29. See Rockwell D. Hunt, *John Bidwell, Prince of California Pioneers* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1942).
30. The Donner party broke a new path west of Fort Bridger by turning southwest at Echo Junction instead of following the Weber River. They went down Emigration Canyon into present-day Salt Lake Valley and then went south of the Great Salt Lake. The resultant delays later proved disastrous.
31. John C. Frémont, *Narratives of Exploration and Adventure*, ed. Allan Nevins (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1956), 229.
32. Ibid.
33. Howard Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1852), 94.
34. Ibid., 84, 94–95.

SETTLEMENT

There was a large snow bank in the middle of our yard till summer
... and the cattle went to the top of our hay stack to feed.

—MARY ANN WESTON MAUGHAN

Settling a high mountain valley is not an easy chore; however, Mormon pioneers prided themselves on doing the difficult. Although Cache Valley had plenty of water, good grass, and a beautiful setting, it also had very severe and often long winters. The location within mountain passes created isolation and also limited access, especially in the winter. However, once the rich topsoil in the valley floor felt the settler's plow and the mountain timber was sawn into logs, a flood of pioneers came into the region. The abundant water meant that the usual risk of farming in the arid West was reduced. Where no permanent settlers existed prior to 1850, by 1900 over 18,000 had settled in Cache Valley, and another 5,000 lived in Idaho's Franklin County to the north. Cache County became a promised land for thousands of European emigrants and a quiet, beautiful home for many American-born Mormon pioneers.

Prior to considering Cache Valley as a place for settlement, Mormon leader Brigham Young examined another possible use for the region. Although he obviously realized that Utah Territory did not extend north beyond the forty-second parallel, Young hoped to establish some degree of control over the entire Cache Valley. After examining the Frémont and Stansbury documents, and influenced by the glowing report that his own exploring expedition gave him in August 1847, Young decided to pursue church control of Cache Valley. The church organization as well as Young and other private individuals had accumulated thousands of head of cattle. A large summer grazing area for the cattle was needed as well as a possible winter feeding ground. With its numerous streams and abundant grass, Cache Valley was depicted as a paradise for the herds. In 1855 the Utah territorial assembly passed the following piece of legislation which territorial governor Brigham Young quickly signed.

Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the territory of Utah: That portion of country known as Cache Valley . . . is hereby granted to Brigham Young, Trustee in the Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and those whom he may associate with him; together with all the products and benefits arising therefrom, for a herd ground and other purposes.¹

Within a few days Brigham Young took advantage of the kind gift of Governor Brigham Young and the assembly. He organized a group of young men and sent them north into Cache Valley to establish a cattle ranch.

In July 1855 ten men arrived in Cache Valley to prepare the area for the herd and those who would manage it. Briant Stringham was chosen by Young to lead the group, which included Young's son, Brigham, Jr., Samuel Roskelly, and William Naylor, among many others. They scouted the valley for three days and selected a site south and west of present-day Logan as the ranch base. The ranch became known as the Elkhorn Ranch. One story is that the ranch received its name from a large elk head tied above the gate entrance to the ranch. However, the Garr brothers, all three experienced herdsmen who worked at the ranch, were raised on Elkhorn Creek in Indiana and they may have named the ranch.

Although the men wished to explore the valley, Stringham initially kept them focused on the assigned task and they began to build cabins, corrals, and outbuildings. Two trained builders, Martin Ensign and John C. Dowdle, came from Box Elder County to supervise the construction. Utilizing the cottonwood trees that lined the Blacksmith Fork River, they built log houses, fences, and corrals. Even then, Cache Valley winters created some apprehension, and the knowledge that the herds of U.S. Army stock had perished made some of the hands quite skeptical of the enterprise. In preparation, the ranch hands cut and stacked over 200 tons of wild grass hay and stored it at the ranch. Of course, the hope existed that the cattle would forage among the tall grass and receive significant winter nourishment from it. It did not seem possible that snow would cover the entire valley for months.

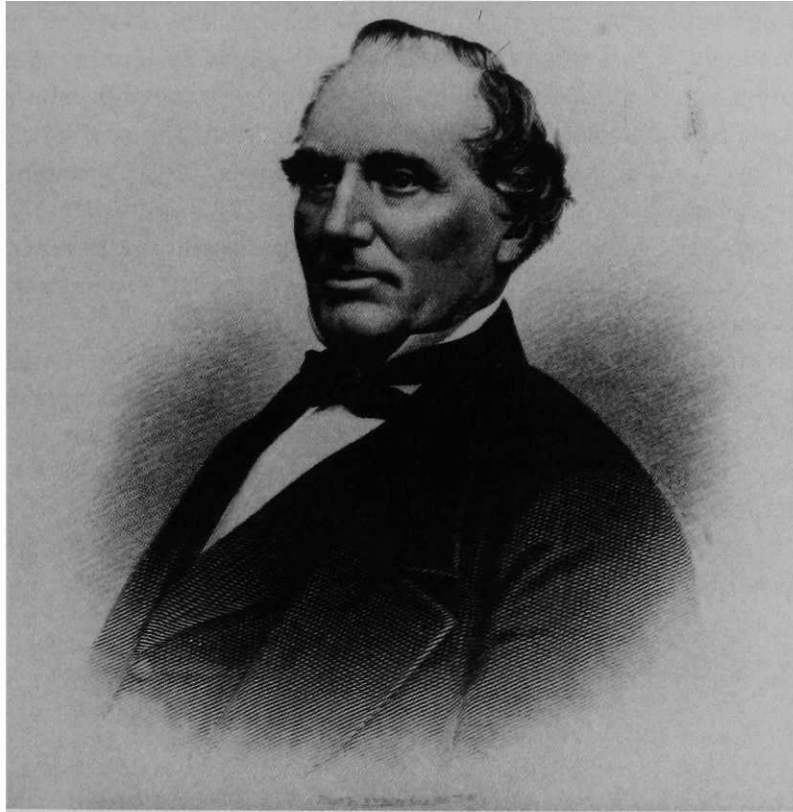
While some of the men worked on construction and hay storage projects, others began driving the large herd of cattle into the valley. Soon there were over 3,000 head of livestock; the LDS church owned two-thirds of them. Three brothers—John, Abel, and Ben Garr—joined Franklin and Miles Weaver as herders. They had taken care of the church cattle along with their own herd at Promontory in Box Elder County during previous winters. It was not long before the experienced herdsmen realized that winters in Cache Valley could be significantly different than winters at Promontory. Snow remained on the ground much longer in Cache Valley and, once the ground froze, snow depths increased dramatically, consequently the cattle could not forage.²

Realizing that there was no way that 200 tons of hay could feed 3,000 animals for four to five months, the herders decided to round up the stock and drive them over Sardine Canyon back to the greater Salt Lake Valley. In terrible conditions day and night, the herders drove the remaining cattle through the canyon. The snow depth exceeded two feet and they slowly moved the surviving animals to rangeland near the mouth of the Weber River. Only 420 of the church's 2,000 cattle survived the winter. Those settlers who stayed in Cache Valley were completely snowbound. Two young couples, recently arrived converts from England, the Stolworthys and Warners, stayed at the ranch and shared a cabin for the entire winter.³

Their isolation in a snowbound valley caused great concern for both those who stayed and those who sent them. Two veteran frontiersmen, John C. Dowdle, who had helped build Elkhorn, and William Garr, were instructed to return to assist those families and herders left at Elkhorn. Suffering from extreme cold, exhaustion, and exposure, Garr and Dowdle returned by snowshoes to Elkhorn. Food supplies were exhausted, but all survived the harsh and difficult winter. It perhaps should be noted that both the Stolworthys and the Warners left Cache Valley as early as possible the next summer. Prior to departing, the Stolworthys experienced the birth of a daughter, named Eliza Cache.

Brigham Young was one who learned from experience. He quickly abandoned his plan to turn Cache Valley into a permanent herding ground for his or the church's cattle. However, he did not abandon ideas of the valley as a place for potential settlement. By 1856 Young had tried to establish settlements as far north as the Lemhi Valley in central Idaho; west to the Carson Valley in western Nevada; and southwest to San Bernardino, California. South from Salt Lake City to Utah Valley to Cedar City to St. George, there existed numerous church-sponsored settlements. They were necessary because the church's missionaries kept successfully converting new members. Church missions in the southern United States, Great Britain, and Scandinavia sent thousands of new Mormons into the Rocky Mountains. In contrast to their situations in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, previous areas of Mormon occupation, Brigham Young now enjoyed the luxury of access to thousands of unsettled acres in the high mountain valleys. So, despite the harsh winters, the killing frosts, the death of much of the church herd, and the earlier destruction of the army's livestock, Young turned to Cache Valley in 1856 as a new area for settlement. Most of Utah had suffered an extreme drought in the mid-1850s and the church leader needed new areas to explore, settle, and especially provide a haven for the new arrivals.

One answer to Young's dilemma came in the person of Peter Maughan. At the same time the Warners and Stolworthys abandoned Elkhorn Ranch, Maughan, who had been in Tooele County, asked Young for permission to go to Cache Valley and select a place for a settlement. Maughan's family and friends had suffered the effects of



Peter Maughan along with wife Mary Ann Weston Maughan, earlier settlers in valley. Official of Logan Co-op, LDS church and civic leader of Cache Valley. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

drought, grasshoppers, and Native American raids in the desert area south of the Great Salt Lake, and they felt a change of scenery might be very beneficial. By late August, Maughan led a small group of eight men and their families into Cache Valley. Mary Ann Weston Maughan recorded her thoughts about arriving in the valley in mid-September, perhaps the most beautiful time of the year: “When we got to the mouth of the Canyon we stopped to look at the Beautiful Valley before us my first words were O What a beautiful Valley. We drove in to the creek . . . here we camped on the 15th day of Sep. 1856.”⁴

Cache Valley and Cache County now had permanent white set-

tlers. Native Americans still utilized the valley and continued their migratory patterns of hunting and fishing. The founders of Wellsville, or Maughan's Fort, built their homes in rows facing each other in a "fort" style. Cache Valley was now considered by whites open for settlement. With little regard for Indian patterns of travel, villages, or hunting grounds, the Mormon pioneers began spreading on to new land. Wherever a stream came into the valley, the Mormons contemplated a settlement. Exploring the entire valley, Peter Maughan and his associates felt that many additional pioneers could survive in the isolated splendor of the Cache Valley.

In the late autumn of 1856, Maughan left to attend the territorial legislature sessions in Fillmore. As snows mounted at Maughan's Fort, a realization came that this was going to be a very difficult winter. The church herdsman warned the settlers of the severity of winter, but experience is a better teacher than words. Mary Ann Maughan recorded one of the first pioneer tragedies of Cache County's settlement history:

In the winter Bro. Gardners son John started from Box Elder on a Sunday morning on horseback for Maughan's Fort but his horse gave out in the canyon. He put his saddle and Blanket in a service-berry bush, and, leaving his horse, started out on foot. These were found by some Brethren going after the mail. On their return with this news, it was the first his father knew that John had left Box Elder. Immediately his father, brothers, and others started to look for him. . . . On the next Sunday morning after John Gardener left Box Elder William [Maughan] and [Zial] Riggs went to look south of the fort. They noticed a faint trail coming from the canyon. They followed it down to the bank of the creek . . . they looked across and there on the north bank of the creek lay John Gardiner. . . . In his pocket they found a letter from Mr. Maughan. . . .⁵

While in Fillmore, Maughan, the Tooele County territorial legislator, received authority to organize a new county government and was appointed probate judge of the newly created Cache County. Meanwhile, his family and friends survived the difficult winter. After a wet spring, they tilled some acres; the reward was a bountiful harvest that fall—1857—and the settlers prepared for what they hoped would be a bright future.



Mary Ann Weston Maughan, wife of Peter Maughan, first leader of LDS Relief Society in Cache Valley. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

Unfortunately, intense difficulties awaited Mormon pioneers from a different source. The 1850s witnessed a nation in turmoil over slavery and expansion, and for a brief time the government focused

on Utah Territory. After years of sparring with federal judges and marshals, President James Buchanan removed Brigham Young as the appointed governor of Utah Territory. Buchanan was fearful that the Mormons would not submit peacefully to the proposed change, so he sent an army of 3,000 troops under Albert Sidney Johnston with the new governor, Alfred Cumming. Hearing of the imminent invasion, Young recalled Mormon settlers from colonies in California, Nevada, and Idaho, as well as the distant valleys of Utah. His purpose seems to have been not only to show a united front to the federal government but also to prevent isolated settlements from being cut off both from his control and from each other. Some have argued that Brigham Young also particularly feared the independence and prosperity of the outposts in southern California.

The Latter-day Saints had been driven from Missouri and Illinois, so they prepared for the worst. The call to abandon the settlement reached Cache Valley settlers in October 1857. Young advised Maughan: "We consider wisdom for you to come within our settlements." The Cache residents chose to obey, but they took their time in leaving. It was not until March 1858 that many left the valley, moved south, and scattered to various parts of central Utah. In the meantime, a few herdsmen, farmers, and cattle remained at Elkhorn Ranch and "Daddy" Stump, a former trapper, remained at his ranch near Paradise. Planning to return, the settlers planted a number of crops in the spring of that year.

In the fall of 1857, prior to the settlers' departure, a detachment of Utah's militia, the Nauvoo Legion, came into the valley on their way to the Oregon Trail. In the event Albert Sidney Johnston's army moved to enter from the north instead of directly west into the Salt Lake Valley, this expeditionary force was to monitor the army's movements. Although they never encountered the U.S. Army, many of the 500 Legion volunteers viewed Cache Valley for the first time and were impressed by the beauty of the autumn. A number of these militiamen returned as settlers within the next few years. Joseph H. Campbell, who later settled in Providence, recorded that "the next day we came through Wellsville Canyon and camped on the Muddy River just below Maughan's fort." On 18 August 1857 Marcellus Moore wrote that they "traveled about 30 miles and camped near



Eleanor "Lena" Coburn Jenkins, one of many courageous women who helped settle Cache Valley. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

Sampitch [chief of the Shoshonis], smoked with some of his men and sent him some tobacco." The valley's late summer beauty definitely appealed to many of the troops from Weber County.⁶

Fears of armed conflict between Mormons and federal troops proved unfounded. A negotiated settlement allowed Cumming to assume the governor's post, and he agreed that the federal troops would pass through the Salt Lake Valley, establishing Camp Floyd about forty miles south. The Mormon people were not harmed and were guaranteed control of the property they had acquired as well as their basic constitutional rights as American citizens.

Most of the original Cache Valley pioneers remained out of the area from the spring of 1858 until some returned to harvest crops late in the fall. At Frances Gunnell's request, Brigham Young authorized a return to the valley; but his letter to Peter Maughan was filled with advice, counsel, and caution:

You are perfectly aware Brother Maughan that you at that place are perfectly cut off from any assistance from any of our settlements during the winter. You will therefore have to rely entirely upon your own resources and should go strong enough and perfectly prepared to sustain yourselves and should moreover be very careful in traveling in cold weather. You must be very cautious about the hostile Indians from the north.⁷

Young's experience with his own cattle herd probably contributed to his assessment of the valley; however, Salt Lake residents always seem to have believed that it is farther from Salt Lake City to Logan than it is from Logan to Salt Lake City. Once allowed to return to Cache Valley, the Wellsville pioneers were flooded by a new wave of migration.

Time and space do not allow a listing of all the pioneers who established the communities throughout the valley. Fortunately, most communities have published histories that describe in detail the people and processes that made each of the settlements prosper and develop. Each individual story is significant and illustrates the important role of each community and its founders. It is important to note that the women, men, and their children who settled the valley displayed tremendous courage and amazing tenacity. Life was not easy on the frontier and many tragedies accompanied the pioneers. Regardless of the perceived and witnessed difficulties, Mormon pioneers viewed mountain valleys as having tremendous potential as



Window from Providence LDS stone church erected 1870 at a cost of \$12,800. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

well as being their peaceful haven. Whether from the United States, Great Britain, Switzerland, Germany, or Scandinavia, the immigrants continued to come in droves. The fact that Mormon settlements in California, Nevada, and Idaho were abandoned during what became called the Utah War put pressure on existing communities, as many families were relocated. Cache County essentially grew because settlers wanted to go there; people did not have to be called and sent. Although Peter Maughan advised the colonists to stay in the south end of the valley, groups of land-hungry settlers continued to spread north along the numerous streams cascading from the eastern mountains.

Mendon, Providence, and Logan were established in the spring of 1859; Smithfield and Richmond were established by autumn. The

crops that fall were not plentiful and, to make matters worse, the pioneers only received fifty cents a bushel for their wheat. According to the *Deseret News*, sugar cost seventy-five cents a pound, nails were the same, and a shovel cost five dollars. Calico sold for fifty cents a yard and coffee was nearly a dollar a pound. This price probably contributed to the church's reemphasis of its health code—the Word of Wisdom—counseling against drinking alcohol, coffee, or tea, and the willingness of many Latter-day Saints to obey it.

One of the best accounts of settlement in Cache Valley is Isaac Sorensen's detailed remembrance of the early days in Mendon. Sorensen described in a clear and graphic style how difficult it was to break up the previously untilled land, and he also outlined another significant feature of colonist survival, cooperation. Sorensen's description is a good example of the realities of pioneering.

[We] all set to work making beams for . . . ploughs, . . . Wooden Harrows with Wooden teeth and some of them whose teams were to [sic] poor to break land with two yokes put on four yokes of Oxen ploughing one day for one man and the next for the other, then each using their own teams for sowing the land.⁸

Although the Mendon settlers repeatedly retreated to Wellsville when Native Americans moved along the western foothills, Mendon, in the evening shadow of the Wellsville Mountains, became and remained their home.

Late in November 1859 Brigham Young sent two apostles, Orson Hyde and Ezra T. Benson, to observe and then organize the new communities. The two apostles not only performed ecclesiastical duties but assumed a rather interesting and, in a way, presumptuous role. After choosing Peter Maughan as local LDS stake president, bishops were appointed for six towns: William Maughan in Wellsville; William Preston, Logan; Robert Williams, Providence; James Glover Smith, Smithfield; Andrew Shumway, Mendon; and Thomas Tidwell in Richmond. Then Benson and Hyde visited each settlement and, using their ecclesiastical positions, renamed most of the new villages:

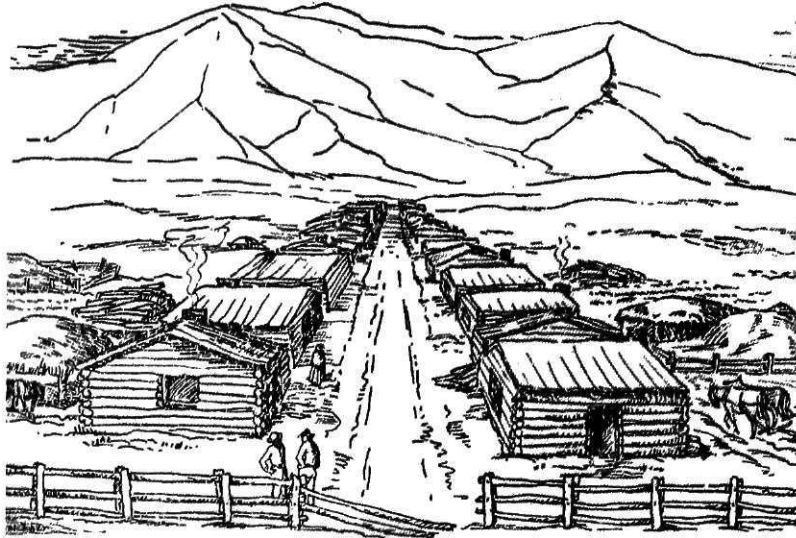
We labored faithfully in every settlement. The place herefore known as Maughan's Fort we named Wellsville. Spring Creek settlement, being situated in an elbow of the mountain and appear-

ing to us somewhat of a providential place, we named Providence. The next settlement northward had been previously named Logan. The settlement on Summit creek, six miles north of Logan we named Smithfield, and told the people there to be spiritually what their location really was—a city on a hill. . . . Five miles northward from Smithfield is a settlement on Cub creek, which we named Richmond. The settlement five miles north of Wellsville . . . heretofore known as the north settlement we named Mendon.⁹

Benson and Hyde returned to Salt Lake City and reported, “For beauty of landscape and richness of soil, Cache Valley can hardly be equaled.” Then they gave the usual warning about harsh winters. The next year Benson returned to the valley as an apostle-in-residence with broad ecclesiastical powers.

Settlers on the eastern side of the valley had two advantages: abundant water and a timber supply nearby. Although Logan Canyon proved very difficult to enter, Green, Providence, Millville, and Smithfield canyons all provided relatively easy access to the available spruce, fir, pine, and aspen used for homes and public buildings. The numerous streams were diverted onto the rich farmland below the rocky benches. Spring Creek (or Providence), Logan, Smithfield, and Richmond all followed a similar settlement pattern as Wellsville and Mendon. Each community started out as a street fort like Wellsville, with rows of houses facing each other and extending along the street for as many as three blocks in the case of Logan, Richmond, and Hyrum. Only the village of Providence set out to build a fort in the classic manner. The early Providence pioneers constructed a stone wall all the way around the square block encompassing present-day Center, Main, First North, and First East streets. However, that fort caused county surveyor James Martineau some difficulty. Martineau decided that since the permanent fort wall could not be moved, fewer normal-sized lots existed inside; therefore, he surveyed six city lots instead of the normal eight on every Providence block, which meant the lots were 1.35 acres, the largest in the county.

Homes were built along a main street (in the case of Logan it was called West Center Street), facing each other, with gardens and corals in the rear of the lot. The city blocks were eventually surveyed and divided in the typical Mormon settlement pattern. Square



Artist's concept of the Fort at Hyrum, view from the east end, 1860. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

blocks, eight lots to the block, and wide streets typified the original communities. The block system with houses facing each other also provided an easily defended position in the event of attack. Martineau created ten lots to the block at Smithfield because there were more settlers in the Smithfield fort than there were townsite lots.

Charles Nibley arrived in the valley as a child during the fall of 1860. Nibley's description of his family's original dugout offers a clear view of living conditions in the early years:

We dug out a square hole in the ground three feet deep and then built logs around that hole three logs high. We built up to the gables with logs then put a center roof log and one on each side of that, halfway down the wall. On top of these logs we laid small quaking aspen poles not larger than my wrist. On top of these we put straw and then covered that with a thick coat of dirt.

Once Nibley described the exterior, he turned his attention to the internal structure:

My father built a cobble stone chimney in the opposite end from the entrance on door. The chimney was simply built of cobble

stones and mud for plaster, as we had no lime or any other kind of plaster that would hold.

Then, in one of those delightful frontier statements, Nibley stated, “The chimney never knew enough to draw the smoke up but spewed it out and filled the room.” He continued,

There was not window of any kind whatever in our house. Neither was there a door. My mother hung up a quilt or piece of an old quilt which served as a door for the first winter. This was our bedroom, our parlor, our sitting room, our kitchen, everything in the room of about 12 x 16.¹⁰

This description contrasts dramatically with the stately and elegant home on West Center Street that Charles Nibley built thirty years later. Much had transpired during the intervening three decades; but the promise was there early. By the end of 1859 Brigham Young stated that “no other valley in the territory is equal to this. This has been my opinion ever since I first saw this valley.”

At the time Benson and Hyde established ecclesiastical organizations and named the towns, General Chauncey W. West of Odgen, commander of the Weber Military District, organized the militia in Cache Valley. A local militia is a long-held American and Mormon tradition, and safety from Indian attack was a top priority. The *Deseret News* reported that two battalions were organized, one in Wellsville and a second in Logan:

The next morning [14 November 1859] at 9 o'clock, according to previous notice, the Militia in that part of the County paraded on the public square in Wellsville, and were briefly addressed by Gen. West. . . . The election of commissioned officers took place, and the Battalion was dismissed into the hands of William Maughan.¹¹

After West left, Maughan and Israel J. Clark of Logan decided that infantry was not what they needed for quick response to Indian attacks. Maughan also served as bishop and he and his colleagues knew their situation much better than did an outsider. They informally organized a mounted response unit called the Minute Men under Thomas E. Ricks of Logan. As the valley grew, so did the militia, and by the summer of 1860 enough units existed to form a Cache

Valley regiment with Mormon apostle Ezra T. Benson as colonel; Ricks still commanded the Minute Men. In 1860 each major community had a battalion and officers from their own town.

In the year that Abraham Lincoln won the American presidency and the American nation faced Civil War, 1860, Cache Valley became the promised land for hundreds who knew little about Lincoln or southern leader Jefferson Davis. However, some converts came from the South and brought African-American slaves with them into Wellsville. Although they were freed within a few years, still, thirty years after free black trappers James Beckwourth and Moses Harris roamed the valley, other blacks entered the valley in bondage. Although the Civil War resulted in the freeing of all slaves, slavery did exist for a brief period in Utah Territory, including Cache County. The slaves worked primarily as farm laborers, but most moved to Salt Lake City after gaining freedom.

Logan and Wellsville both claimed more than 100 families according to the 1860 census, and the county population stood at 2,605. Of the residents counted, 200 were born in the British Isles and 120 came from Scandinavia, mostly Denmark. Since more than 800 people in Cache County listed Utah as their birthplace and the Mormons had only been in the territory since 1847, the population of Cache County demonstrated a healthy youthfulness. Most people considered themselves farmers, and men barely outnumbered women—1,312 to 1,293. These statistics illustrate that Cache Valley experienced significant growth between its founding in 1856 and the census of 1860.¹² An anonymous correspondent with an eye toward the future wrote the *Deseret News* in April 1860 and described the advantages of Cache County: “The first . . . is the abundance of snow which ensures good skiing from four to six months each year. There is plenty of water . . . , timber in the mountains, an abundance of grass for hay, . . . and building stone abounds in all or most of the Canyons.”¹³

Mormon pioneers, or any other settlers, no matter how numerous, had to be somewhat aware of the Native Americans whom they displaced. By plowing land, diverting water, building houses, bridges, and roads, as well as killing game, the newcomers altered Native American traditions, habits, and lifestyles. Denied their traditional

methods of life support, the Indians became acutely aware of the impact of the emigrants' intrusion. The land's original inhabitants were confronted with options that included fight, steal, beg, or leave. The Shoshonis complained to a U.S. government surveying crew that "they had nothing but fish to eat; that the Mormons had driven away all the deer and elk which they said formerly abounded in these valleys."¹⁴ Long before reservations were established, many Native Americans developed an unfortunate dependency on the numerous white intruders.

Peter Maughan followed the example preached by Brigham Young. The Mormon leader believed the natives to be children of God and descendants of people mentioned in the Book of Mormon, considered sacred scripture by Mormons. Although nineteenth-century Mormons also believed that the native inhabitants stood in the way of westward expansion and their own ownership of the land, Young encouraged his followers to try to convert the Indians. Brigham Young also developed an official policy of coexistence which taught that feeding was preferable to fighting, and Peter Maughan adopted Young's counsel. However, both groups did not succeed in avoiding all conflicts and disputes, and there also were many Mormons who ignored Young's counsel completely. Yet, a limited trust developed among leaders, even though it was not always adhered to by followers. James G. Willie of Mendon summed up the reality in March of 1860 when he wrote:

The people of the valley have been greatly annoyed with the Indians during the winter, and they have had to feed about two hundred of them most of the time since last fall, which has been a heavy tax, but it had to be borne, as there was no alternative but to feed them or do worse.¹⁵

Feeding alone could not and did not keep a total and complete peace. That was simply asking too much of the Native Americans, who saw their culture, environment, and very existence under siege.

In spite of the efforts of Young and Maughan, conflicts between settlers and natives proved inevitable. From the beginning each settlement prepared for possible attack by utilizing community militia as well as constructing fortifications within the towns. The militia

drilled frequently and took turns being on guard during times of unrest or perceived difficulty. Community herds were guarded against potential theft. By late 1860 a valleywide militia existed, with Ezra T. Benson as colonel and Thomas E. Ricks as major. Even with an organized militia, problems remained and conflicts arose.

Although numerous suspected cases of horse and cattle thievery existed, the first recorded tragic clash came at Smithfield during the summer of 1860 and the entire valley rapidly became engulfed in conflict. On 23 July 1860 a group of Smithfield men went to the foothills above the town where a small band of Shoshoni Indians were camped. The men, Thomas Winn, George Barber, and Sylvanus Collett, arrested the Shoshoni leader, Pagunap, and accused him of stealing a pony from the Richmond area. Pagunap, taken into town, protested and then later tried to escape, but he was shot and killed. The Indians returned fire and Samuel Cousins fell, wounded. While escaping, the Shoshoni came across three men camped on Summit Creek. They killed John Reed of Franklin and wounded James Cowan. Continuing up the canyon, they came across Ira and Solyman Merrill, and Ira Merrill was killed in an exchange of gunfire.

Panic swept through the valley and the settlers responded by tightening security around their communities and sending reinforcements to Smithfield. When Shoshoni chief Bear Hunter came back to Smithfield and threatened an attack, he found over a hundred armed men waiting. Henry Ballard, the bishop of Logan Second Ward, recorded in his journal that “they soon found we was to many for them they said they was not mad they wanted to be friendly Bro Maughan and them had A long talk and they Agreed to go And hunt up them Indians that Done the murder.”¹⁶ Another diarist, eighteen-year-old Thomas Irvine, also recorded the confrontation between Bear Hunter’s people and the militia:

The next day the Indians came down to Logan, and it looked like there would be trouble. Every man or boy that could handle a gun was called out. There was a party held in the old log house, and about 20 of us was lined up with our old Yeagers, Carbines, and Muskets, as a guard. It had a good affect on the Indians, and they

came to terms. We were all pretty badly scared and glad when it was over.¹⁷

Ezra Benson gave Bear Hunter 1,300 pounds of flour along with other items and the crisis temporarily passed. Later that week, however, Daddy Stump, the old mountain man, was murdered near his cabin in Paradise. Anticipating potential difficulties and the spread of hostilities, Brigham Young warned the settlers of Richmond that their farms and cabins needed to be closer to each other:

What would you do, provided the Indians became angry and suddenly attacked you? . . . I will give you my counsel; build good stockades. Move your families and wagons close together, then, if you are disturbed, you are like a hive of bees, and everyone is ready and knows at once what to do.¹⁸

The threat of Indian attacks was the primary reason that settlers frequently moved temporarily into the forts.

Fearing a concerted attack, Benson alerted the militia and they prepared to defend the settlements. The Native Americans withdrew to the north; but the next year about 1,500 of them returned to Cache Valley. Since the Shoshoni appeared hungry but not hostile, Maughan, Benson, and I. J. Clark, an interpreter, went and held council at their camp. Clark, a veteran of the Mormon Lemhi Mission to Central Idaho, was fluent in the Shoshoni language. As late as 1870 Clark received government payment as the Cache County interpreter; he received nearly the same amount as the probate judge, slightly over \$300. The men were able to avoid full-scale conflict between the groups that year.

For the next few years potential trouble loomed and tension gripped the pioneers. Every summer the settlers prepared for additional difficulties. There may have been as many as five different groups of Shoshoni Indians in the valley; but, by 1863, Bear Hunter and Sagwitch were the primary leaders. They were in a struggle for survival, and they were losing as more and more settlers cultivated land; the Indians' traditional use of Cache Valley rapidly disappeared. They fought back as they were able. Margaret McNiell Ballard described how pioneer men would take their guns with them into the fields and, while one person guarded livestock, others would farm.

We had a great deal of trouble with the Indians. They were very hostile, and the people had to seek shelter in a cellar, I have seen the Indians ride their horses into the houses, and tramp the gardens all to pieces. This was the worst time we had with them. They did an enormous amount of damage in the fields.¹⁹

During the winter there was usually little difficulty; but when the nomadic followers of Sagwitch, Bear Hunter, and others began their customary treks for game and sustenance, trouble began. In 1861, a group of an estimated 1,000 Shoshoni moved into the valley and camped west of Logan on the church's farmland. The entire militia was put on alert for nearly ten days. A band of accused horse thieves was chased by the local militia. Henry Ballard recorded their fate in a 21 July 1861 entry in his journal: "Bro. Benson Spoke very warm About the Horse thieves As the Minute Company had chased four of them and took one of them at Box Elder. And he broke loose from them and they shot him and stopped his thieving and the Ogden Boys took some more of them."²⁰ George Barber also recorded the event and gave a grimmer description of the Indians' fate. "Heard of the capture of all the horse thieves except one that our boys had routed and chased so hard and of their receiving their just reward in the shape of a blue pill or two each rightly administered."²¹

During these conflicts neither Ballard nor Barber demonstrated much desire to follow the counsel of Brigham Young or Peter Maughan. These were armed frontiersmen who obviously felt justice for Shoshonis did not include a hearing or a trial. Later full regiments of the Salt Lake-based Nauvoo Legion were established in Cache County as a powerful demonstration to the Indians of the whites' force. They seemed a bit more organized and pompous; but they were a source of security for the residents.

There are some reports of white children kidnapped and animals stolen, but the greatest conflict in Cache County history came in January 1863. During the Civil War, the United States Army ordered Colonel Patrick Edward Connor and the Third California Volunteers to Salt Lake City. The federal government, with some cause, doubted Mormon loyalty to the Union and wanted Connor to closely watch the Mormons as well as guard the overland route connecting

California and the east. Simultaneously, gold and silver discoveries in Montana and Idaho had led to a very lucrative freighting route through Cache Valley. Native Americans took advantage of the freight trains and attacked many as a way to obtain supplies. Fearing that northbound encroachment would further threaten their existence, the Bannock and Shoshoni Indians became quite aggressive in their efforts.

In order to protect the wagon freight trains, Connor decided to attack the Indians and secure peaceful passage for the freighters. With nearly 400 men, he marched into Cache Valley during January 1863. Obtaining information about the Indians from settlers, Connor made his way north to Franklin, the northernmost settlement. Although the temperature was well below zero, Connor moved his troops ten miles to the northwest during the night. Many soldiers suffered from frostbite; but, when the cold January dawn came, Connor's forces launched an assault on the unsuspecting Indian encampment. With cannon and small-arms fire, the troops wreaked devastation on the Native Americans in what came to be called by some the Battle of Bear River and by others the Bear River Massacre. Accounts vary, but in probability more than 300 Indians, mostly children and women, were killed in the massacre, which hardly reached the status of a battle. Connor and his troops had crossed the 42nd parallel and consequently fought in present-day Idaho. The location did not matter to them, because as federal troops they chose to simply remove the obstacle to northern trade.²²

After Connor's virtually complete victory, the shattered surviving Shoshoni retreated to the north and the pioneers believed that the entire valley was now theirs to secure. The next year, however, trouble once again occurred in Franklin. Settlers had sold a considerable amount of alcohol to the Indians and, in an ensuing confrontation, a Native American was shot off his horse as he rode wildly through town. After taking Robert Hull hostage, the Indians' leader, Washakie, negotiated with Peter Maughan. Maughan gave the Native Americans two yoke of oxen and secured Hull's release. This incident illustrates the fact that Maughan had to be available as a church and civic leader at all times, as he bore responsibility for the entire valley's welfare.

After the Battle of Bear River and the hostage incident at Franklin, the Indian threat diminished considerably. However, the pattern of settlement established in part because of the threat of attack continued and only disappeared slowly. The pioneers lived in communities where there were adequate fortifications, a church in which to worship, and plenty of friends. Their homesites usually included a garden and areas for milk cows, chickens, and other farm animals. Irrigation water was brought into the villages through small canals. This brought a sense of unity and community to pioneer settlements. The town and church ward became almost synonymous. Cooperation was fostered by the community structure, and settlers shared the tasks of building small log schoolhouses, chapels, and bowerys. Larger farm plots outside the village site supplied grain, hay, and cash crops; but most people still lived in town. Church leaders often appropriated land, and even after the passage of the Homestead Act in 1862 most Mormon settlers still lived in towns. Although they were required to show on-site improvements to their homesteads, a small cabin and shed usually sufficed.

Isaac Sorensen's *History of Mendon* provides a classic account of what life was like in the communities as the Indian threat disappeared:

In 1864, after five years of life in a fort where a splendid lesson had been taught and learned, it being really necessary to love the neighbors, there doors being only half speaking distance apart, which . . . was quite convenient in one respect, as people had to borrow. . . . This spring it was considered safe to break up the long string of log fortifications and move them into their new lots.²³

Sorensen added that the close proximity and the living conditions in the forts, dugouts, and early homes had a great positive impact on the inhabitants of the communities:

The people danced together, prayed together, sang together, and worked together . . . and come together in meetings . . . with a new country to be subdued, their own clothing to manufacture, . . . and many other inconveniences and hard obstacles to contend against, they were in no wise discouraged but on the contrary encouraged although only 15 or 20 acres for their farms they felt well, it was



Double Log house with shingle roof, Richmond, 1870s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

their own and they worked and looked forward in the future for many good things in their beautiful Valley, and they were not disappointed.²⁴

Not everyone agreed with Sorensen's assessment of the virtues of compact community living. Richmond's Angus Taylor Wright had a different view when his family was allowed to move from the fort to a town lot:

We received an acre lot down near town. It was a welcome change and relieved the crowded condition of the families huddled together at the "fort" where neighbors were living too close together to maintain peaceful and decent relationships. The move was therefore very desirable and resulted in promoting a better influence.²⁵

Having space was nice for some people, but they still had to constantly deal with the environment, animals, and potential Indian difficulties. Grizzly bears often presented a problem because they endangered and frequently killed cattle, sheep, and other domestic livestock. Other predators like wolves, coyotes, and foxes also drew the wrath of the pioneers.

At one point, Providence's citizens got embroiled in a nasty



Amenzo White Baker and his cabin built in Mendon, early 1860s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

week-long saga with a grizzly bear on the Blacksmith Fork River west of Providence. The settlers often combined forces for bear hunts, trapping expeditions, and general animal predator control. John Hill of Wellsville was killed accidentally during one of these nighttime hunts. Three days later a bear walked away with one of Ira Rice's large traps attached to its leg. Rice, William Dees, and others tracked the bear to its lair northwest of Providence. Rice took a shot at the grizzly at close range and, although wounded, the bear turned, cuffed Dees, and mauled him. Although lacerated and bleeding badly, Dees survived and he and his friends retreated to Providence. According to a letter from Charles Wright to the *Deseret News*, the men reassembled the next morning with reinforcements and pursued the bear. There were as many as fifteen men and boys, some armed, some not, but all wanting a shot at the grizzly. Wright wrote:

Not having learned the science of bear hunting, the amateur Nimrods soon found it necessary to act on the defensive, after arriving on the field, and some of them, to insure safety, took position in the tops of the tallest timber they could find.²⁶

Two men ran and were closely pursued by the bear, so they decided to split up, turn, and shoot at the bear. Alpheus Harmon's gun misfired and the bear turned on him; according to Wright, Harmon got "shockingly mauled." The others came to Harmon's rescue and once again a gun misfired at close range, so they started to beat the enraged animal with their guns. Henry Gates ran up and shot one barrel of his shotgun into the bear's mouth, which knocked out some teeth. Before Gates could reload, the bear attacked him and tore at his face, arms, and legs, inflicting frightful wounds. Three point-blank shots from a revolver did not deter the bear, so William Dees, the man mauled the previous day, jumped on the bear, put his gun's muzzle to the head, and finally killed the grizzly. Gates died a few days later, but Harmon survived.

In a partial response to the bear incidents, a hunt was organized in which the valley was divided into teams, north and south. Thomas Rick's northern team went to Preston and hunted southward, while Moses Thatcher's southern team moved north from Paradise. All bears, coyotes, wolves, and foxes were considered fair game with a bounty price established by the county for each pelt. Consequently, much of the predator wildlife was exterminated very early in the history of area settlement.

Less than a decade after first entering the valley, the pioneers felt they were home and that their future was tied to the beautiful valley that surrounded them. Still predominantly of one religion, the Mormon settlers looked to Salt Lake City and Brigham Young for guidance. Since a county government also existed, James H. Martineau, the county surveyor, and Jesse W. Fox, his territorial counterpart, completed surveys of the area's town plots by late 1864. Following the survey's completion, Brigham Young advised settlers to move west of the Bear River, and the communities of Clarkston and Newton resulted from that effort. The problem of western drainage and less available water deterred the growth of these communities, however. Later, in the 1870s, homesteaders filed on the grazing lands that became Trenton, Cornish, Lewiston, and Amalga. Dry farming and grazing became the early types of agricultural operation. There were many economic risks involved in dry farming, and bringing the sagebrush under control proved very difficult. However,

when Brigham Young toured the valley settlements in 1870, he saw a flourishing and rich agricultural valley that had doubled in population since the last census.

The primary question faced by these dedicated and adventurous pioneers was how to survive economically. Feeling somewhat blessed and guided, they still looked to a future filled with uncertainties. Religiously and economically, the settlers were part of the Intermountain West Mormon settlement system of Brigham Young. Many Cache Valley residents or their children subsequently moved or were sent to Bear Lake Valley; Idaho's Upper Snake River Valley; Star Valley, Wyoming; and Wyoming's Big Horn Basin. Some later moved to Alberta, Canada. Many individuals found themselves starting over time and time again. On the other hand, Cache County was considered the home base for family, religion, education, and the economy. It was the home that people returned to from outlying areas. Life was difficult, but the residents soon found themselves part of a vital, changing America in the throes of an economic industrial revolution.

ENDNOTES

1. Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, Fillmore, Utah, 18 December 1855, Territorial Papers of Utah, Special Collections, Merrill Library, Utah State University, (hereafter USUSC).
2. Doran J. Baker, "Investiture of Cache Valley to Herders and Settlers," unpublished article, 3–5, USUSC. See also M.R. Hovey, *An Early History of Cache County* (Logan: Chamber of Commerce, 1936).
3. Baker, "Investiture of Cache Valley," 5.
4. *Journal of Mary Ann Weston Maughan*, comp. Kate B. Carter (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1959), 383–84.
5. *Ibid.*, 242.
6. See A.J. Simmonds, "Looking Back," *Herald Journal*, 30 June and 7 July 1991, and 8 October and 15 October 1993. See also Baker, "Investiture of Cache Valley," 8–9.
7. Brigham Young to Peter Maughan, Brigham Young Cache Valley Letters, USUSC; see also Baker, "Investiture of Cache Valley."
8. Issac Sorensen, *History of Mendon*, ed. Doran J. Baker, Charles S. Peterson, and Gene A. Ware (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1988), 330. Many of Cache County's communities have histories written by

individuals or committees. Utah State University's Special Collections includes histories of Wellsville, Hyrum, Providence, River Heights, Logan, Smithfield, Richmond, and Trenton.

9. *Deseret News*, 3 December 1859.
10. Charles Nibley, *Reminiscences* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1934), 31–32.
11. *Deseret News*, 3 December 1859.
12. U.S. Census, 1860, U.S. Government Documents, USUSC.
13. *Deseret News*, 4 April 1860.
14. Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake*, 74.
15. James G. Willie, Journal, USUSC.
16. Henry Ballard, Diary, USUSC.
17. Thomas Irvine, Journal, USUSC.
18. Brigham Young to Peter Maughan, Peter W. Maughan Papers, USUSC.
19. Margaret McNeil Ballard, Diary, USUSC. Her biographical sketch is in the Joel E. Ricks Collection at the Cache Valley Historical Society.
20. Henry Ballard, Diary, USUSC.
21. George Barber, Journal, USUSC.
22. See Brigham D. Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre*, and Newell Hart, *The Bear River Massacre* (Preston, ID: Cache Valley Newsletter Publishing Co., 1983).
23. Isaac Sorensen, *History of Mendon* (Logan: Cache County Historical Commission and Utah State Historical Society, 1988).
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26. *Deseret News*, 17 March 1877.

CACHE VALLEY PIONEERS ESTABLISH AN ECONOMY

“Isn’t cash some potatoes, carrots, and a little squash and maybe some wheat?”

—MELINDA OLSEN

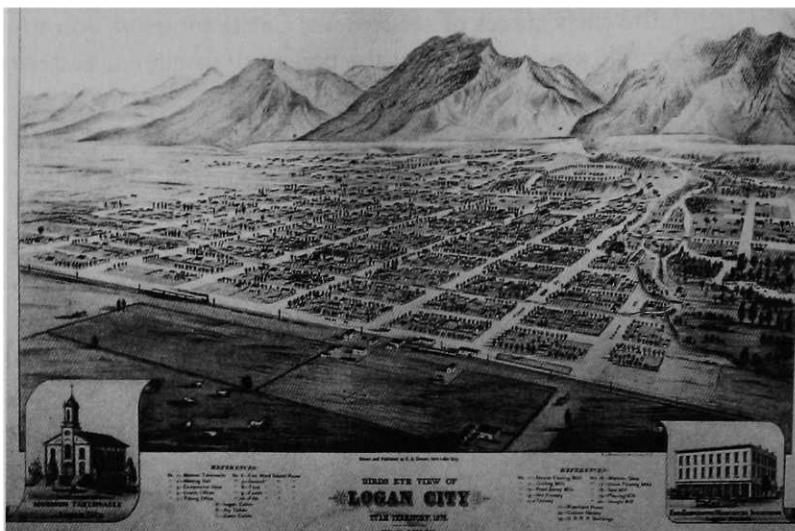
The end of the Civil War brought dramatic changes to the American economy. The war accelerated the economic revolution by helping to create a virtually insatiable demand for agricultural goods, new industrial products, and transportation connections. Cache Valley inhabitants were no exception. Although, on the one hand, the isolated location of Cache County meant that its primary economic development remained internal and included barter, tithing, and in-kind materials, the communications and transportation improvements that brought railroads and the telegraph into the valley also meant immediate contact with the economic, political, and social world outside the high mountain valley. There is little doubt that within a few short years the pioneers of Cache County evolved from a local barter and cooperative economy to a national market system

as they joined coordinated systems of communication and transportation.

During the early stages of settlement, Cache pioneers accomplished economic progress without the benefit of foreign or eastern capital. Most western regions were developed by eastern capital, including the cattle business in Montana and Wyoming, numerous mining operations throughout the West, the Pacific Northwest timber industry, and a variety of water, irrigation, and land development projects. The pioneers of Cache County developed their economy on a gradual basis because of their limited funds; however, they were in charge. The family farm fostered self-sufficiency as a primary goal. However, agricultural survival in the semi-arid West is difficult at best. To be sure, there also were significant outside influences; but, for the most part, cooperation and religion guided the early economy of the region.

Original Cache Valley citizens, like the Puritans of an earlier generation, believed God was with them. As Francis Gunnell recorded in 1857: "By the blessings of the Lord we raised a good crop after it had been prophesied by a great many We could not raise any grain on account of the severe winters and frost during the Summers by being blest with an abundant harvest."¹ The implication was that the Lord was, in part, responsible for the success of the settlers; but hard work and dedication also paid obvious dividends. Indeed, for a time, local religious leaders managed the economy, and the whole settlement process had religious fervor as a component.

The concept of gathering to Zion—the promised land—and controlling that area politically, religiously, and economically weighed heavily on the early pioneers. They believed that there existed a heavenly partnership that meant God would bless them in making the earth plentiful as long as they followed His guidance. While the Latter-day Saints consistently pursued this common goal, they also succeeded in creating a worldly commonwealth throughout the western United States. The pressure intensified because of the semi-aridity of the entire region. Cache Valley proved to be one of the best watered of all valleys; but the successful utilization of the water came about because of cooperation in controlling the numerous tributaries of the meandering Bear River. Cache County's early economic devel-



Birds Eye View of Logan, 1875. (Utah State Historical Society)

opment was based on its isolation and the cooperation, leadership, and willingness of the citizens to take advantage of opportunities. A conviction that individual effort is essential to fulfill a higher purpose sustained many believers during even the most difficult times.

Church leaders also planned and directed the development of the valley from Salt Lake City. Obviously, many settlers acted on their own, and Cache County's pioneers remained somewhat independent because of the valley's location. However, for most settlers of the Mountain West, church headquarters told them where to locate and even what to grow and how to do it. Brigham Young had amazing self-confidence and a very good track record; also, he was the prophet to the Mormon faithful. Many of Cache's settlers had experienced the settlement process before, like Peter Maughan, in Tooele. Others had participated in developing western Illinois and had survived the westward trek. They knew hardship, isolation, and discrimination. They also maintained an amazing faith in their mission.

The Mormon church developed a pattern of land distribution that dovetailed federal land policy with the desires of church leaders.

The federal government had in 1848 acquired Utah from Mexico, so the pioneers basically squatted on federally owned and unsurveyed land. The federal government finally opened land offices throughout the territory. After the passage of the Homestead Act in 1862 and the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, the federal laws were more uniformly applied to future growth and development. However, the government basically recognized the legality of church land decisions prior to its direct involvement. Church members either bought or filed on the land they already occupied. In general, early Cache County pre-Homestead Act property distribution was under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical leaders. There evolved general and specific rules regarding land administration. The general rules simply stated that each adult married man be allowed as much land as he could farm; however, the original appropriation was a maximum of twenty acres. Speculation and monopoly were forbidden, and water resources and grazing lands were commonly owned and regulated by church authorities. After a survey, farming lands were divided into fields of twenty acres and usually apportioned by a lottery. Unmarried men often had to petition in order to participate and then they received less desirable land.

The village plots were divided in a similar fashion. As mentioned previously, the community plan included the creation of city blocks of ten acres divided into eight lots. This varied in some communities. The blocks were separated by a grid of wide streets running north-south and east-west. Each lot, 1.25 acres, usually had a home, garden, small orchard or pasture, barn, and other sheds. Again, a lottery drawing system determined who got which lot. A new arrival could pick from lots not taken in the drawing. As more agricultural land was cultivated, the community continued to appropriate outlying areas in that manner. It seems that the only variations in some locales were that the church leaders often got first choice of lots and land and obtained multiple lots if they had more than one wife. Later, when the west side of Cache County became available for settlement, homesteaders drew the ire of some religious leaders because they received 160 acres legally and removed the church from any control of their property. By then the Mormon church no longer could control any unsettled land. It became very clear that small parcels might

work for subsistence but certainly not for dry farming and any perceived potential significant economic increase.

If an inexperienced individual moved into totally virgin terrain, his or her first question would probably be, "Where do I start?" The time of year a valley was settled determined what tasks carried top priority. As the Mormon pioneers gained more experience, they preferred to enter a valley in the autumn when canyon passages remained dry; they then would carry in supplies for winter and seed for spring planting. Consequently, the initial necessity was a home, dugout, or some type of protection for a family. If fall lasted into November, they might also be able to start on a meetinghouse, corals, sheds, or other buildings. One of the serious problems Cache settlers faced was that the valley floor had very little timber. The mountain men had called it Willow Valley because of the numerous willows along the Logan and Blacksmith Fork rivers. The sides of the mountains and foothills on the east side had little available timber. The pioneers discovered that the large stands of spruce and fir that existed far up the canyons were quite difficult to access. Wildlife and trapper trails had to be widened through the narrow canyons for teams and wagons.

Once again, cooperation proved the successful way to conquer the canyons and harvest the timber. Communal sawmills were set up in the mouths of the canyons, providing crews with the means to begin sawing lumber as early as 1859. They graduated from hand-driven whipsaws to water-powered circular saws within a few years, but the work remained slow and tedious. Many of the valley's early cabins consisted of uncut logs, and a few boards or small poles covered by straw and dirt provided the roof. Dirt floors were common, especially the first year or two. One Wellsville settler, Daniel Walters, recorded: "When it rained, it fell inside as well as out and continued long after it stopped outside. When our first child Sarah was born we had to hold a wagon cover over the bed to keep mother and child as dry as possible."²

There is little doubt that these original dwelling places were viewed as temporary while stability on the farm could be established. The difficulty of obtaining large supplies of wood prompted settlers to experiment with other types of home construction. Brigham

Young strongly urged adobe construction because he felt that better warmth, insulation, and security were provided by that material. Young also feared that house fires would be more common with frame homes. Consequently, both adobe and frame construction proved common; however, when skilled rock and brick masons entered the valley to work on the Logan tabernacle and temple, stone and brick homes often replaced the wooden and adobe structures. The stone houses became a trademark for a community; in Mendon one source reported that nearly forty rock homes were finished in a single year. By the time adequate roads penetrated the steep canyons to the east, railroads brought other materials into the valley, so local lumber was the primary Cache County building material for only a very brief time.³

While homes and outbuildings were essential to provide human and animal comforts, the greatest challenge facing the striving settlers was how to control the water and guarantee an adequate supply for the numerous small farms and gardens. Everyone who ever explored and visited Cache Valley prior to settlement commented on the abundance of water—at least for the western United States. The Bear River itself was difficult to tap in Cache Valley because it flowed through the central part of the valley and spread throughout a variety of low sloughs and channels. There are few places for diversion dams and there were no pumps to elevate the water. However, the Bear River's numerous tributaries could be used for specific irrigation projects.

In Cache County three streams became important major sources for water. The Little Bear River, which flows out of the extreme southeast corner of the county through Avon and Paradise and then on to the south side of Hyrum before moving toward Wellsville and on to its confluence with the Bear River, provided water for all of those communities. The Blacksmith Fork River comes out of the canyon directly east of Hyrum and turns north through a low-lying area beneath Hyrum, moving through Nibley and then west of Millville and Providence until it joins with the Logan River southwest of Logan. Finally, the Logan River pursues a short but rapid course directly out of Logan Canyon through the "island" area of east-central Logan and out into the flatlands until it too meets the Bear River

on the western side of the valley. These streams, prior to the construction of major dams, provided most of the necessary water for the settlers. Spring Creek above Providence; Summit Creek, which runs through Smithfield; High Creek by Richmond; and the Cub River north of Franklin all contribute irrigation water as well.

The immense and complicated network of canals and irrigation ditches that currently provide water for thousands of acres began with modest diversion ditches from the various streams. Although most area settlements were also near springs which provided significant water, it did not take long for the settlers to construct a more elaborate system. Wellsville's early colonists initiated irrigation by digging a canal from the Little Bear River to irrigate their eastern fields. They completed the task in one summer; everyone who could spare time from their own endeavors assisted the communal project. In May 1860 the pioneers on the east side of the valley decided to build a canal to carry Logan River water from the canyon as far north as Hyde Park.

The construction of permanent canals to irrigate higher ground and also provide more water came later. Water was appropriated based on how much land an individual controlled. The water could be utilized for a specific length of time, after which it had to be returned to the main ditch. Water fights became common and the settlement occurred either on the ditchbank or in a Mormon bishop's court. The concept of group ownership of the water became a very significant part of the Mormon frontier. Canal companies formed and allotted water to those along the ditches. Nearly all of the easily irrigated part of the valley had water by 1870. In a way, water limited early settlement in certain areas because, once all of the water shares were appropriated, newcomers could not gain access to the streams. Without dams, the spring run-off was the primary source of water; by late July or early August the canals were usually dry. However, most of the hay harvested was wild hay, not alfalfa or lucerne, so one cutting was all that farmers could harvest anyway; also, grain usually ripened by the time the water got scarce. The valley floor has a high water table and offered natural irrigation for low-lying pasture and wild-grass hay.

There is little doubt that enterprising early pioneers wanted to

build larger dams and higher canals, but they lacked the equipment and the capital. In the valley they dug the ditches using wooden plows drawn by teams of oxen, or else humans used picks and shovels. Later the settlers developed a large V-shaped instrument pulled by oxen much like a plow that cleaned out the canal of dirt and simultaneously created banks on the side. Obviously, a primary concern was making sure that all streams ran downhill. The engineers devised a variety of ways to ensure that the ditches could use gravity to move the water; but, knowing the rocky geology of Cache County benches, the workers dreaded the task of constructing ditches. The rock-filled alluvial fans made canal digging a monstrous task. The builders only possessed crude tools and equipment, and some steep and rocky routes made the use of oxen and draft animals impossible. Consequently, errors were made—a canal out of the Logan River's south side intended for use east of River Heights and Providence ran uphill, and it took nearly two decades to completely re-do the canal and get the water running downhill.⁴

In Hyrum, shortly after settlement in 1860, the settlers realized that their crops and gardens might die in July if water could not be brought to them. A crew of men began constructing a canal nine miles up the Little Bear River. They built a four-foot-deep, five-foot-wide canal, working night and day. Utilizing all available men, youths, and horses, they faced a difficult task; but it took them only twenty-one days to finish the nine-mile project. Yet, after working so hard for so long, the farmers still failed to revive the burning crops.⁵ However, now the canal existed and at least some acres would never burn again.

Each community of water-users worked together to build and maintain a canal. By 1880 nearly 50,000 Cache Valley acres had been brought under irrigation, and the number of irrigated acres almost doubled in the next twenty years. Not content with a system based on diversion ditches, the farmers of Newton decided to dam Clarkston Creek and create a reservoir. One of the first irrigation reservoirs in the western United States and in the country, the Newton Dam stored spring run-off from Clarkston Creek. The small earth-filled structure had a turbulent history because it could not handle large run-offs and repeatedly washed out, causing flooding downstream. Finally,

with persistence and more modern technology and equipment, a permanent structure was constructed.

The importance of impounded water for the county, the state, and the West can hardly be overstated. The fact that building canals or dams took so much of the settlers' time and energy helps explain why the first few years in the valley proved very difficult. It took a tremendous amount of time to build the canals, which often included constructing wooden troughs over gullies and canyons, to guarantee a water supply for all of the area's communities and farms. As the trappers and explorers remarked, Cache is one of the best watered valleys of the West, but making that water flow consistent was necessary for successful agriculture. By the turn of the century, water was guaranteed for nearly 100,000 acres and Cache County had become the breadbasket for the area.⁶

However, water alone could not guarantee success. The high valley could also have early or late frosts, so local farmers experimented with growing different types of produce. In some ways, nature further accentuated the hazards of high-mountain agriculture. According to numerous journals and diaries, the plague of the early years was not drought but insects, specifically grasshoppers and crickets. The "hoppers," as the pioneers called the troublesome creatures, may have been a type of cricket. The pioneers described them as grasshoppers and, although the settlers prayed for help, it is not recorded that flocks of seagulls came to their rescue. For nearly a twenty-year period—from 1860 to 1880—the hoppers periodically came, usually with the same devastating results. In 1860 Samuel Roskelly recorded that twelve acres of wheat near Richmond were "eaten off clean by grasshoppers." Paul Cardon planted forty bushels of wheat, but only harvested seven "due to grasshoppers." Issac Sorensen's history of Mendon refers to 1866 as the year of the grasshopper. That year in Wellsville alone over 2,000 acres of crops were devoured by insects.⁷

The settlers resorted to planting fall wheat, as suggested by Ezra T. Benson, hoping they could harvest before the insect swarms arrived in the hot summer. Others created cooperative farms based on the idea that every family could not protect their individual farm, but, if all families joined together, they could protect the co-op farm.

Each family then received a portion of the co-op wheat, so they could at least feed themselves and perhaps save enough extra for seed. The grasshoppers forced the settlers to experiment with economic and communal cooperation that proved useful in other areas as well. Indeed, without cooperation many of the early economic problems could not have been solved as quickly as was necessary for success.

Cooperation among settlers proved necessary for economic and physical survival. As mentioned previously, in the construction of forts, homes, and canals there existed tremendous organized cooperation. The fact that each town was also a Latter-day Saint ward, at least in the early stages of settlement, made the organization of cooperative efforts very easy. However, that does not mean that every individual willingly jumped when the local bishop called. Still, most of the early settlers benefited initially from sharing responsibilities in herding livestock and building projects and later cooperating in other marketing, merchandising, and purchasing efforts.

While Cache County residents were establishing some base for a self-contained internal economy, they profited from external historical events. When prospectors discovered gold in Montana and Idaho during the early years of the Civil War, Mormons profited by becoming part of a transportation conduit to those mining areas. As mentioned previously, the freight route from Salt Lake City north passed through Cache Valley. The valley also was the closest settled agricultural region to the mines. Cache County residents engaged both in freighting supplies north and also in provisioning other freighters. Grain and flour were especially coveted in the mining areas and cash was plentiful at the mines, so the farmers and freighters benefited dramatically.

There is no doubt that great profits could be attained by freighting products north. By 1863, there were about 25,000 people in each of the new territories of Idaho and Montana. With one hundred pounds of flour selling for over thirty dollars, eggs priced at two dollars a dozen, and butter listed at one dollar a pound, famous freighter Alexander Toponce claimed to have made \$100,000 between 1863 and 1865 in Idaho and Montana. Toponce allegedly bought a pig for thirty-six dollars in Brigham City and sold it in the Montana mines for \$600.⁸



The Hyde Park LDS church built in 1866. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

Since the 1849 gold rush to California, Brigham Young consistently counseled the Mormons to avoid following the gold and silver bonanzas; but he still wanted his followers to profit as much as possible from the success or greed of others. For example, Ralph Smith recorded in his diary that he “Sold my load of provisions, worked a spell, returned home near Xmas.”⁹ For the most part, the Mormon settlers followed Young’s advice to his co-religionists to “stay at home and attend to their farms and not think of gold mining.”¹⁰ However, some tried their hand at mining—the opportunity for quick wealth could not be ignored.

One of the dangers of the Montana-Idaho trade was the temptation to deplete stores in Cache County because of the potential cash profits. At a point late in 1863, Peter Maughan and Thomas Preston asked the local farmers to stop selling their wheat to the miners, as they feared running out of supplies during the winter. The freighting business not only proved a major boon to the local agricultural econ-

omy but also helped develop merchants. Many miners also came through the valley heading north, and they provided an additional source of income. General merchandise stores sprang up throughout the county from Wellsville to Richmond. Salt Lake City merchants William Jennings and William Godbe established branch stores in the valley.

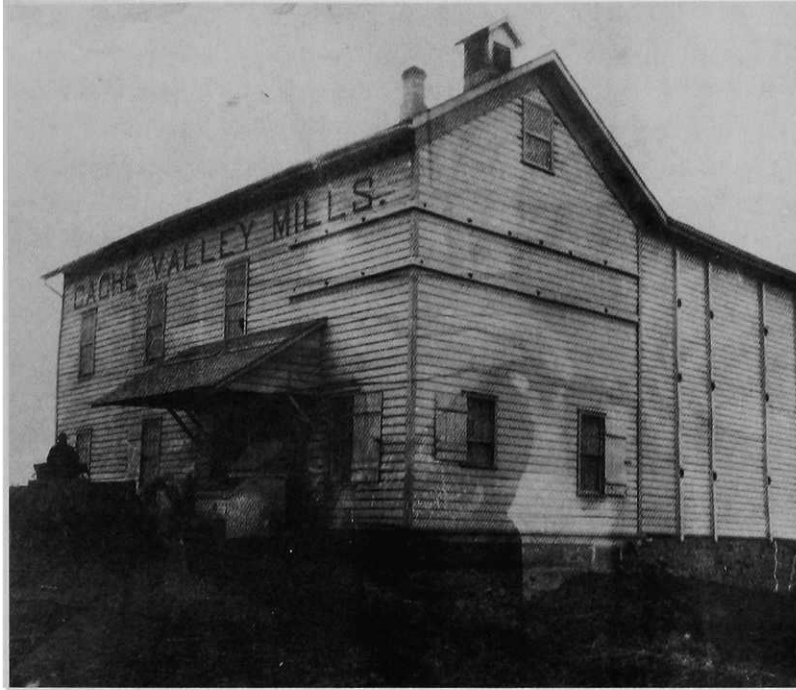
Another source of external economic assistance was federal troops. From the time that Col. Patrick Connor first attacked the Bannock and Shoshoni Indians at the Bear River, Cache citizens had a lively and consistent trade with soldiers. On Connor's January expedition leading to the Bear River battle, settlers traded produce for blankets and clothing. Later Connor established a fort at Soda Springs in Idaho and numerous Cache citizens helped in the construction of a freight road between the two sites and then supplied the troops stationed there. In fact, Connor's presence in Salt Lake City during the Civil War was a major reason Brigham Young wanted settlers to send their wheat south rather than to the Montana mines. Young could then supply the federal troops and receive a handsome profit.

In spite of freighting, soldiers, and other external markets, the church-operated tithing house still controlled much of the trade in Cache Valley. Each village had a tithing house or yard. The LDS church insisted that in both good and bad times everyone should contribute a tithe of 10 percent of their gain. Although some may have debated what constituted total gain, most farmers gave one-tenth of the wheat, hay, potatoes, cattle, sheep, honey, and whatever else they grew. A variety of materials and produce thus was gathered at the tithing yard, which became the center for trade activity. Fast-day donations, which usually fell on a week day, were also sent to the tithing office. In Logan the tithing square, which occupied the block directly north of the present Tabernacle Square, included a stock shed, barn, feed lot, haystacks, a granary, root cellar, corral, lumberyard, workshop, toolshed, and a general store. The tithing square consisted of two acres surrounded by a thick cobblestone wall that rose to nearly six feet high. The Logan facility became the central storage place for the entire valley if there was surplus tithing in other valley communities.¹¹

Each community's bishop had the responsibility to disperse the tithing receipts for his ward. As top priority, the poor needed to be assisted. New immigrants found the necessary supplies to help them get established in their new homes and surroundings. Tithing resources could also be used to help build schools, mills, dams, or other facilities. After local needs were met and some supplies stored, the surplus was sent to Logan, where the process was repeated on a larger scale. When the entire valley's needs had been met, then the remaining surplus was sent to Salt Lake City. According to the Cache Valley Tithing Office records, over \$2.5 million worth of goods and services were received between 1863 and 1900. Consequently, the tithing office became the center of economic life in a society devoid of plentiful cash. Not only did it fulfill the welfare purpose, but it also served as local marketplace.

Bishops and stake presidents usually set prices for commodities and established the value of labor. They performed banking functions by extending credit and underwriting community projects such as the construction of canals and mills. New arrivals found the tithing yard a source of their beginning, because the community essentially invested in them by sharing its grain and produce. The tithing office also served as the location for sending and receiving mail. Church-employed carriers took the mail to outlying settlements. The tithing yard was a vital, active location where the Mormon church controlled much of the economy of the county.

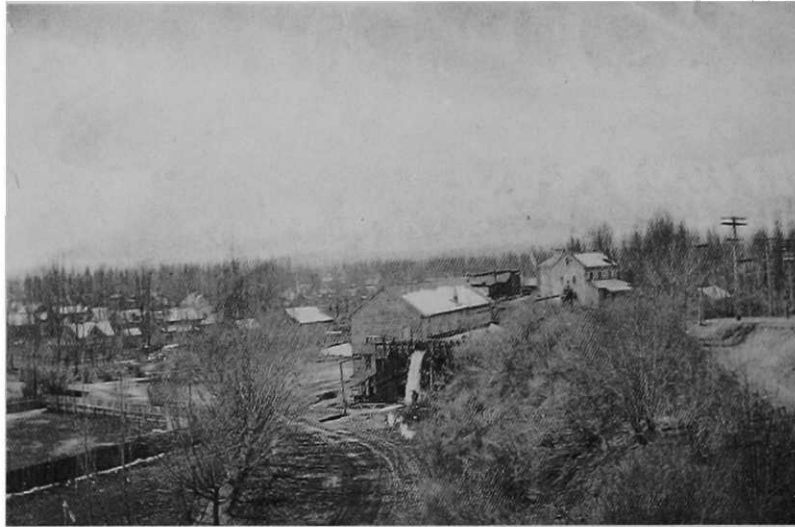
Numerous home industries existed that enabled families to enhance their self-sufficiency as well as their capacity to barter. Many families possessed the means and ability to weave, spin, card, and dye wool. Others tried weaving silk produced by imported silkworms and mulberry trees. Some attempted to grow flax, cut it, soak it, separate the fibers, and weave them into linen. Spinning wheels and hand-loom were common household implements carried into the valley. Straw hats could be woven and numerous other domestic items created. Residents even tried growing some cotton in the valley, but they failed. As much as possible, women tried to make their households efficient and self-sustaining. However, even with gardens and cottage industries, settlers depended on merchants and tradesmen for some goods. Communities also relied heavily on milling of all types.¹²



Cache Valley Mills built by Goudy Hogan and M. W. Merrill 1867. Modernized 1882, operated until 1974. Flour sold under brand name “Gilt Edge.” Photograph taken circa 1903. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

Sawmills, gristmills, molasses mills, tanneries, and large carding machines were operated throughout the county by the end of the nineteenth century. Gristmills seemed most essential because they ground grain into flour. Consisting of two circular stones, one stationary and the other rotating, the millstones ground the wheat or corn into flour. Although originally powered by animals, most of the mills eventually became water driven, and, consequently, each tributary of the Bear River had some type of mill located on it by 1870. Larger mills developed as technology improved, and eventually a number of mills existed that not only could grind the grain but also weigh and store the resulting flour.

One interesting local commodity had great significance as a sweetener—molasses. Although there was some honey available, molasses became the valley’s primary sweetener. Molasses mills had



Deseret or Central Mills in Logan as seen from Boulevard circa 1907.
(Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

sets of rollers which literally pressed the juice out of grain sorghum and a little sugar cane. Most settlements had at least one mill which could originally be powered by humans. The sorghum was thickly planted and harvested like sugar cane. Indeed, many settlers at first thought the molasses came exclusively from cane. The milled juice was boiled until it looked, tasted, and smelled much like southern molasses. A few distilleries existed which produced whiskey, both for freight trade and local consumption. All of these mills provided a tremendous community resource and, although most were on private land, they became communally supported enterprises. By 1870, fourteen years after the initial settlement, the valley had transformed its appearance considerably, especially in light of the fact that Brigham Young had considered its future to be in providing grazing land.

It should be remembered that Cache Valley had originally been established as a livestock grazing area because of the abundance of its water and grass; however, as the pioneers tilled land and developed irrigation systems, less valley land remained available for grazing. As a consequence, the Mormon leaders decided to create town or ward animal herds. Some lands were set aside as common pasture and

could not be privately owned. Even the privately owned milk cows were driven to communal pasture during the day and then returned home in the evening. Soon these cooperative grazing lands extended to the foothills and the west ranges before they were settled, then to the canyons, and finally to the high mountain ranges. The pattern established became significant because eventually organizations of cattlemen and sheepmen grew out of the principles established by the earlier use of common ground, which also had deep roots in Europe and colonial America.

One or two young men might be assigned to accompany the cattle to their summer range. They usually worked for experience and goods such as wheat or produce. Later the summer cowboys who supervised the mountain herd actually received monetary payment. Their job ended when the fall harvest was finished and the cattle could then graze in the fields near the town. The farmers also cooperated to improve the quality of livestock by jointly purchasing purebred bulls and rams. The Providence LDS Ward voted to empower the bishop to buy a bull and then agreed to a use fee of ten pounds of wheat per cow. This also became an accepted practice for the dairy herds. Consequently, Cache Valley gradually developed as a center for exceptional stock that produced more milk, better wool, and more meat than did most areas. The concept of sharing land and livestock worked well and contributed to economic survival and later success.¹³

The concept of cooperation also extended to horses and machinery. It took time for farmers to be able to afford the higher quality livestock necessary to improve their stock. Church authorities in Salt Lake City constantly put demands on the people to support general church efforts. For instance, until the transcontinental railroad was finished in 1869, wagons and teams of horses, oxen, or mules were in constant demand to help bring more emigrants into the Great Basin. Cache County residents sent at least twenty teams every year throughout the decade of the 1860s, except in 1865 and 1867. The 1868 group included sixty animal teams as well as a number of men who went as guards. Those who traveled east were reimbursed with tithing credit donations for their service. However, mostly young, single men made the trip, because it counted as a church "mission" and it also gave them an opportunity to meet new friends, especially

young ladies. In some years the wagons that were sent also returned with freight from the Midwest, so the cooperation with the church also meant economic improvement. One of the results of the 1865 trip was that seven wagons came back filled with telegraph wire, which led to one of the more intriguing cooperative efforts—the Deseret Telegraph.¹⁴

Salt Lake City had been connected by telegraph to the east and west coasts since 1861. Upon the conclusion of the Civil War, Brigham Young decided that all Mormon settlements needed to be connected by telegraph service. The resulting mammoth cooperative effort tied Cache County in the north to St. George in the south, with spur lines into various other valleys. With an almost proselytizing zeal, the ward leaders called young people and sent them to telegraph school in Salt Lake City. They then sought donations of in-kind materials such as wire or poles that might assist in construction of the lines. After contributing \$2,000 in cash to help buy equipment, the residents of Cache Valley divided up the tasks of construction from Mantua east of Brigham City all the way to Franklin and eventually into Bear Lake Valley. By the time the pioneers finished the task, there were over 1,100 miles of telegraph lines connecting hundreds of Mormon settlements. Some degree of direct communication of the Mountain West with the outside world had been established.

The primary telegraph office for Cache County was in Logan, and the operators originally worked as if they were part of the on-going cooperative movement. In other words, they worked for payment in goods—wheat, board, wood, potatoes, or milk. Later city revenues and tithing tokens compensated talented and skilled operators like Joseph Goddard and Canute Torgensen. Ironically, because of the cooperative nature of the construction, church telegraph use was free of charge; personal, community, and news correspondence was charged a nominal rate; and the only substantial fee was for business messages. The Deseret Telegraph line provided a valuable link and continued to serve the communities in a variety of ways. The operators could warn about Native American movements or polygamists could be told that federal marshals might be approaching. The Deseret Telegraph served as the primary conduit for informing the region of the Battle of the Little Big Horn in 1876. A rider from Fort Hall came to Franklin,

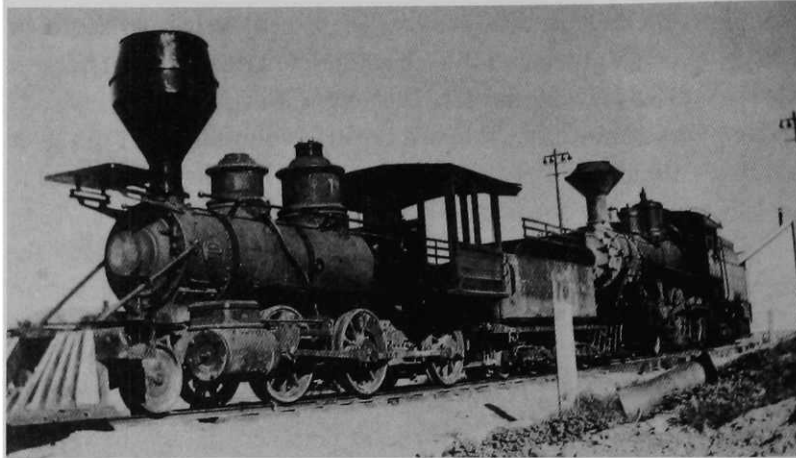
where the message detailing Custer's fate went out along the lines. Private interests purchased the telegraph line in 1900, and it became part of the Bell network in 1911. The telegraph's significance in county history was enhanced by an even greater economic boon to Cache County—the coming of the railroad, which initially contributed to and then led to the downfall of church cooperatives.¹⁵

Cache Valley's economic future changed dramatically after the transcontinental railroad was completed in May 1869. Within a short time, railroad spurs reached into many Utah valleys. Cache County farmers wanted a line to enable them to expand their markets. Brigham Young watched these developments closely, and his son John W. Young went to the east coast to raise capital for the venture north from Ogden into Cache Valley and beyond. This contrasted with the previous use of local capital. After securing a commitment from two brothers, Benjamin and Joseph Richardson, to financially back the construction, Young returned and met with local Cache Valley church leaders. He wanted the county residents to do the grading, set the ties, and lay the rails. Originally, the railroad bed was designed to go from Ogden to Soda Springs in southern Idaho. Young offered the local leaders railroad stock if they furnished ties and all of the labor.

By 1871 both E.T. Benson and Peter Maughan had died, so the mantle of leadership fell to others. Although two men who became apostles, Marriner W. Merrill and Moses Thatcher, lived in the valley, the local presiding bishop, William B. Preston, corresponded with Brigham Young concerning the railroad. Preston worried about eastern capital control and what that might mean regarding charges and costs. Preston wrote to the Mormon leader on 15 August 1871:

Will it be wisdom for us in Cache County to grade and tie a railroad from Ogden to Soda Springs with a view to Eastern capitalists ironing and stocking it? The people feel considerably spirited in taking stock to grade and tie, expecting to have a prominent voice in the control of it; but to let foreign capitalists iron and stock it will, if my judgement is correct, give them control.¹⁶

Brigham Young wired Preston back immediately. Through his son, he knew the nature of the deal with the Richardson brothers. He



Railroad enters Cache County 1871. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

put gentle pressure on the local Cache leader, and it became very clear what Young wanted accomplished:

The foreign capitalists in this enterprise do not seek the control; this is all understood. What they want, and what we want is to push this road with all possible speed, if you decide to have one, so that it shall run through and benefit your settlements and reach Soda Springs as soon as possible.¹⁷

In order to guarantee local cooperation, Young advised his son and the local church leaders to become entrepreneurs of what was to be called the Utah Northern Railroad. The Utah Northern was organized eight days after Young and Preston exchanged their telegrams. John W. Young became the president of the enterprise, with William B. Preston as vice-president and Moses Thatcher as secretary. If John Young had not already cemented Cache County's cooperation by having Preston and Thatcher as officers, he certainly did when community and church leaders from the entire region became directors. Among those appointed were Hezekiah Thatcher of Logan, Franklin D. Richards of Ogden, Lorenzo Snow of Brigham City, William Maughan of Wellsville, Samuel Roskelly of Smithfield, William Hyde of Hyde Park, O.N. Liljenquist of Hyrum, Marriner W. Merrill of

Richmond, and Lorenzo Hatch of Franklin. In other words, most of the community bishops became directors of the enterprise.

James Martineau, the former Cache County Surveyor, surveyed the three-foot-wide, narrow-gauge route. He projected a line that went north from Brigham City along the east foothills and then sliced into Cache Valley through Bear River Canyon to Cache Junction. The route turned south to Mendon, then east to Logan, before turning north to Franklin and beyond. The directors overruled Martineau on the Bear River Canyon part of the line, and the result was a track south of Beaver Dam that entered the valley near Petersboro. The grade proved so steep that it required helper engines to pull the trains over the hill. Construction began in the late summer of 1871, with a goal of reaching Logan, a distance of thirty-seven miles, by the end of 1872. Ties, rough-sawn in Blacksmith Fork Canyon, were floated down the Blacksmith Fork River to Logan, where they were snaked out near the Logan-Mendon Bridge. The Logan River also was utilized to a lesser extent for timber floats. Both Goudy Hogan of Richmond and Issac Sorensen of Mendon left specific accounts of their experiences as railroad builders. Hogan recorded:

I rigged up my teams and started out in company with William Fisher and we worked out our portion of work. We were the first that started work in Cache Valley on the divide between Cache Valley and Salt Lake Valley. I had fitted out three teams, took my wife Chistiana, and Harriet, my daughter, to cook, Ira and Nels, my sons, and one hired man. Fisher had four teams. We bought 70 yards of tent cloth and made a new tent. . . . We did the work that was allotted to us in the three weeks. . . . There were few who could work on the road without some ready means having lost their crops for so many years but Bro. Young promised to pay us a portion of ready pay . . . and take stock in the road for a balance. I worked three months . . . my estimate . . . amounted to \$2600. Besides Fisher I had 2 hired men besides my own folks to pay in wheat and part in vouchers. These were railroad vouchers that circulated as money and paid off some of my debts.¹⁸

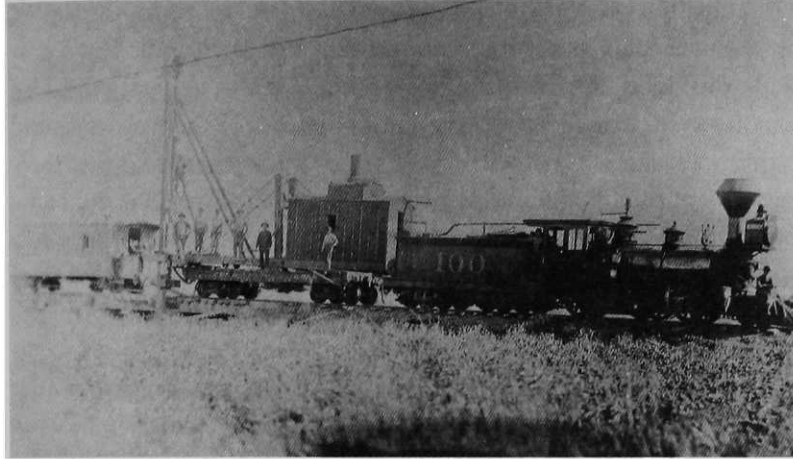
Sorensen added his remembrance, but questioned the manner in which people were called to work and whether or not the workers would really benefit:

The completion of the UN to Franklin was the main labor outside of the common labor or Farmers considerable work was done on this road this year [1872] although many were not so willing to work as they had previously been, as there was not Cash down for work only Vouchers & many said the big fish would eat up the little ones, but it was considered a Duty to work on the road, and for this reason many continued their work.¹⁹

The work slowed down during planting and harvest times in the valley. In September 1872 a call soliciting large crews came to the bishops. The track reached Mendon on 20 December 1872 and the community turned out two days later to see the first train. The *Deseret News* reported the arrival of the locomotive *John W*, engineered by Charley Paul of Logan. Many of the children from Mendon rode sleighs to Petersboro and boarded the cars as the train made its first trip into Mendon. That night Mendon's citizens sponsored a community dinner for the employees and officials of the railroad. Following the feast, a grand ball took place and the attendees danced most of the night away at what one called "one of the most agreeable parties we ever had in Mendon."²⁰

It took until the end of January for the tracks to finally reach Logan. Even though the grade had been set earlier, heavy snows slowed the workers considerably. The first train arrived at the county seat on 31 January and this sparked a three-day celebration. There were dances at the schools and at Logan Hall along with numerous dinners, speeches, and music. After three days of celebrating, the able-bodied men answered a request to hand shovel all the snow off the tracks to Mendon so they could reopen the line. Weather plagued the construction and operation of the Utah Northern for many years. A small roundhouse, a turntable, and a machine shop made Logan a temporary railroad hub.

When the railroad construction began to extend the line to Franklin, the builders had a major problem. Much of the land from Sixth West in Logan along the proposed route was through farm and town lots. Land had to be purchased and a railroad bed constructed. To create a sturdy bed, gravel was desperately needed. The railroad leaders approached Logan City and asked to tap the gravel beds south of the site of the Logan LDS temple. A small spur line was laid up



Mormon built Utah Northern Railroad built through Cache County became the Utah and Northern Railway Company and owned by the Union Pacific Railroad in 1878. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

Center Street from the depot to the base of the gravel site near Second East. Most of the grade to Smithfield was built with Logan gravel. The railroad line got to Franklin on 2 May 1874, and, although the Utah Northern had congressional approval to build a line to Montana, the local residents began to question both the value of the railroad vouchers and why the LDS church continued to call people to do construction work for someone's private benefit. When the train carrying Brigham Young and Erastus Snow to festivities in Franklin jumped the track and the ruffled leaders returned to Logan by wagon, it signaled all was not well in the local railroad business.²¹

Actually, the financing of the Utah Northern Railroad proved to be very complex and depended entirely on "donated" labor. Moses Thatcher, who became president of the Utah Northern in 1873, described the unique position of the eighty-mile railroad:

I suppose there is not a road in the United States of equal length the stock of which is distributed so extensively among the workmen doing its line. The iron and rolling stock have been furnished by Mr. Richardson . . . , the rest has been accomplished by the best wealth the world possesses—union of interest and concert of action, backed by the bone and muscle of the independent farmer, the hardy lumberman, and the intelligent miner.²²

The contribution of the working families of Cache County depended on their acceptance of company vouchers instead of cash. The recipients obtained a promise that eventually the vouchers would be worth twice their face value in company stock. When the national economic depression of 1873 hit, however, the Richardsons and their eastern colleagues suffered significant financial losses and the company did not redeem the vouchers. The workers were protected to some extent because the LDS church agreed to pay the face value of the vouchers at the tithing offices. By redeeming the vouchers, the church received a large block of Utah Northern stock.

Ultimately, church leaders and local leaders tried to obtain outside eastern support to complete the tracks into Idaho. Jay Gould, the noted robber-baron railroad entrepreneur, bought out the Richardsons for \$400,000 and the local promoters for \$80,000. In actual value, he purchased the railroad for about ten cents on the dollar. Apparently, the church held onto its stock and in the complex and controversial settlement of Brigham Young's estate in 1877, the church's stock passed to John Young, the original president of the Utah Northern. Young then sold his interests to the Union Pacific, which subsequently purchased Gould's holdings and created a new corporation called the Utah and Northern Railroad Company. The Utah Northern defaulted on debts of nearly \$1.5 million due on bonds and interest, and its final assets were picked up by the Union Pacific for \$100,000. Issac Sorensen's worries of 1873, which were shared by many Cache residents, proved justified.

In spite of the economic problems, Cache residents benefited dramatically from the railroad's connection to the transcontinental line at Ogden as well as from its eventual expansion into Idaho and Montana. Many experienced local workers continued to use their draft animal teams and talents to work on the Utah and Northern all the way to Montana. The company paid its workers in cash, so they did not have to contend with vouchers. Another by-product of extending the railroad beyond the Fort Hall Indian Reservation to Idaho Falls (Eagle Rock) was that it enabled many of the children of Cache Valley's founders to eventually pioneer the settlement of the upper Snake River Valley.

However, as the tiny narrow gauge became part of a greater inte-

grated railroad system, it was inevitable that standard-gauge tracks eventually would be installed. As the Union Pacific continued to develop its western holdings (including the Oregon Shortline from Granger, Wyoming, to Portland, Oregon, completed between 1881–85), it decided to standardize all its lines. As part of this decision, the company developed a new line rather than disrupt existing service for even a day. This had a great impact on Logan because the Union Pacific construction engineers decided to enter Cache Valley from the west through the Bear River gorge and then go east to Cache Junction. The Union Pacific decided to bypass Mendon and Logan with its main line and head straight north through the west side of the valley. Consequently, everything on the east side of the Bear River became part of a local spur system, which meant travelers to Logan had to change trains at Cache Junction. Eventually, the standard-gauge tracks were installed throughout the valley, but local passengers never were happy about the inconvenience of changing trains and waiting for a local.

Railroads brought many benefits to Cache County. The journey from Nebraska was cut from three months to three days. New machinery and supplies could be delivered more rapidly and often for less cost. The construction of the railroad tracks and facilities brought jobs and money into the economy and it also opened markets in all directions to Cache Valley's farmers.²³

The railroad also threatened one aspect of Brigham Young's vision, however. Young did not mind Mormons making money off those who passed through Mormon country; on the other hand, however, he resented those who settled in Utah, established businesses or banks, and succeeded in selling merchandise or loaning money to the local settlers. Newcomers also brought outside religious forces into the region. Indeed, one of the first passenger trains into Logan brought the Right Reverend Daniel Sylvester Tuttle of the Episcopal church into Cache Valley.

One result of this new reality was a decision by Brigham Young and his colleagues to institute a chain of mercantile cooperatives. The plan provided for an integrated marketing and distribution system that upset both outsiders and fairly established Mormon merchants. A large wholesale distribution center was to be established in Salt



Horse powered threshing machine near Lewiston early 1900s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

Lake City which had the responsibility to supply and distribute products to the outlying settlements. Thus Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI) was created in late 1868. Local wards established their own cooperatives. The fact that LDS people were encouraged to only patronize the local LDS cooperative upset many merchants who desired fair competition. According to the decree sent out, the local church-sponsored ZCMI gradually assumed all area merchandising efforts. Although there existed religious justifications for the cooperatives as a step toward the utopian dream of a united order, or communitarian lifestyle, its main impact was control of merchandising and profits in the Territory of Utah.²⁴

Cache County church leaders responded to the directive with almost complete compliance. In Logan on 15 March 1869 all of the existing merchants combined to form the Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution, and they established a constitution to "establish and carry on the business of general merchandising and manufacturing." They also elected officers, once again demonstrating an alliance between religious and commercial leaders. Ezra T. Benson became the president and Peter Maughan became the vice-president

of the institution. The directors chosen were Moses Thatcher, William B. Preston, and William H. Shearman. Those men along with secretary Charles Penrose and treasurer William Goodwin represented the largest mercantile establishment in Logan. Many smaller communities followed suit, and the Mormon church established sixteen different cooperative mercantile establishments of various sizes from Lewiston to Paradise between 1869 and 1881.²⁵

One of the problems faced by the cooperative movement was that Brigham Young was also experimenting with a communal experiment, the United Order, which was based on members turning over their private property to the order and then working for a common fund and benefit, receiving from the order those things they needed. Some church leaders tried to organize a cooperative as a type of United Order, and it created serious difficulties for many followers. Logan's LCMI only lasted three years before it was turned over to the larger ZCMI, and the United Order never really was established in Logan because of both distrust and lack of support. Logan's LDS First and Second wards established small United Order units, but islands of communal cooperation struggled in the midst of a free-enterprise system. Far and away the most successful Cache County United Order was in Hyrum, where the president of both the mercantile institution and the United Order was local bishop O.N. Liljenquist.²⁶

Liljenquist utilized the timber resources of Blacksmith Fork Canyon and the railroad's need for ties as an economic base, and the Hyrum United Order soon operated both water- and steam-powered sawmills, a planing mill, and a shingle mill. It also operated butcher and blacksmith shops, a dairy, a ranch, and a general store. The experiment lasted for nearly a decade. By 1877 the Hyrum United Order had sawed 650,000 feet of timber and made over a million shingles and 6,000 cross ties. Its dairy had over 200 cows and produced 24,000 pounds of cheese and 1,500 pounds of butter. Employment was available for anyone who wished to join, and the pay was one-third merchandise, one-third building materials, and one-third cash. Bishop Liljenquist wrote in 1881: "As a result of cooperation more than one hundred and twenty thousand dollars have been extracted from mountains in the shape of lumber, shingles, and cheese and butter from the cows." Despite a fire that destroyed some

of its properties, Hyrum's United Order flourished as long as the timber held out. Once the timber resources were exhausted, however, the order floundered.²⁷

Marriner W. Merrill in Richmond made the transition from operating a cooperative mercantile to joining a United Order, but he ran them as one unit until they were sold to private enterprise in 1902. Although cooperation was still considered the Lord's way, the new generation of residents came of age in a capitalistic nation of individualistic expectations and expressions. Although winters remained comparatively cold and times could be bad, improvements in communication and transportation had created a world where complete communal cooperation for survival was no longer essential. The prosperity brought from trade and cooperation helped ensure an economy that supported private enterprise. Private capital also grew to make possible enterprises which had earlier depended on the pooling of resources. One significant result of the period of economic expansion and the religious cooperatives was that many converts to Mormonism did not like the control, disobeyed church orders, and found themselves outside the faith. This helped open the door for Christian missionaries of other denominations seeking souls on the disappearing frontier.

ENDNOTES

1. Francis C. Gunnell, Autobiography, Joel E. Ricks Collection, USUSC.
2. Daniel Leigh Walters, Autobiography, USUSC.
3. Leonard J. Arrington, "Life and Labor Among the Pioneers," in *The History of a Valley*, ed. Joel E. Ricks (Logan: Cache County Centennial Commission, 1956), 140–69.
4. *Ibid.*, 147–51.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Samuel Roskelly, Autobiography, Joel E. Ricks Collection, USUSC. See also Issac Sorensen, *History of Mendon*, ed. Doran F. Baker, Charles S. Peterson, and Gene A. Ware (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1988).
8. A.J. Simmonds, "Looking Back," *Herald Journal*, 15, 22, and 29

December 1991—a series on the impact of the Montana mines on the Cache economy. Arrington, “Life and Labor,” 171, also discusses Toponce.

9. Ralph Smith, Journal, Joel E. Ricks Collection, USUSC.

10. Brigham Young to Peter Maughan, Peter C. Maughan Collection, USUSC.

11. See Leonard J. Arrington, “The Mormon Tithing House: A Frontier Business Institution,” *Business History Review* (March 1954): 24–58.

12. See Leonard J. Arrington, “The Economic Role of Pioneer Mormon Women,” *Western Humanities Review* (Spring 1955): 145–64.

13. Arrington, “Life and Labor Among the Pioneers,” 160–62.

14. Leonard J. Arrington, “The Deseret Telegraph—A Church-Owned Public Utility,” *Journal of Economic History* (Spring 1951): 117–39.

15. *Ibid.*, 117–19.

16. William B. Preston to Brigham Young, Brigham Young Letters, USUSC.

17. Brigham Young to William Preston, Brigham Young Letters, USUSC.

18. Goudy Hogan, Journal, Joel E. Ricks Collection, USUSC.

19. Sorensen, *History of Mendon*, 69–70.

20. *Deseret News*, 21 December 1872.

21. Robert L. Wrigley, “Utah and Northern Railroad Company: A Brief History,” *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (September 1947): 245–53.

22. Moses Thatcher, Family Papers, USUSC.

23. See Leonard Arrington’s articles cited above outlining the impact of the railroads on Cache County’s history.

24. Joseph C. Felix, “The Development of Cooperatives in Cache Valley,” typescript in Cache Valley Historical Society Papers, USUSC. See also Leonard Arrington, “Rise and Fall of the Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution, 1869–1872,” typescript, Leonard J. Arrington Papers, USUSC.

25. See Leonard Arrington, “Rise and Fall of the Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution, 1869–1872.”

26. Leonard Arrington, “Cache Valley’s Bicentennial Heritage,” in *Cache Valley, Essays on Her Past and People*, ed. Douglas D. Alder (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1976), 1–12.

27. *Ibid.*

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS TO STATEHOOD

The Territorial Legislature having given the right of voting to women, the Council proceeded to amend the ordinance in relation to elections so that the same may agree with the law of the Territory.

—LOGAN CITY COUNCIL, 1 MARCH 1870

Government came to Cache County very early. In fact, the county was created by the Utah territorial legislature before Peter Maughan and his colleagues came into the region. Organized as a territory in 1850, Utah empowered its territorial legislature and governor to appoint probate judges and provide elections for all township and county officers. Townships in a midwestern sense were never formed in Utah, but the model of county and city government of townships under the Land Ordinance of 1785 was duplicated. It is ironic that within four years of wanting to leave the United States and settle in Mexican territory, Brigham Young seemed anxious to provide a local civil government based on American models.

The evolution of local government in Cache County is a very interesting story. Although most were inexperienced as politicians



Annual muster (1866 or 1867) of the officers of the Cache Valley Brigade of the Nauvoo Legion, General E. T. Benson in front. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

and public administrators, the pioneers learned quickly. Some of them had participated in local government in Missouri and Illinois, but most of the converts has little experience in actual administration. Using the organization of the LDS church as a type of shadow government, they followed the territorial legislature's actions in separating powers between county and city governments. The sharing of some powers and delegation of other powers became significant in the years prior to statehood.

Brigham Young, the presidentially approved territorial governor, also served as president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and there is no doubt that he ruled ecclesiastically as well as politically. Most of Utah's early settlers were his co-believers and they accepted Young's position. Desiring admittance for Utah as a state in the Union, Young also wanted to maintain a system of effective dual governance, and his role as governor and church president satisfied him very well.

Under territorial law, the county probate judge was the most powerful and significant county official—he served as both county executive and judge. The Organic Act gave the probate judge equal power with the three selectmen or councilmen who together were known as the county court. The judge also probated wills, administered estates, cared for minor children and the mentally insane, and

presided over trials in both criminal and civil cases. The act that created the territory of Utah also gave the county court control of all the area timber, water, and mill sites. The power was great in dry regions because it also included the distribution of water by irrigation. If this was not enough power, the county court also supervised the creation of road and school districts and approved sites for public buildings. It is also significant to add that county courts had the power to tax as well as to manage all county government offices. This type of government existed until statehood in 1896.

Cache County was officially created on 6 January 1856, months before Maughan's Fort was established. The boundaries were set at the Oregon country, or the forty-second parallel, on the north and by the summit of the Wellsville Mountains on the west. The southern border was determined by a line running east, six miles north of Brigham Young's and Lorenzo Snow's flour mill in Brigham City. That description is significant because it not only illustrates the breadth of Brigham Young's holdings but also shows the acceptance of them as worthy landmarks. On the east, the border was described as the western boundary of Green River County, which existed before Rich County was created. Apparently the western boundary lacked clarity, because Peter Maughan and E.T. Benson joined eighty-three others in a petition asking the 1860 legislature for a survey, because "the present line separating Box Elder and Cache counties is very indefinite, and praying that the dividing line between said counties may be made the dividing ridge lying between Cache valley and Box Elder County."¹ The legislature approved the notion; but it is not clear why "ridge" is a more precise word than "summit" of the Wellsville Mountains.

Once created, Cache County needed permanent settlers, and they came later in 1856. The next winter, the legislature elected one of its members, Peter Maughan, as the first Cache County probate judge. If Brigham Young could be territorial governor and church president, Maughan could serve as probate judge and later as an LDS stake president. Maughan immediately chose three men—William Gardner, Orange D. Thompson, and John T. Garr—as selectmen. He then picked William Garr to be sheriff, John Maughan as treasurer, and his old friend Frances Gunnell as recorder. The settlers now had a gov-

ernment, and one of its first acts was to levy a property tax of one-half of one percent for the county and the same for the territory.

Although its power and range was reduced by such things as the Homestead Act of 1862, Indian treaties, the creation of national forests, the establishment of Idaho Territory, and irrigation districts, the Cache County Court exercised broad, sweeping powers. Without fear of the loss of natural resources, the court granted numerous mill sites, canyon and water permits, and herd grazing grounds. A close examination of any early settlement year documents the scope of the court's activities. For instance, the year Abraham Lincoln was elected, 1860, the Cache County Court gave a one-year permit to Richmond settlers for a herd ground, and granted another annual-use permit. It authorized to S.W. Blair the waters of Spring Creek Canyon and approved Preston Thomas's request "to control the timber, wood, stone, mineral, water, and everything else pertaining to Maple Creek Canyon above Franklin, in Idaho."² This action was legal because, at the time, canyons could be given to private individuals or groups. However, that action granted private control over a watershed in Idaho.

The county also had to build and maintain mountain roads, bridges, or whatever proved necessary to provide entrance into the canyons. Those who controlled the road or bridge could collect a toll or tax for road usage as determined by the county. As settlers sought logs and poles for firewood, fenceposts, and homes, the toll roads and bridges proved a valuable source of income for some individuals. The court in 1860 also gave the probate judge, Peter Maughan, and the resident apostle, E.T. Benson, control of the natural resources of Logan Canyon—from the grass to the timber to the minerals. However, that same court could not pay William Preston \$400.75 for building a county bridge over the Logan River; it had to borrow 150 bushels of wheat from Joseph Young in order to pay the bill.³

The original county court also had the very difficult task of controlling water appropriations. Court members appointed watermasters for a number of communities beginning in 1860. The watermaster then had the responsibility of supervising the communal maintenance of the local canal as well as making sure individuals honored the time allotments on their specific water turns. In the next

few years, the court also appointed watermasters for most of the remainder of the towns. By 1873, Logan, Richmond, Wellsville, Mendon, Millville, Paradise, Smithfield, Providence, and Hyrum all had water projects which required administration.

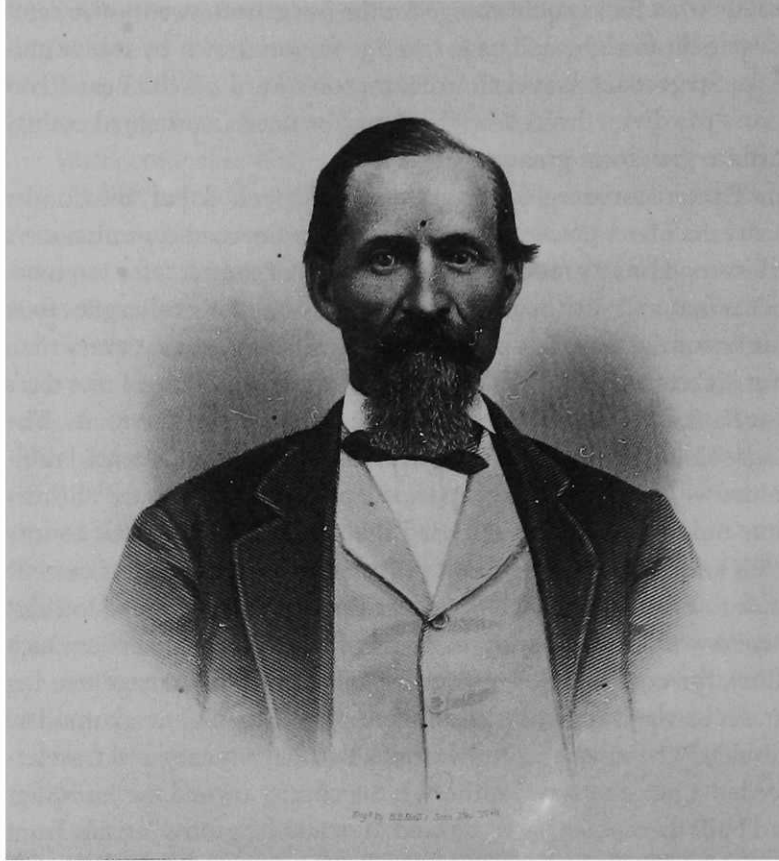
Water control in Cache County is a microcosm of the evolution of irrigation in the West. There were always disputes and charges and accusations; however, the county court gradually extricated itself from the water business by fostering the creation of self-governing water districts and irrigation companies. Logan River water could be distributed all the way to Richmond, but that meant that it was necessary for Logan, Hyde Park, and Smithfield water users to cooperate and combine resources to deliver the water along the east bench with three different canals—one of sixteen miles, another of nine, and a third of seven miles. Eventually Hyrum, Wellsville, and Mendon shared the Little Bear River, and Providence, Millville, Nibley, and Hyrum used the Blacksmith Fork River. The west side of the valley got involved in water use much later; but the forty-five-mile West Cache Canal, using Bear River water, irrigated over 17,000 acres in the northern end of the county. Once the self-governing water-usage bodies functioned, there was little need for the involvement of the county court; so by 1876 the county no longer supervised water distribution.⁴

Other aspects of county government continued to grow, however. A road commissioner, superintendent of schools, prosecuting attorney, and coroner all had county offices by 1870. In 1878 a county game warden was appointed. From the earliest settlement of Cache County there was concern over the development of roads and bridges. As one travels through Cache Valley today, most bridges are not even noticed because the wide highways hide the concrete structures and little is seen above the shoulder of the road. However, this was not the case in the nineteenth century. Every stream crossing provided a potential crisis, especially during high water. Safe rocky-bottom crossing areas were difficult to find and maintain. A trip from Wellsville to Logan meant crossing the Little Bear, Blacksmith Fork, and Logan rivers. Originally, Joel Ricks was granted ferry rights in 1862 to operate on the Little Bear River below Logan and on the Bear River west of Richmond. However, the county court established

exactly what Ricks could charge for the ferry: from twenty-five cents per person to eight dollars for a large wagon drawn by twelve animals. Stagecoach travel from Hampton's Ford on the Bear River across the divide from Petersboro necessitated maintained county roads to guarantee passage.⁵

The territorial legislature granted or demanded that "the County Court shall have power to appoint one or more road commissioners to locate all county roads . . . [and] to make all contracts for improvements upon all such roads." Peter Maughan and his colleagues took this seriously, as well as the legislative requirement that every man over eighteen years of age be required to pay a poll tax of one day's labor annually for construction or maintenance of the roads. The Cache County Court in its first year, 1857, recognized potential difficulties with roads because it passed a resolution that stated all "revenue not otherwise appropriated shall be expended on the county roads and bridges."⁶ Cognizant of the necessity to have an accessible route to Brigham City and Box Elder County, the court tried to enlist men to work on a "Kanyon road" in both 1857 and 1859. After much effort, the court finally authorized Lehi Curtis to manage two log houses between Wellsville and Copenhagen (Mantua) to accommodate travelers. The route was considered a two-day journey and travelers needed a place to stay.⁷ Although the county owned the buildings and built them, Curtis was allowed to retain the profits "arising from the sale of liquors, feed, victuals, etc." Of course, Curtis had to work on the road and provide maintenance for the houses.

The county selectmen asked the citizens of Wellsville, Providence, and Logan to donate to build bridges across the three rivers between their towns. They hoped the people would volunteer more than their mandatory poll-tax days and complete the task. When William Hyde became a selectman in 1861, he appointed precinct commissioners in each locale and tried to coordinate a number of road projects. Each year, Hyde and his successor, Thomas G. Winn, outlined routes that needed support; they then went to the communities and appealed for the poll-tax labor. Although the route was difficult in winter and during storms, a connecting system emerged by 1870 enabling passage between all communities. Each community managed its own city streets, and the survey system pro-



William Hyde, early LDS bishop of Hyde Park and later county commissioner in charge of roads. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

vided for a standardized square block built around Main and Center street intersections. The towns cooperated with the county in order to provide better communication.

There is no doubt that the most serious crises faced by early selectmen concerned land titles. These problems faced the municipal governments as well. The earliest pioneers, whether it was the Maughans of Wellsville, Campbells in Providence, Allens in Hyrum, or Coopers in Richmond, squatted on the public domain. After 1841 American settlers on U.S. lands could legally preempt any previously surveyed lands. Local ecclesiastical and government leaders had the good sense to settle many disputes; but not all were resolved. The

good-faith principles worked as long as there was plenty of available land and its value was nearly equivalent. Cache Valley's original pioneers actually founded settlements prior to surveys, the existence of land offices, or any federal presence at all. Fortunately, the federal government recognized such problems, because there had been considerable squatting in many of the territories both prior to the Homestead Act and since its 1862 passage.⁸

Congress passed a law in 1867 which addressed the problem of settlers moving onto public lands prior to surveys and the presence of organized federal organizations. The main thrust of the act dealt with communities. Congress said that land settled as a townsite was not subject to agricultural pre-emption (homestead) laws and should be incorporated under the authority of the applicable county court. The court, under territorial law, was empowered to establish a minimum land price for the benefit of the community and the settlers. According to the law, the number of inhabitants at a townsite determined how many acres of the public domain could be included in the town. For instance, a town of between one and two hundred population could be allowed to purchase an additional 320 acres of adjacent land for potential growth. A town of up to 1,000 people could acquire an entire section, or 640 acres. If a town had over 1,000 people, it could purchase two sections of adjacent land.

This legislation enabled Cache County citizens to obtain legal title to their lots. Utah's territorial legislature determined that the probate judge and county clerk should convey the title to the land and, if lots were in dispute, the highest bidder would be granted ownership. Every resident had six months to claim his or her land. Unclaimed lots would be sold to the highest bidder. Of course, county and community officials set aside unclaimed land. Any excess funds were to be used for the support of the common schools within the town. There were some serious problems, however, because there was a need for cash to pay for the acreage and money was in short supply. Also, the Mormon church had already allotted many twenty-acre farm plots that did not fit the common pattern. However, the pioneers gradually worked out the problems.

Wellsville quickly secured title to its land from the federal land office. In August 1869 Mayor William H. Maughan informed the

community that there were insufficient funds to pay for the townsite and requested “voluntary” donations of \$4.50 per lot from every landowner in the town. For farm lots the suggested donation was \$1.50 per acre. Maughan received the funds and the city incorporated. Logan, which incorporated in 1870, fixed the price for city lots at \$3.50 each, with \$1.50 per acre allotted to the owners of land outside the city. Other cities fixed different prices, but by the end of 1870 Logan, Wellsville, Smithfield, Richmond, Hyrum, and Mendon had all incorporated and legally determined land ownership in their respective areas. Residents in the precincts not yet incorporated secured title directly from the probate judge, who was either William Hyde or J.Z. Steward during the 1870s.⁹

As government grew and developed during this period, it became necessary to establish city and county offices. Since Logan had been designed as the county seat, a small 24-by-16-foot building was authorized in 1867 and completed by William Budge the next year at a cost of slightly over \$1,800. However, the cost was \$800 more than the appropriation. As population grew, so did the business of the county, and the building in time became inadequate. In 1881 the county court approved a new building design by Salt Lake City architect Truman O. Angell, Jr., who is most noted for his plans for the Salt Lake LDS temple. The contract was awarded by the county court to the Logan United Order Manufacturing and Building Company, which completed the present courthouse by July 1883 at a cost of \$17,814. Although it has since been remodeled, this edifice perhaps deserves restoration to its original brick surface and exquisite interior as a genuine pioneer treasure.¹⁰

The county court system remained in operation until statehood in 1896, when the commission form of government came into existence in all of Utah’s counties. The county court system over time evolved away from its early close and obvious tie to ecclesiastical governance when some disputes over water and land were handled by church bishops, stake presidents, or church administered courts.¹¹ Part of the maturity of Cache County was its growing dependence on elected rather than selected leadership.

Beyond the incorporated towns under territorial law were the precincts. The county court authorized precincts and helped set them

up as voting districts. It is interesting to note that Idaho Territory was created in 1863, but until 1872 many of the Idaho Cache Valley communities paid taxes to Cache County, Utah. At that time Clarkston and Newton were the only communities west of the Bear River. The towns on the east side as well as the southwest area towns of Mendon and Wellsville already existed. Lewiston, Benson, Trenton, and Petersboro were formed in the 1870s; Cove in 1884; LaPlatta, the mining town, in 1891; and Avon in 1892. The communities of the valley—except River Heights, Nibley, and North Logan—were all organized in some form by the time of Utah statehood.¹²

The key official within these precincts was definitely the justice of the peace. All justices were male, maintained court, tried civil disputes of less than one hundred dollars, and meted out punishment for violators of the law. Unfortunately, most of the justice of the peace records no longer exist, but enough have survived in Logan and Hyrum to give some degree of understanding as to how justice was administered in these courts.

The constable was the peace officer of the precinct, and it was his principal duty to prevent disturbances and bring law violators to trial. Precinct “fence viewers” were also appointed; their primary duty was to maintain area fences so that the cattle would remain enclosed. A person was even appointed to keep track of the cattle and notify the owners to round up their strays. The justice and his court maintained a community corral, and fines were levied on those who did not keep control of their cattle. However, since most settlers lived in the towns and a good share of them were Mormon, church or ward control over the communities persisted, especially in the years before numbers of non-Mormons, or gentiles, settled in the county. Brigham Young and his successors opposed the use of civic courts by Mormons. A brief glance through some of the early Hyde Park and Hyrum ward records reveals the reality of where community policy on irrigation, roads, and other business was really made and discussed.¹³

The ward manuscript history of Hyde Park reports a 1860 call for men to build a canal from the Logan River for 5.5 miles. In 1865 church leaders discussed surveying an extension of the canal to Richmond. Since crop production had been down, the 1868 minutes

reveal that several men chose to go to work on the completion of the transcontinental railroad. The history reported a 1871 church meeting in Logan to consider building a narrow gauge railroad through Cache Valley. "In the fall, the people of Hyde Park went out on the road and worked it for several weeks."¹⁴

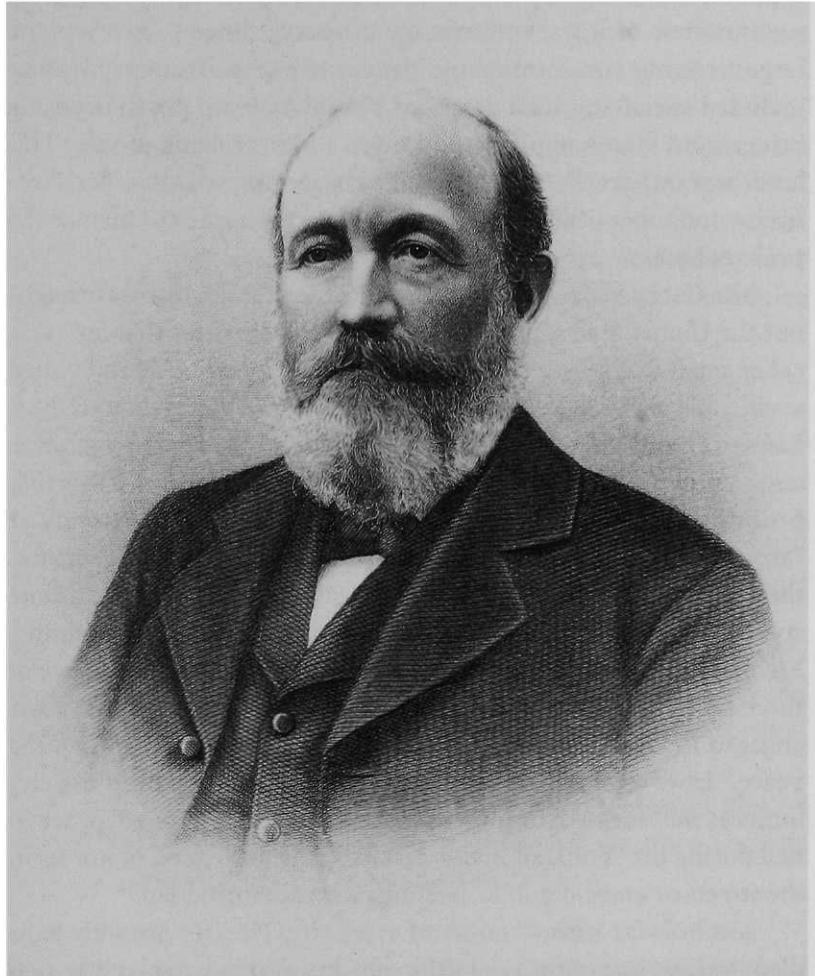
The Hyrum Ward manuscript history discusses a 1864 decision to distribute land by giving each family twenty acres and also discusses why the community decided to abandon a \$7,000 ditch from the Blacksmith Fork River. The church groups made policy which then often influenced the community. A good example comes from Hyrum, where Bishop Liljenquist

said persons had applied for the privilege of making malt beer and selling it. He said if they make good beer with plenty of hops it would have a beneficial effect on the human body, but if they meant the nasty stuff that was generally offered for sale as beer they would be better off without it. Tea and coffee and the ditch water men drank when sweating at their labors was doing them harm. If they made a good and wholesome beer for their own use, it would have a good effect upon their systems. But he would have serious objections to any one trading and trafficking in beer.¹⁵

Other ward manuscript histories also contain numerous examples of a blatant mixture of church and state business. Consequently, much of the work of the justice of the peace and constable was in fact done by the local Mormon bishop and his various officers. This changed to a degree with the development of incorporated city government and civic growth.

One example illustrates the workings of the shadow government. When Logan's first elections were completed, the first mayor, Alvin Crockett, called a meeting and he, the three alderman, and the five councilmen met at the home of E.T. Benson, the Mormon apostle-in-residence. Although Crockett conducted the meeting, Benson offered the opening prayer, "after which he made a few remarks upon the duties of the City Council."¹⁶

As city governments evolved, their forms differed considerably. For instance, Logan had a city council which included a mayor, three alderman (one from each voting district), and five at-large coun-



William B. Preston, fourth presiding Bishop of the LDS church, bishop of Logan Ward, and representative from Cache County to territorial legislature in 1860s, 1870s, and early 1880s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

cilors. All were elected to two-year terms. Hyrum and Mendon each had a mayor and six councilmen, while Wellsville, Richmond, and Smithfield each elected only five councilmen along with the mayor. Just as a city's boundaries were fixed by law, its powers were also delineated to include the creation of cemeteries, levy and collect

taxes, license business, prohibit animals from running loose, appoint various civic officers, and manage property. Since Logan was the largest county community and the county seat, its incorporation included specifying such details as providing lamp posts, licensing bridges and fences, applying poll taxes, and borrowing money. This latter was important because as cities began to provide water, electricity, and other utilities, the power to borrow money to finance the projects became significant.¹⁷

The Cache Valley communities, like many small towns throughout the United States, passed a number of ordinances that are typical of small religious-oriented communities. Salvation of individual souls could well be viewed as a community as well as a religious duty. Laws to enforce Sunday as the sabbath, avoid rowdiness or vagrancy, and punish profanity or cruelty to animals were common. A law that prohibited a person from making a disturbance in the streets or “around any private dwelling house, to the annoyance of the inmates thereof,” passed in Mendon. The “blue laws” were colorful and time specific, but they do help illustrate the character of the community. Richmond was willing to impose a fine of \$300 or a jail sentence of three months at hard labor to any person who fought, brawled, or engaged in “Hollowing or any Tumultuous noise that disturbed the peace.” Laws were passed against uttering profanity within the city limits as well as restricting anyone who played ball, jumped, or wrestled during the “hours of divine service.” The fast riding of horses in the streets or around public meetings was also forbidden.¹⁸

Alcohol was a major target of every city. The city not only handled the licensing of the establishments but also threatened licensees who sold alcohol and allowed gambling, betting, or disorderly conduct. Anyone who sold from a private still faced complete destruction of the fixtures and the supply. The majority of convictions in the Logan and Hyrum justice of the peace records are for drunkenness, and the fine was usually five dollars. However, if the defendant plead innocent and was found guilty, the fine and the court costs appreciated dramatically. Usually, the accused entered a guilty plea, paid the fine, and avoided the trauma of a trial. One individual sold alcohol illegally to another and was fined eighty-five dollars and committed to jail for ninety days.¹⁹

The Hyrum City justice of the peace records for the 1890s illustrate a slice of Cache County life. The court dealt with drunkenness, assault, battery, indebtedness, fence problems, public profanity, and reckless horse racing. Many of these may seem to be minor infractions, but the Hyrum Court took each case quite seriously. Few cases were brought all of the way to trial. A disturbing the peace charge was brought against six young men on 14 December 1891. The records do not tell us the exact reason for the arrest, but one can assume that the group was probably too loud too late at night. The justice recorded:

Deputy Marshal Henry H. Peterson Brought before me Morgan Smith, Anton Winger, Fred Gregersen, Hans Staley, Henry Staley, and Hiram Solversen, for Disturbing the Peace on the 18th. Defendants all plead Guilty, and being all young, and having spent the one night in jail, the court considered this punishment enough on promis of good behavior in the future and were discharged.²⁰

The young men must have been quite loud for the deputy to have felt that they needed to go to jail even though they were obviously quite young, at least in the eyes of the judge. Also note that correct spelling was obviously not a requirement for a judicial career.

Andrew Albretsen had two complaints brought against him by his wife. He was found guilty on one, not guilty on the other. The first complaint was brought on Christmas eve, 1896:

A complaint having this day been laid before me by Maria Albretsen of Hyrum City that the Crime of Profaning the Name of the Deity and of being Drunk and Disturbing the peace and quiet of the Family has been committed and accusing Andrew Albretsen thereof. Wherefore a warrant of arrest was Issued and the Defendant brought in to Court. The Complaint was read to the defendant and he pleaded guilty as Charged in Complaint. The Court then ordered the defendant to pay a fine including the Costs of \$10.00 and in Default was Committed to Jail for the period of Ten days.²¹

Albretsen spent the holidays in jail.

On 20 December 1892 Charles Jensen was brought before Judge



Cache County jail replaced in mid-1960s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

Joseph P. Jensen by Deputy Marshal H. H. Petersen on several charges, including “Drunkness, Disturbing the Peace, and Loud and boisters Swearing.” A few days later Jensen appeared in court. “Court opond at 10, A.M. Charges read. Defendant Plead guilty to the charges of Drunkness and Disturbing the Peace, and not guilty to Swearing.” At this point Judge Jensen perhaps asked the deputy what happened and what had been said, because the next entry in the record book reads, “Defendant changed his plea of not guilty to guilty.” Mr. Jensen paid a heavy price for his night of fun in Hyrum. He “was fined \$2.00 on each charge and \$4.00 costs totle (\$10.00) Ten Dollars. Fine and costs were paid and Defendant discharged, and court ajorned.”²²

Another man had a particular problem the day after Christmas:

On this 26 day of December 1896 complaint having been issued under oath that Osker Lilgenquist did on the 26 day of Dec 1896 at Hyrum City profaind the name of the Deity and was Drunk contrary to the City ordinance wherefor he was arrested by Marshal Squires and brought in to Court. The complaint having been read and the defendant pleaded guilty to the charge and the Court ordered that he pay fines of five dollars excluding the costs.

Costs taxed at \$3.00 the defendant paid said fine and costs and he was discharged from futur custody.²³

An interesting note here is that the court costs after statehood are officially called “taxes.”

By far the biggest cause of disturbances of the peace was fighting, and a large brawl took place on 13 January 1896. On this date thirteen individuals—Edward Anderson, Louis Anderson, Henry Danielson, George Hall, Nephi Hanson, Elmo Jensen, Joseph Jensen, John McBride, Edward McBride, Lorin McBride, Orsen Nielsen, James Oskerman, and John Petersen—were charged with the crimes of profaning, engaging in fighting, and “disturbing the Peace of the People of Hyrum City.”

When a warrant of arrest was Issued and the defendants brought in to Court by Marshall James Squires January 14, 1896, court being called and complaints and warrants being read to defendants they each pleaded guilty to the charges. It was then ordered by the Court that each Defendant pay a fine of two dollars and fifty cents excluding costs . . .²⁴

The fines and costs for each of the individuals were paid and all defendants were discharged. This is one of those cases when it would be nice to know the details. For thirteen people to be involved in one fight, there must have been some type of major disagreement, at a high volume.

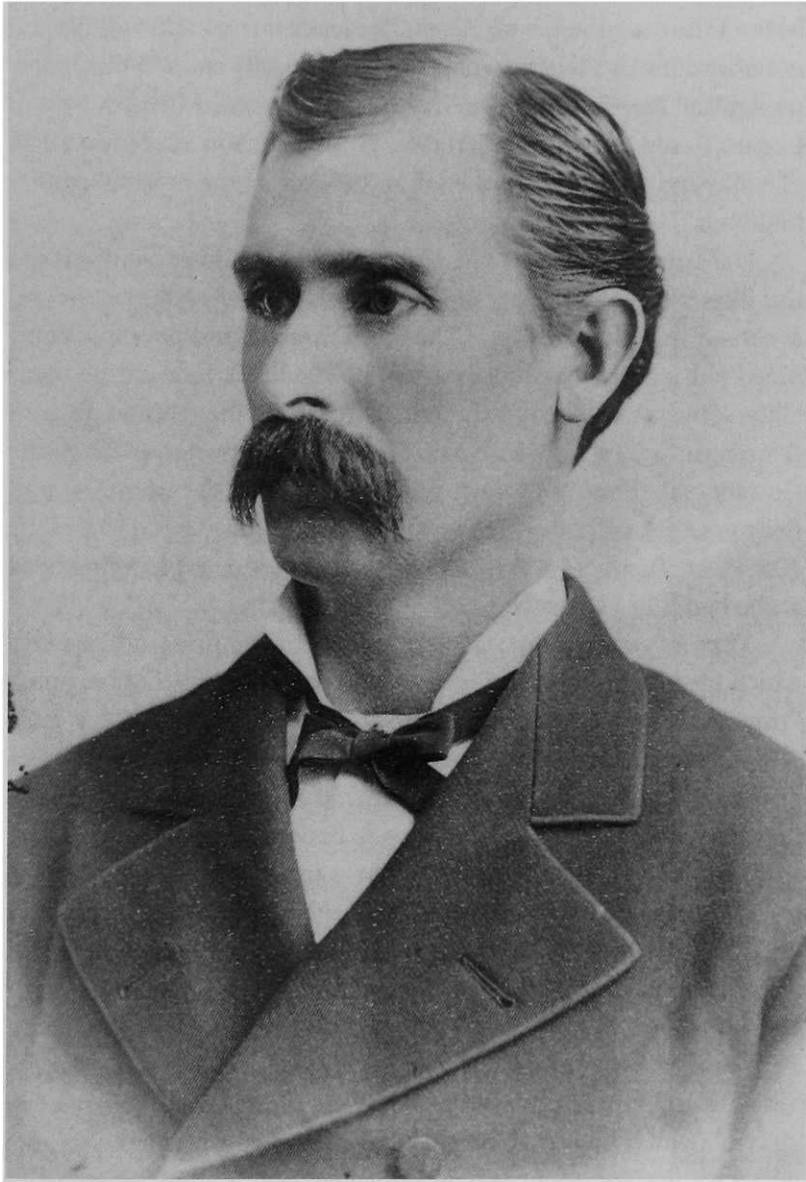
On one earlier occasion those who enforced the laws lost control and Cache County witnessed shameful acts of violence. To a degree they were alcohol-related in the initial phase, but mob violence determined the final outcome. On Valentine’s night, 14 February 1873, a number of young men were walking toward a dance being held at Logan Hall. They had been drinking heavily and laughed, jostled, and quarreled as they moved toward the dance. Ten days earlier county coroner Charles O. Card complained to the Logan City Council that brewer Henry Worley was dispensing of his product too freely. The council asked two of its members to see if Card’s accusations were true regarding “frequently large drunken crowds.” Worley was warned, but nothing more.

It is not clear whether David Crockett, Charles Benson, and their

friends had been at Worley's or at some other establishment. However, an argument turned nasty and suddenly Benson drew a pistol and shot Crockett in the chest. The gunfire sobered the companions and homeowners came to their doors to check on the commotion. Crockett lay bleeding in the snow; he had died instantly. Benson, a young man with a mean reputation, holstered his gun and ran away. There was no doubt that he had murdered an unarmed man. Benson, the eldest son of deceased apostle Ezra T. Benson, doubled back to his home, reported the event to his mother, grabbed some bread and cheese, wrapped himself in a buffalo robe, and disappeared into the night. For some reason he did not take or even seek a horse, but left on foot. By the time he had left his mother's home, the community of Logan knew of the murder. Alvin Crockett, the sheriff and uncle of the victim, joined with Logan U.S. Marshal Mark Fletcher to coordinate the search. Crockett wired other communities and reported the slaying. Knowing that Benson was armed, some citizens kept an all-night vigil. Houses were locked and armed deputies prepared for a house-to-house search the next day.

Meanwhile, young Crockett's body lay in an open coffin in his parent's home. Hundreds of family, friends, and curiosity seekers filed through the house to view the victim's remains. Others went to Charles Benson's home to console his mother. Almost everyone in Logan knew the young men. That Saturday the searchers found no one. On Sunday the search continued and church services were shortened because of the emergency. Rumors spread about sightings and escapes, but there was still no actual sign of Benson. Marshal Fletcher tried to convince the sheriff and others that Benson had to still be in town. As rumors circulated and the search continued, a type of paranoia swept the community.

Charles Benson never left Logan. He hid in Moses Thatcher's stone barn behind Thatcher's house. By Monday night the bread and cheese were gone and as he hid beneath hay and the buffalo robe he made a decision. On Tuesday morning he would try to escape during the early hours, because he reasoned vigilance must have relaxed. Benson wanted a horse, so he went to the home of a rancher friend, Fredrick Goodwin. In the predawn hours, Goodwin refused to let Benson in the house and asked him to leave and not cause any more



Moses Thatcher, Captain in Cache Military District, superintendent of LZCMI, official of the Utah Northern Railroad, served in territorial legislature, delegate to state constitutional convention, and Apostle of LDS church. (Utah State Historical Society)

trouble for his friends. Benson, still on foot, moved southwest and began following the Logan River. The leafless trees and willows did not afford much shelter, so patrol deputies easily spotted him, summoned the marshal, and, when reinforced, pursued Benson west of Logan. Faced with the inevitable, young Benson surrendered to Fletcher and was taken to the jail in the rear of the original county building.

Unfortunately, a crowd of posse members and town citizens did not disperse but milled around the building reliving the terror and events of the past four days. The anger, hatred, and paranoia combined to turn a crowd into a mob. With the bravado of a mob mentality, some men rushed the building, broke into the cell, and dragged Benson outside. A rope with a tied noose was thrown over the Cache County courthouse signpost. Willing hands put the noose around Benson's neck and other hands hoisted him up until he strangled. By 10 A.M. on Tuesday, 18 February, Charles Benson was hanging dead at the hands of vigilantes.²⁵

That very afternoon coroner Charles O. Card impounded a jury which filed the following summation of the events of that morning: "the said jurors upon their oaths do say that the said Charles A. Benson came to his death from strangulation, caused by a rope around his neck, and that we further find according to the evidence here presented that the said Charles A. Benson unharmed was taken from the officers by a mob with violence and that the said mob hung the said deceased to the sign in front of the county court house until dead."²⁶ Three men, Sylvanus Collett, Eli Bell, and O.G. Beach, signed the affidavit. This tragic event led to much criticism, especially from the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*. This was still the American frontier in 1873 and, although Logan was considered a religious community, violence still most certainly existed. Arms were plentiful and so was alcohol, which the locals blamed for the tragedy. Nevertheless, the writer for the *Tribune* made some excellent points about what justice should be, even on the frontier:

The lynching of Charles A. Benson is an act to be deplored, no matter how deserving the criminal might have been. Society must be made secure at any cost, and if lynching once be countenanced

there is no knowing where it may end, or what moment a mob of irresponsible persons may pounce upon their victims or how soon we may have in Utah a reign of terror. We would earnestly urge all law-abiding citizens to sternly frown down this beginning of lynch law.²⁷

David W. Crockett and Charles A. Benson were both buried in the Logan Cemetery. Mary Ann Weston Maughan wrote that Crockett had a “very large funeral,” and that “M. Thatcher, J. Hath, and T. X. Smith spoke and said what could be said to comfort the mourners” at Benson’s funeral.²⁸ Some perhaps recalled when Thomas Ricks, the sheriff in 1860, had shot David Skeen in a Logan gunfight.

There is no record in county, city, or church archives that any of the mob were brought to justice or demonstrated repentance. The city did respond to two petitions signed by 611 residents who wanted to prohibit the manufacture and sale of alcohol in the city limits as well as shut down any establishment that featured games of chance such as billiards and cards. The council approved both petitions but never really enforced them. Also, they never considered a ban on carrying firearms.²⁹

The numerous county communities faced difficulties with law and order throughout their histories. The Benson case graphically illustrates a most dramatic instance of a total breakdown. There were robbers, thieves, instances of domestic brutality, suicides, and other murders—Cache Valley was a frontier area. However, although bank robbers and rustlers like Jack Nelson moved in and out of the valley, the county never became a haven for lawbreakers and desperadoes.

Cache County communities dealt with a variety of other legal problems as they attempted to bring civilization to their chosen home. For instance, the transition from individual or shared wells to a public culinary water supply helped control disease. One of the major reasons communicable diseases spread throughout the population was impure water, and some people even used the irrigation ditches for culinary uses. Each community had a selected physician, and that person usually serviced many locations. Midwives and self-trained nurses usually handled primary health care. However, quar-

antine for illness was very common and different epidemics, including measles, mumps, and diphtheria, took their toll.

Later, as population increased, Logan began a program of modernization. The territorial legislature gave municipalities the power to develop waterworks and Logan moved quickly. In 1879 Logan's city council approved an appropriation of \$8,000 to create a water system. It also entertained proposals from individuals to loan the city the needed revenue. The council agreed to pay 12 percent interest, borrowed the money, and began the project. Because of Logan's size and resultant tax base, it was able to lead the county in water distribution matters. In late 1879 the *Deseret News* reported:

The waterworks are something to which all the inhabitants of this city and the county can look with pride. They are complete, the pipes are laid along the principal streets, to the factories and to the depot and hydrants are so numerous as to give ease and confidence especially with regard to fire.³⁰

The correspondent also reported that the use of new lightweight water pipes gave the system the best in technology. Thirteen years later, in 1892, Logan spent \$36,689 to improve the earlier works and expand into new areas. A fire department was organized in 1880 with E. W. Curtis as the first fire engineer.

Other utilities followed, which meant the city could keep pace with national and international developments. By 1890, Logan boasted of electric lights and a small electric power delivery system. In 1896 the Hercules Power Company built a system that provided electricity to the entire city, and a few years later the community bonded to construct its own municipal power plant. In 1890 the city also granted a franchise to a new company, Rocky Mountain Bell and its telephones.

By the time of statehood, the county government was firmly established and had overseen the creation of most of Cache Valley's towns. In the forty short years since settlement the local people developed and groomed a system of government that paralleled that of the larger American experience. They also had built a transportation system that tied the county together. Culinary water, telephone, and electric utility services bound communities together and created a

greater concept of sharing. Most homes remained heated by wood or imported coal and were lighted by lamps; but the people were poised for entry into a new century. One of the most interesting developments of forty years of self-government was that the governments gradually divorced themselves from total LDS church domination. This came about because of non-Mormon immigrants, the rise of political parties, and the church's decision to disengage from its involvement in secular matters in order for Utah to achieve statehood. The county's economic existence was still based on agriculture, with numerous supporting mills; but the twentieth century and statehood were to bring dramatic changes.

ENDNOTES

1. Joel E. Ricks, "Early Government," in *The History of a Valley*, ed. Joel E. Ricks (Logan: Cache Valley Centennial Commission, 1956), 87–108.
2. The early Cache County records are located in the Special Collections of Utah State University's Merrill Library. They are used extensively by Joel E. Ricks in the chapter, "Early Government," cited above, upon which the first part of this chapter depends.
3. Ricks, "Early Government," 89.
4. Cache County records, 4–9.
5. *Ibid.*, 11–14.
6. *Ibid.*, 17–21.
7. *Ibid.*, 25.
8. *Ibid.*, 32.
9. *Ibid.*, 51.
10. *Ibid.*, 59.
11. Timothy L. Taggart, "The Kingdom of God in Early Cache Valley," in *Cache Valley, Essays on her Past People*, ed. Douglas D. Alder (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1926), 18–19.
12. Ricks, "Early Government," 105.
13. These records are located in the USUSC and found in various personal records and accounts given to the library. The originals are in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints archives in Salt Lake City.
14. Hyde Park Ward, Minute Books, 23 August 1871, Historical Record, Book 12454.
15. Hyrum Ward, Minute Books, 11 May 1871, Historical Record, Book 62479.

16. Logan City Record, 14 May 1866, USUSC.
17. Ricks, "Early Government," 102.
18. Richmond City Records, 1884, USUSC.
19. Hyrum Justice of the Peace Records, USUSC. These are the records of C.F. Olsen, who served as clerk from 1891 to 1897.
20. *Ibid.*, 14 December 1891.
21. *Ibid.*, 24 December 1895.
22. *Ibid.*, 20 December 1892.
23. *Ibid.*, 26 December 1896.
24. *Ibid.*, 13 January 1896. See also Burton Black, "Crime and Punishment: Court Records of Hyrum, Utah, 1891–1897," M.S. Plan B, USUSC.
25. The best account of Charles Benson's lynching is a series of essays by A.J. Simmonds, "Looking Back," *Herald Journal*, 11, 18, and 25 September 1986.
26. Cache County Records, 18 February 1873.
27. *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 20 February 1873.
28. Mary Ann Maughan, Journal, 22 February 1873, USUSC.
29. Simmonds, "Looking Back," *Herald Journal*, 25 September 1896, USUSC.
30. *Deseret News*, 30 November 1879.

THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS IN CACHE COUNTY

I had the Celestial floor covered with carpet altho' it was not sewn together but it met with the approval of Pres. John Taylor as it was . . . we had a glorious time and altho' I was almost work out with working in and fixing and preparing the building, I rejoiced much.

—SAMUEL ROSKELLY

In a general sense the history of permanent white settlement in Cache Valley and the early history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the valley are synonymous. Utah's place in American history is unique. It is the only territory, and ultimately state, where one religion has dominated throughout the history of the political entity. In every political, educational, economic, social, and cultural consideration, the LDS religion played a part. Those who chose to leave the predominant church, those who came to try to reclaim lost souls, or others who simply moved into the area had to contend with or assimilate to the prevailing religious culture. That is a reality of Utah history and life. In some areas the dominance is more pronounced than in others, but the role of the Latter-day

Saints, as an organized religion, must be considered in any history of the region.

Mormon church organization in the early days was not as refined and structured as it is now; but early settlements reflected the leadership of Brigham Young. As noted in previous chapters, Young and other church leaders involved themselves in naming towns, setting up economic and civic systems, and creating educational institutions. They not only helped organize and supervise ecclesiastical units, they also influenced politics and were involved in a variety of issues. Cache County's LDS people were involved in all of the church's auxiliary programs that originated in Salt Lake City and spread to the other areas. Mary Ann Maughan, chosen to be the first local Relief Society (women's organization) president, recorded in her journal: "Brother Benson was appointed to organize the Relief Society in Cache County and he thought best to call me to be their leader."¹

Maughan traveled throughout the county establishing new societies in all of the towns. This women's organization was very active in political affairs, and numerous members attended conferences in Salt Lake City on women's suffrage and other issues. Among the various duties the women assumed was assisting in times of sickness, death, or financial reversals. Members worked together to supply materials to the schoolhouses and they made local churches more hospitable with carpets, upholstery, and curtains. They also encouraged each other in the development of cottage industries so they could have additional funds, better teach their children, and contribute to the poor. Many were trained as midwives, and they performed valuable service on behalf of the entire community.

A few years after the organization of the Relief Society, Brigham Young, Jr., called the young women of Cache County together to form a society for self-improvement based on the church's Salt Lake City experiment known as the Retrenchment Association, which later became the Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association. Ellen Ricks became the president of the Cache Stake YLMIA, with Isabell Davidson and Caroline Olsen as counselors. They determined to meet twice weekly for the purpose of studying and "bearing testimony."² Smithfield women organized their own Retrenchment Society in 1871 under the direction of Louisa L. Green. The code of

behavior of the organization tells a great deal about life in Utah in the 1870s and the concern that parents had for their children. It consisted of eleven resolutions which were a combination of the biblical Ten Commandments, the LDS Articles of Faith, the church's Word of Wisdom, and statements on a variety of other issues of the day:

1. Resolved, That we always try to do unto others as we would have others do unto us.

2. Resolved, That we cease from all loud laughter, light speeches, light mindedness and pride and all evil doings.

3. Resolved, That we always cultivate a kind, pleasant and cheerful disposition towards all, and always act charitably towards the poor.

4. Resolved, That we observe strictly the principles of virtue, modesty, sincerity, and truth in our conversations and deportment toward all with whom we are associated.

5. Resolved, That we cease to be covetous, cease to be idle, cease to be unclean, and cease to find fault with each other.

6. Resolved, That we cease to follow or pattern after foolish and extravagant fashions, but will be plain and simple in our manner of dress.

7. Resolved, That we will not keep the company of nor associate with persons who are not of this Church.

8. Resolved, That we strictly obey the counsels of our parents and also the authorities that are placed over us.

9. Resolved, That we pray to God, our Heavenly Father, for His care and protection, that we may endure unto the end.

10. Resolved, That we will not associate with nor keep the company of young men who will indulge in the use of intoxicating liquors or tobacco.

11. Resolved, That we will cease from what is termed "round dancing."³

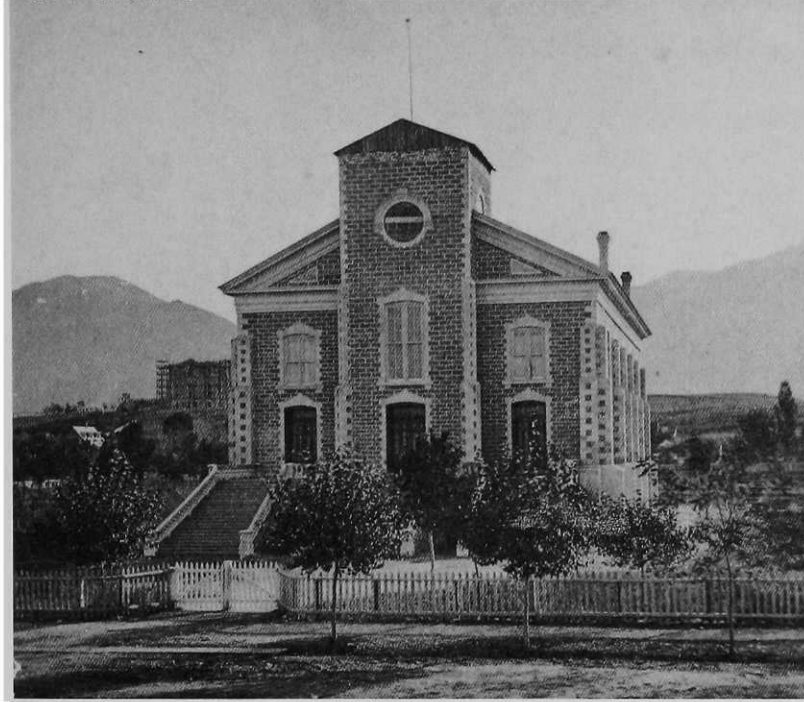
Resolution number seven documents the tensions that existed in Utah during the 1870s, but it seems inconsistent with the missionary role of the church. However, the tensions of that time period between non-Mormons and Mormons were real, particularly over the Mormon practice of plural marriage, commonly known as polygamy. Number eleven relates to a perceived moral crisis regarding some types of dancing at that time. The other nine are more expected, but

they also indicate that the church put tremendous pressures on young women to hold the line and protect the church.

In 1881 Mormon women leaders Eliza R. Snow and Zina D. Young came to Cache County to organize the Mormon children into what was called the Primary Association. The children met in the afternoon once a week to be trained in fundamental church doctrine, history, music, and also to share some group recreation activities. This complemented the Sunday school organization, conducted on the sabbath. The church came to a position where it offered something for everyone virtually each weekday or evening.⁴

The Young Mens Mutual Improvement Association, or YMMIA, came to Cache Valley in 1875. The original intent was to keep young men studying, learning music, literature, and participating in other constructive endeavors until they could serve church missions. The YMMIA and the YWMIA eventually started meeting together, which naturally had a stimulating effect. When the church adopted the Boy Scouts of America program, it was incorporated into the YMMIA. Scouting had earlier been looked down on by some church members as being too militaristic and because of scout oaths. When the church adopted the program, it tried to influence the content and direction of the program and also helped in its financial support.

As the valley's population grew, the number of stakes and wards multiplied dramatically. At the turn of the century, Cache Stake embraced the entire county; fifty years ago there were nine stakes in all of Cache County; there now (1996) are twenty-two. The many spacious, modern, but standard-design chapels and stake centers are a marked contrast to most of the unique pioneer buildings which have now been replaced. The original buildings in Hyrum, Wellsville, and Providence are in private or community ownership and are no longer preserved as religious buildings. Smithfield's original building has seen many uses, but the Clarkston ward chapel is the best example of an early chapel still in use.⁵ Renovations and additions have changed the buildings to such a degree that it is difficult to envision them in their original forms. However, what does remain is a reminder that individuals sacrificed greatly to construct their houses of worship. Through tremendous faith and a desire to create something permanent for themselves and their families, early Mormons



Logan, Utah, LDS Tabernacle and Temple to left under construction, 1880. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

gave unselfishly to build structures for the religious and temporal education of their children. Fortunately, Cache County has two beautiful and significant buildings still in use that serve as reminders of the skill and sacrifice and talents of the pioneer settlers. The Logan LDS tabernacle and LDS temple, both in their second century of use, occupy positions of considerable prominence on Tabernacle Square in downtown Logan and on Temple Hill, three blocks north and east of the square.

These two buildings remain as visible symbols of both the historic and contemporary role of the LDS church in Cache County. In late September 1861 Peter Maughan and Ezra T. Benson met with the members of the church in Logan, as Henry Ballard, the bishop of the second ward, noted in his diary: "Sunday Bro. Benson and Maughan spoke upon the necessity of us building a Meeting House for our Present use till we could Build a Tabernacle and that must be build



Logan, Utah, LDS Tabernacle after remodeling and removal of stone steps, circa 1910. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

next summer [the meeting house] . . . and teams to start the coming week to get out the timber to build it.”⁶ This is the first use of the word tabernacle in conjunction with Cache Valley’s settlements. The

large oval tabernacle in Salt Lake City was already under construction at the time and each area tried to follow the lead of the church headquarters.

The resident apostle, Ezra T. Benson, called a special meeting in December 1864 to discuss the proposed construction of a tabernacle. The settlers had built three different boweries, but each was a temporary structure. Benson pledged \$1,200 himself and then received pledges of another \$26,450 from others in attendance. In 1865 Benson gave authorization to begin construction at the present tabernacle site. A decision was made to construct a 60-foot-by-106-foot rectangular building. The basement was soon dug and a cobblestone foundation completed.⁷ Then the work was suspended. Although it is unclear why the construction halted, there is no doubt that individual pioneering efforts took considerable time; but there also is some indication that Brigham Young felt the tabernacle foundation was too small. Local bishop William Preston disagreed and felt that construction should continue; however, Preston soon received a call to serve a mission in England. The basement and foundation walls remained unfinished, and when Preston returned in 1868 the tabernacle project was superseded by the nearby construction of the transcontinental railroad. Shortly after Preston's return, both Ezra T. Benson (1868) and Peter Maughan (1874) passed away.⁸

In June 1873 Brigham Young visited Cache County, encouraging the residents to enlarge the tabernacle and resume its construction. Henry Ballard, in attendance at the same meeting, recorded in his journal, "Brigham visited here and ask the Saints to build their Tabernacle in Logan and finish the railroad to Franklin and he wanted a Temple built in Logan."⁹ That is quite a wish list for one sermon, but the local Latter-day Saints took Young very seriously. It should be noted that Ballard's diary indicates that the decision to finish the tabernacle may have come prior to Young's trip. On 9 February 1873, six months prior to Young's exhortation, Ballard wrote, "Track laying was commenced at Smithfield to push it [the Utah Northern Railroad] on to Franklin by March. We were buissy hauling rock for the tabernacle."¹⁰ A few weeks later, Ballard recorded, "I got my leg hurt Hauling rock for the tabernacle by getting it caught between the sledge and rock after unloading."¹¹ Young's demand that

the size of the building be increased to 65 feet by 130 feet was also met.

Throughout the winter of 1873–74 teams used sledges or sleighs to bring rock from the Green Canyon quarry to the tabernacle site. For the cornerstones, water windows, and stonework around the windows and doors, a second quarry was opened at Franklin. From there, sandstone was hauled on the Utah Northern Railroad to the construction site of the tabernacle (and later to the temple and courthouse sites). In the meantime, church authorities Brigham Young, Jr., and Moses Thatcher began to organize the actual construction of the building. President Thomas X. Smith also sent out the members of the LDS priesthood teachers quorum to solicit donations, pledges of work, or both.¹²

In the spring of 1874 work on the tabernacle began again by first removing the nine-year-old smaller foundation and building a larger one. Stone cutting then began both on site and probably in the tithing yard across the street. When church leaders determined that the entire city block was needed, Moses Thatcher went to the Logan City government and arranged to purchase the remainder of the square. Under the provisions of the deed, the Mormon church paid Logan \$40.50 for the property it did not already own. The entire square now could be devoted to the tabernacle, with the bowery on the southwest corner used for summer meetings until the tabernacle was completed.

The construction proceeded rapidly for more than two years, and by 1876 the basement and the outside walls were completed. The roof was then completed and all that was left was extensive interior finish work. The Brigham Young College began meeting in the basement, and that part of the structure was dedicated on 26 January 1877 by Franklin D. Richards. Completion should then have come quickly, but construction of the tabernacle was superseded by that of the temple.

In May 1877, just a short time before his death, Brigham Young came to Logan and stayed with his daughter and her family, the George Thatchers. In the morning the aging prophet took a grandson by the hand and reportedly said, “Come on Georgie, let’s go pick a spot for the Temple.”¹³ The temple site was selected on Logan’s lower



Logan, Utah, LDS Tabernacle, 1972. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

east bench by Young, in company with Truman Angell, the church architect, and several other general authorities of the church. The site was dedicated by Orson Pratt of the Council of Twelve Apostles. The

ground was then broken and a construction project began that was to require seven years of hard labor and the financial sacrifice of Cache Valley's Mormons. Charles O. Card, the superintendent of construction for the tabernacle, was transferred to the temple project on 18 May and Anthon Skanchy was charged with the task of completing the tabernacle. His main concern was that Card took most of the workers with him. The tabernacle basically had been a training project for the temple construction. Nevertheless, the main floor of the tabernacle was used for a church conference in August 1878 even though the balcony and the choir seats remained unfinished.¹⁴

After 1881 work on the tabernacle ceased entirely. The uncompleted tower was roofed over and the workers fashioned a makeshift choir loft and stand. All of the area's skilled carpenters were involved in the temple's completion. The interior temple construction was also a training ground for ornate and intricate woodwork finishing. Many of the project's carpenters, joiners, and other wood craftsmen applied their talents on the tabernacle and courthouse once the temple neared completion. This is shown by an examination of the towers on all three buildings—all built by brothers Erastus and George Cole, who completed the one on the courthouse and then finished the two on the temple. Finally, they moved on to the tabernacle and finished that project.¹⁵ The woodwork and design became more elaborate as they moved from project to project. Similarities in the interior woodwork construction could also be seen before the temple was totally remodeled in the mid-1970s.

The *Utah Journal* reported that the Cole brothers had commenced work on the tabernacle tower in September 1885:

According to the design which we have seen of this tower, it will add much to the general appearance of the building. There will be four gables and five spires with a body spire on the cupola. From the ground to the top of the main spire will be a distance of about 125 feet. Several men are at work and if the weather continues favorable a short time will witness the Logan Tabernacle in a more pleasing finish.¹⁶

By early January 1886 the scaffolding was removed and the tabernacle looked completed. In the next few years dramatic changes were

added to the exterior, however. The original exterior flights of stairs leading directly to the second story were removed and enclosed passages were constructed so the congregation could go directly to the main level.

On 1 November 1891, twenty-six years after the first foundation was dug, the tabernacle was dedicated in its entirety. The entire structure represented a tremendous investment in donated time and talent and showcased the work of capable craftsmen, who erected a magnificent structure. The building is still used by many of the local LDS stakes for their semiannual stake conferences as well as for public community and church meetings. The interior has been restored as nearly as possible to its original appearance, and the facility receives additional heavy use because of the Family History Center in its basement. Use is also heavy at the Logan LDS temple.

The first time a Cache County temple was mentioned was in 1867 at the Wellsville July Fourth celebration when John Thirkell predicted that someday a temple will “be built on the bench at Logan.” Four years later Apostle Wilford Woodruff prophesied that many of his listeners “would have the privilege of going into the tower of a glorious temple built unto the name of the most high God, east of us upon the Logan Bench.”¹⁷ Brigham Young said that Woodruff was prophesying in behalf of the Lord. It was only two years later that Young challenged Cache Valley’s citizens to build a railroad, a tabernacle, and a temple. In the October semiannual conference of the church, the official announcement was made that the church and the Mormon people of Box Elder County, Cache Valley, and surrounding settlements in Idaho and Wyoming would build a temple in Logan. As previously mentioned, Brigham Young selected the site in May 1877 and the seven-year-long task began.¹⁸

A temple district was organized under the direction of three apostles—Franklin D. Richards, Lorenzo Snow, and Charles C. Rich—and included a subcommittee of the Cache, Box Elder, and Bear Lake stake presidencies. Once again Moses Thatcher and William Preston of Logan, as well as William Budge of Bear Lake (formerly of Logan), had their say on a major Cache County development. The committee originally had the responsibility of coordinating the laborers and draft animals for the temple. Subsequently,

the *Deseret News* published a letter from James Leishmen that reported, "Cache Valley Stake [has] 81 men and 27 teams; for Bear Lake Stake, 28 men and 6 teams; Box Elder Stake 35 men and 12 teams, making a total of 144 men and 45 teams. In this number are included, masons, carpenters, quarrymen, tenders, teamsters, and lumbermen."¹⁹

Most of the materials for the temple were obtained locally, and the temple utilized the same resources as the tabernacle. The Green Canyon quarry was supplemented by another above Hyde Park. Once again, the light buff sandstone used for window ledges and caps came from Franklin. During the summer of 1877 a sawmill was established at Temple Fork, nearly twenty miles up Logan Canyon. This made road improvements in the canyon absolutely necessary. A work camp was established about halfway to the sawmill and a lime kiln operated in the mouth of the canyon. From the Green Canyon and Hyde Park quarries came the siliceous limestone used in most of the masonry. The walls and masonry were supported by twenty-eight buttresses that strengthened the building throughout.

At completion the temple measured 171 feet long, 95 feet wide, and 86 feet high at the square. The tower to the east was 170 feet high, which was five feet higher than that of the west. The four octagonal corner towers, crowned with battlements, were measured at 100 feet high. The temple stands today as an amazing pioneer achievement. As an example of the struggle faced by individuals, Ralph Smith, Samuel Roskelly, and William and Annie Poppleton all recorded the complexities of managing their schedules. Henry Ballard, a bishop, called his counselor Ralph Smith to be a foreman of quarry operations. Smith recorded that he was busy "putting on the rafters on my barn." Bishop Ballard promised Smith that if it was needful for Smith to stay long on the temple works he would get Smith's barn covered in, which he had "done in good time for my crops to go in."²⁰ In late November Ballard released Smith from the Sunday school superintendency but kept him on as a counselor. Shortly before Christmas Smith was released from his temple calling to resume his family and farming responsibilities.

William and Annie Poppleton worked in Green Canyon throughout the summer of 1877. Annie cooked for the work crew who stayed

near the quarry. William Poppleton's journal indicates that they spent a very hectic summer between their temple work and their duties in Wellsville:

Stade 2 weeks and then returned to Wellsville. Stade over Sunday and went back on Monday. On Tuesday 19 went to Logan for A cow. When up the canion for ax handles fil and hert my heel Worked all the balance of the week stade in Camp on Sunday James came up on Sunday went home again that night.²¹

The Poppletons enjoyed both the 4 July and 24 July holidays by returning to Wellsville. They also transported other cooks back and forth between their homes and the work camps. Many of the early temple workers worked only part time during the week.

Samuel Roskelly, a former bishop in Smithfield and later long-time temple recorder, called three of his sons together near the end of the project and recorded that he told them, "I had been requested to fix up the Logan Temple for work and I may never have another opportunity of the kind in my life and if they would put in the crop to the best of their ability I would attend to the Temple matter and they should be blessed in their labors."²²

Each farmer had to face a fundamental secular-survival-versus-sacred-reward question. One could not be in both places simultaneously; but the temple work was optional, the farming had to be done. Since farming was a task-measured occupation, the work ceased when the job was finished; temple labor was time measured, usually a ten-hour day, and farmers could work between hay crops, after their irrigation turn, and at other times for a few days at a time. However, despite Brigham Young's announcement that wages were out of the question, wages for labor soon became part of the temple construction program. Completion of the sacred building was not opened like that of the tabernacle. The church leaders had specific goals and felt strongly that a board-and-barter system might work because currency was scarce. It is well to remember that the Logan temple was under construction at the same time that Mormon church leaders were experimenting with cooperatives and the United Order. Mormon church members in Cache and Box Elder counties as well as in southeastern Idaho made significant contributions to the

temple in many forms. Although the final cost of the actual building was put at \$607,000, that does not reflect the nearly \$70,000 annual contribution in eggs, honey, wheat, milk, vegetables, and numerous other items in kind. At the initiation of construction, local skilled laborers including masons, carpenters, and sawyers were paid in food and board by area wards or stakes. The reality of the times and talent of the craftsmen soon led to compensation wages. By 1880, 50 percent of the workers were being paid cash; and when the construction was completed in 1884, 60 percent were being paid wages.²³

One interesting historical sidelight is the fact that numerous members of the Shoshoni nation living near Washakie worked on the temple with the Box Elder crews who lived in a camp near the present site of Romney Stadium on the Utah State University campus. This camp was located about halfway between the Green Canyon quarry and the temple site. Many of these Native laborers, including the legendary Sagwitch, one of the chiefs, were survivors of the Battle of Bear River. Many of the Shoshoni had converted to Mormonism in 1875, and among the workers were two of Sagwitch's sons, Yeager, who worked mixing mortar and on the walls, and Soquitch, who loaded rock at the Franklin quarry. Yeager, when interviewed later, recalled how the workers would wrestle and play after the completion of the day's labor.²⁴

For the most part, both paid and volunteer workers viewed the temple construction as building the kingdom of God on earth. Consequently, although it was a time of national labor organization and unrest, there is no evidence that labor/management issues played a large part in the temple's construction. Young John Widmer, recently arrived from Switzerland, worked at the temple sawmill and gloried in the fact that his labor was helping the kingdom of God roll forth. One historian later wrote of him:

At one time when he was in town he bought a lithograph of an artist's conception of what the Logan Temple was to look like when finished. He took the picture with him to the canyon and showed it to some of the men who had scoffed at his broken English and his love of religion. They seemed to take a small share in his aspirations from that time forth.²⁵

Charles Card often addressed the workers on site and asked that they spend time studying the scriptures so that they could gain a testimony. He promised them blessings and protection, as had Orson Pratt at the time of the groundbreaking for the building. Nevertheless, there were numerous accidents and close calls during the construction process. Seven men were buried by an avalanche up Logan Canyon in March 1880 and two of them died. A young teenager, John Hicks, was tragically crushed by a hay bailer on the temple block in September 1881. Hugh McKay of Willard survived a fall of nearly fifty feet from scaffolding while doing masonry work on the southeast corner of the temple in 1879. John Knowles of Logan and Julius Smith of Brigham City tumbled through more than fifty feet of scaffolding in 1883 while plastering near the temple's northwest tower. In 1882 John Parker of Liberty, while hauling logs for the temple, was knocked off the front of his sled and dragged nearly twenty-five yards before the oxen stopped. Although his arm was fractured and his body badly bruised, Parker survived. Unfortunately, the nature of working in quarries, sawmills, and on building construction meant that there were numerous accidents, fingers lost, broken bones, and eyes damaged.²⁶

Many laborers, masons, carpenters, and skilled craftsmen depended on the temple for their immediate temporal welfare. Issac Sorensen returned from a mission in Denmark and went to work in the canyon "as I could make 3–4 Dollars a day. I owed a few debts incurred on my mission . . . there was nothing else to pay it with."²⁷ An English convert used his labor on the temple to pay back the Perpetual Emigration Fund, which had paid for his emigration to the United States. A young, pregnant, teenage housewife, Cynthia Nielson Wight, worked with her husband at the sawmill—she as a cook and he as a foreman. She wrote, "I earned \$70.00 which I spent in buying things to keep house after paying my tithing."²⁸

The temple committee established a cash value for the type of tasks performed or the amount of work accomplished. In 1880 Card sent the committee a list of sixteen positions, with wages running from \$1.50 to \$3.00 a day. Foremen, masons, sawyers, rough-corner dressers, cut-rock experts, and engineers received \$3.00. Carpenters received \$2.75; and scaffolders, wheelbarrow transporters, kiln hands,

and a variety of others were paid \$2.00. Mortar mixers received the lowest pay on the list. However, many children and younger workers received from fifty cents to \$1.00 a day and a number of women received \$1.40. In all probability the teamsters who received \$4.00 were the best paid workers, but they were not included on Card's list. Prior to the last two years of construction, pay came as one-third cash and 75 percent of the remaining two-thirds in commodities at the bishop's storehouse; the remainder was considered donated labor.²⁹

As the temple neared completion, the nature of women's work changed and their efforts became very essential to finish the project. Samuel Roskelly suggested that women living within the district make handmade carpet for the various rooms. There were forty-five different rooms and, once measured, the area Relief Societies were assigned specific rooms to carpet. Margaret McNeil Ballard's home became the meeting place for the west side residents of Logan.

Rug tearing sessions were held in her home almost every day as the women gathered, bringing their rags, tearing them into strips and then throwing them in heaping piles. When the pile was large enough, the women would come again, sit in a circle, carefully select the right colors, sew the rags together and roll them into balls. Then the balls were taken to the weaving machines, and the completed product came off the loom in large rolls that took two men to lift.³⁰

The sections were hung so uniformity of color and length could be ensured, then they were sewn together by hand in the middle.

Card asked the Cache Valley Stake Relief Society and the local Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association to cut the carpet to fit the floor areas, sew the pieces together, and install it. The women also sewed curtains for the windows. In the spring of 1884 hundreds of women from throughout the county and beyond ranging in age from fourteen to eighty-five worked on the project. Women from as far away as St. George spent time on the finishing work. The finished product was elegant and attractive. Near the end of the carpet- and curtain-installation project, Samuel Roskelly wrote that the women were "doing heavy days work and keeping me very buisey preparing material for them." One morning when Roskelly arrived early, he



Logan, Utah, LDS Temple, looking northwest, circa 1884. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

found a “number of the sisters had been waiting on me for more work, which I soon gave them.”³¹ The role played by Cache County women demonstrated their spirituality, talent, and also that they



Logan, Utah, LDS Temple view from southwest, 1960s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

could generate products of value in a changing economy. Though few were paid in wages for their devoted work, they demonstrated that the manufacture of textiles, silk spinning, and sewing were part of their daily lives and might possibly be used for capitalistic gain.

Church leaders under the direction of President John Taylor set the seventh anniversary of the groundbreaking of the temple as the date for its dedication. A large group of general authorities rode the train to Cache County for the weekend dedication celebration.

President Taylor recommended that the church pay off the remaining indebtedness on the building, which was approximately \$205,000. That proposal, to no one's surprise, was sustained unanimously. Charles Card replaced Moses Thatcher as local stake president. Marriner Merrill of Richmond was chosen to be the first temple president. Then, on three successive days, a total of 4,800 people crowded into the upstairs assembly room to witness the dedication and to hear the dedicatory prayers. The ordinance work began on 21 May 1884.³²

The temple's impact on the county has been significant in many ways. It is considered to be a sacred space within the larger community, and although use of its interior is only available to active and eligible LDS members, its symbolic presence has significance to all who see it. The temple epitomizes a heritage of hard work, spiritual values, beauty, and a common ideal. The builders believed that the temple would help inspire personal improvement, tie families together eternally, help abolish inequities, and inspire church members to share each other's burdens. It is also a regional gathering place for Mormons within the temple district and continues to attract retirees who want to labor there.

There have been numerous renovations on the temple, but the most extensive and controversial took place between 1976 and 1979. The entire interior was gutted from the basement to the roof for the express purpose of incorporating modern electronic fixtures to increase the efficiency and volume of work completed. In the process, the unbelievably fine woodwork, beautiful murals, magnificent bronze oxen from the baptismal font, and other reminders of the sacrifice of the pioneers were removed. Not a single old artifact was included in the remodeled facility; however, the usable square footage was nearly doubled to accommodate the population growth and demands of the temple district. The resultant outcry over the loss of the pioneer craftsmen's art probably contributed to the decision of the church hierarchy not to totally remodel the Manti LDS temple or the splendid temple in Salt Lake City. The exterior structure of the Logan LDS temple remains as a reminder of the dedication of those who worked seven years to improve their corner of the kingdom.³³

From 1885 to 1900 the Logan Temple Association, a school of science for the promotion of learning, existed within the temple



LDS church first built as a hotel for employees of West Cache Sugar Company in 1917, given to LDS church in 1936 and remodeled for church. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

under the direction of its president, Marriner W. Merrill. A number of lectures was given with no restrictions other than that no one could “throw doubt on the existence of a supreme being.” Moses Thatcher taught government; Charles Nibley, political economy; James Leishman, history; William Apperley, languages; and John E. Carlisle, natural philosophy. After writing and presenting their lectures, the teachers deposited their papers in a temple archive. More than 150 students registered to hear the speakers, and they were so impressed by the content of the lectures that the students decided to publish the lectures. However, this action apparently upset the Mormon church’s First Presidency, who required their approval of any lectures before they were published. Gradually, this experiment faded and the school closed in 1900.³⁴

Moses Thatcher was one of the most significant early leaders of

the valley. As a businessman, banker, church leader, and entrepreneur, Thatcher emerged as the consummate community builder. He also became one of the most controversial members of the community. Called to be an apostle, Thatcher, like Ezra T. Benson, Charles C. Rich, and others, remained in his home area, Cache County, rather than move to Salt Lake City. Later, Alma Sonne, an Assistant to the Twelve, chose to remain in Cache County as well. Although a successful merchant, Thatcher's political philosophy clashed with that of other churchmen. As he moved toward a theory of socialism that seemed consistent with the church's United Order and Law of Consecration principles, Thatcher did not believe the church should ally itself with conservative politics. After a number of disputes, he was released as a member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles in 1896.³⁵

The Latter-day Saints did more than just build structures; they enjoyed dances and a variety of social and cultural events. One significant and unique aspect of their religion—plural marriage—came under increasing attack during the 1880s. Although a federal anti-bigamy act had been passed in 1862, it was not seriously enforced. In the 1880s, however, the government began a major crackdown against polygamy and federal laws were passed to curtail the Mormon practice. Mormons resisted and federal marshals began to arrest Mormon polygamous men, many of whom were then imprisoned. Many Mormons were violating the federal statutes, including most of the various stake leaders as well as church president John Taylor. Hundreds were imprisoned and thousands spent years in hiding on what was referred to as the underground. In 1887 the most severe act yet, the Edmunds-Tucker Act, was passed. It forbade plural marriage in the United States. Mormons challenged the constitutionality of the act based on their First Amendment rights, but they eventually lost the case at the Supreme Court.

Cache County's citizens were affected dramatically by these decisions. For one thing, Charles Card left his stake presidency in Cache Valley and moved to Canada. Many others followed his lead into Alberta, and a thriving extension of the Cache Stake existed north of the border. Joseph Tanner and others chose to spread their wives throughout Utah and let them and their families fend for themselves.



LDS church German meeting house, 50 East 100 South Logan, circa 1915. At time of photography used as the Sigma-Phi-Sigma fraternity house. Later used as a theater for Cache Valley Players. Photograph taken 1930s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

Tanner ultimately went to Alberta as well. Although many trials were held in Cache County and some men went to prison, the case of Samuel Roskelly seems representative of how polygamists avoided compliance with the law and tried to keep their families together. By the time of the passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act, Roskelly's first wife had died, but he had four surviving wives and thirty children. Born in 1837 in England, he had converted to Mormonism at age sixteen and was one of the cowboys who came to Cache Valley in the mid-1850s. He married his last wife when he was forty-eight, well into the period of vigorous federal prosecution of polygamists.³⁶

In 1885 federal marshals organized a number of raids on Cache County. Roskelly became a target for prosecution because of his position as temple recorder; he also had been a bishop for two decades in Smithfield. Since, as a polygamist, he shared time among his four families, he easily developed methods to avoid capture. He often

stayed inside the temple, frequently spending the night there, and only moved through the city after dark. He moved through Logan at night dressed shabbily with an unlit pipe in his mouth and an axe on his shoulder. His sons would meet him at a prearranged place and put him in a wagon covered with hay. One family moved up Logan Canyon to work at a logging camp and he secretly visited them twice. When an infant daughter and a young grandson died, he had to remain in hiding and failed to attend the funerals or burials. Never doubting his faith, Roskelly kept up this resistance until prosecution ceased with the Manifesto of 1890 issued by Mormon church president Wilford Woodruff. It advised Latter-day Saints to obey the laws of the land and not engage in the future in plural marriage.³⁷

Although Roskelly did his best to keep his families together and functioning, polygamist women could be seen as the real heroes of this saga. Of necessity, they became more self-sufficient in administering a household and often a farm. It appears that many of the children felt the pain of their mothers, as well; many letters and journals of a generation of polygamous children reflect some resentment toward the religious principle that caused their mothers so much anguish. Once the Mormon church leaders chose to abandon the practice, Mormons could once again practice their religion in a much more open manner. One of the major problems that always existed between Mormons and non-Mormons had to do with polygamy, so that tension was greatly reduced by the turn of the century.

The Mormon church continued to influence education, although its private schools in the early twentieth century were replaced by public education institutions at almost all levels. In 1912 the Mormon church began the present seminary system that evolved into a released-time program that extended throughout Utah and into the surrounding areas. High school students were allowed to leave their campus for a daily class period at an adjacent church-owned building. Cache County's South Cache High School in Hyrum established a seminary in 1921 and Logan and North Cache high schools soon followed. Seven years later the Mormon church opened the LDS Institute of Religion adjacent to Utah State Agricultural College (now University). This attempt to follow the young people to college became very successful. The institute grew and continues to function



LDS church in Newton, begun in 1887 and completed 1893. Destroyed by fire January 1929. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

in a large and many times remodeled facility west of the student center on campus. Originally, both the state board of education and the college accepted “non-sectarian” credit, such as classes on the Old and New Testaments. The college accepted up to twelve hours toward graduation and the LDS Institute grades were actually figured in the students’ grade point average. An American Civil Liberties Union case, originating in Logan during the 1970s, changed this policy in regard to granting academic credit for Institute classes. Utah State University no longer accepts Institute classes for credit or classes offered by local ministers and priests. Both the seminaries and LDS Institute continue to supplement the secular education provided by the state facilities.³⁸

Cache County’s LDS history would not be complete without a discussion of the welfare system devised as a church response to the Great Depression. In order to assist people unemployed and devastated by the economic chaos of that period, the Mormon church developed a program to assist with and help develop self-sufficiency and self-help. Fundamentally, the idea was to use church donations (called fast offerings) and other assistance to help the poor of the church. The church purchased acres of farmland to grow produce and then established canneries, grain elevators, mills, and other food processing and distribution plants. Participants could work at the various welfare farms or processing areas and be reimbursed in commodities. The bishops of individual wards could draw on the consolidated churchwide Bishops’ Storehouse for what their members might need. The enormously popular program helped alleviate the Depression’s impact, and the Mormon church continued the pro-



Sunday school of the Hyrum LDS First Ward, 1918. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

gram well beyond that economic disaster. One of the major reasons for continuance was to guarantee that a large surplus of food and clothing could be sent speedily to disaster areas.³⁹

In Cache County the welfare program meant that most area stakes and some wards purchased welfare farms. A cheese plant was established as well as a large dairy herd. Other county farms produced vegetable row crops that could be sent to a cannery. Until the early 1980s this practice continued, with the major emphasis on dairy products. In the early 1980s the Mormon church made a shift toward privatization and began divesting itself of many of its agricultural properties and facilities. The LDS Hospital in Logan, which had performed as a regional hospital for many years, was also sold, and it subsequently became part of the Intermountain Health Care system. Although the church still operates its Bishops' Storehouse, most of the actual local labor and land of the welfare system has been eliminated.

The LDS church presence in the county has been a constant since settlement, and that will be the case as long as a large number of residents, students, and institutions reflect the Mormon religious per-

spective. There continues to be numerous missionaries who leave the valley to experience other cultures and languages. The influence of religion is a strong component of the county's history, yet it is probably less of a political and social factor now than at any other time in the county's history.

ENDNOTES

1. Mary Ann Weston Maughan, Journal, USUSC.
2. Eugene E. Campbell, "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," in *The History of a Valley*, ed. Joel E. Ricks (Logan: Cache County Centennial Commission, 1956), 299–300.
3. *Ibid.*, 300.
4. *Ibid.*, 301.
5. There are many discussions of how and why pioneer buildings were discarded as places of worship. Many were not fitting or adaptable, but others have been preserved. Providence's old Rock Church is now (1996) a bed-and-breakfast reception center; Hyrum's is in private hands. The Wellsville tabernacle is in constant dispute, and Smithfield's stands as a little-used basketball facility.
6. Henry Ballard, Journal, USUSC.
7. Merlin Ross Hovey, *History of Cache Valley* (Logan: n.p., 1923), 30.
8. *Ibid.*, 34.
9. Ballard, Journal.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. Campbell, "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," 288.
13. *Ibid.*, 283.
14. Nolan P. Olsen, *Logan Temple, the First 100 Years* (Providence: Keith W. Watkins and Sons, Inc., 1978), 8–10.
15. A.J. Simmonds, "Looking Back," *Herald Journal*, 19 May 1988.
16. *Utah Journal*, 17 September 1885.
17. Olsen, *Logan Temple*, 18.
18. See Leonard J. Arrington, *American Moses, The Life of Brigham Young* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983).
19. *Deseret News*, 19 August 1877.
20. Ralph Smith, Journal, USUSC.
21. William Poppleton, Journal, USUSC. See also Anna Rae Poppleton,

Ancestral Histories and Pedigrees of Joseph W. Poppleton and Flora Christianson Squires (Wellsville: n.p., 1992).

22. Samuel Roskelly, Journal, USUSC.
23. Campbell, "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," 284–85. See also Melvin A. Larkin, "The History of the LDS Temple in Logan, Utah," M.S. thesis, Utah State University, 1954.
24. A.J. Simmonds, "Looking Backward," *Herald Journal*, 7 November 1987.
25. Marion Everton, "History of Logan Temple is Retold," *Herald Journal*, 26 May 1934.
26. *Utah Journal*, 22 December 1882.
27. Issac Sorensen, *History of Mendon*, USUSC.
28. Cynthia Elnora Nelson Wight Journal as quoted in letter from Maxine Wight to Nolan P. Olsen, Olsen Collection, LDS Church Archives.
29. Noel A. Carmack, "Labor and Construction of the Logan Temple, 1877–84," *Journal of Mormon History* 22 (Spring 1996): 52–79.
30. Olsen, *Logan Temple*, 129.
31. Roskelly, Journal.
32. Campbell, "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," 285.
33. Ray Somers, *A History of Logan* (Logan: Somers Historical Press, 1993), 70–73, 84.
34. Campbell, "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," 289–90.
35. Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Moses Thatcher in the Dock: His Trials, the Aftermath and His Last Days," and Kenneth W. Godfrey, "They Named Him Moses: A Religious Profile of Moses Thatcher," unpublished papers in author's possession. Godfrey's forthcoming Thatcher biography will answer many questions about his career and be a major addition to Cache County history.
36. Kathryn Morse, "God's Favorite Commuters: The Work and Family of Samuel Roskelly," copy of paper in possession of the author, 5.
37. Roskelly, Journal.
38. Stanford O. Cazier, interview with author, 16 June 1992, Logan, Utah; typescript in possession of the author.
39. Lloyd Rudd, "A History of the LDS Welfare Program," typescript in possession of the author.

THE NON-MORMON PRESENCE IN EARLY CACHE COUNTY

Utah is to day enveloped in a cloud of darkness more dense than that we looked upon from the mountain-top. As the light of our Christian land falls upon it, it reflects back no splendors.

—C. P. LYFORD, 1886

Utah's unusual position as a state with a predominant religion often forces a separate consideration of those who are not of that faith, especially in the nineteenth century. So much of Utah's history, including that of Cache County, is a story of politics, economics, and religion intertwined. Great numbers of Latter-day Saints moved to the valleys of the mountains in what they considered their gathering to Zion and hoped their isolation would allow them to govern and worship as they pleased. They remembered the persecution they had suffered in Missouri and Illinois when they had moved into areas where numerous settlers not of their faith already lived. Their prophet and his brother had been martyred, hundreds had given their lives in the trek to Utah, and now their God had blessed them with isolation in the mountains. They, like the Old Testament Israelites, had found their promised land. When the federal govern-

ment sent troops to put down a supposed Mormon insurrection in 1857, the Mormons responded to their leaders' calls and believed God had delivered them. In their new haven in Utah, they greatly outnumbered any other group, and their majority continued to grow as converts came by the thousands. They had established their kingdom of God and wanted no outside influence that might jeopardize their way of life. The West offered the space where they could expand and control their own affairs.

This very existence of a Mormon theocracy in Utah Territory caused internal problems and schisms within the church. Although many believed in a true religion, they found "true politics" or "true economics" very hard concepts to swallow. Others were concerned not only with theocracy but with the plurality of wives. A few who came to Utah as Mormons left as Protestants or as nonbelievers. Polygamy was the major reason that numerous religious denominations sent missionaries to Utah determined to save the souls of misled and unenlightened Mormons. The story of the efforts of Protestant churches to make inroads in Utah is in part a description of how Mormons handled internal dissent as well as external proselyting. It is also important to remember that most Mormon leaders of this period were millennialists who believed that the second coming of Christ was at hand and that a true kingdom of God needed to be established on the earth. Like their Puritan predecessors, they believed that the kingdom's success depended on the righteousness of the Saints; consequently, they took a great interest in the other-minded within their communities. This concern led to numerous investigations, excommunications, and an overt concern for everyone's business. Often this in turn led mere dissenters to become apostates.

For instance, in 1872 Utah applied for statehood for the fourth time. However, one hundred Cache County citizens signed a petition against Utah's own petition to become a state. Part of this "memorial" protested and stated the application for admission was "hypocritical and treacherous to the nation, for all-sufficient reason that the majority of the people of Utah do not and cannot believe in the permanence of the forms of government appertaining to the Constitution of the United States." The petitioners wrote that they were "compelled

by their religion to believe that all our present Government institutions are destined to pass away and be superseded by the rule of their priesthood.”¹

What is very interesting is the reaction to the petition. The Mormon church-owned newspaper, the *Deseret News*, reprinted a list of the signatures in June 1872 “so that the people at large may have an idea who are their avowed enemies and have a consequent idea who are their friends in the community.”² A number of individuals claimed that they had not signed such a document and that most of the signatures were of innocent children. However, not content with allowing people to exercise free speech, the LDS church sent its local Teacher’s quorum members out to investigate. Teacher’s quorums had been assigned to watch over the church and seek perfection of the Saints, but their spying on and questioning members who signed the petition was offensive to many. Two of the one hundred were ultimately turned over to the bishop, but the men were only reprimanded and remained within the church. The petition was suspected by some to have been the work of missionaries of the recently established Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS).³

The RLDS church had established a missionary district in Malad, Idaho, in 1867. Its representatives came to Utah in 1866 and in the next thirty years claimed to convert 5,000 Mormons to their form of the gospel. Cache County, however, was not fertile ground for their efforts, and one missionary said that it was “the worst place for the servants of God I ever saw.” A report from Wellsville said that RLDS tracts were totally rejected. Nevertheless, a missionary named E.C. Brand had some success in Providence, Hyde Park, and Richmond. Although many of the church’s converts, feeling uncomfortable in Utah, left for Iowa, Missouri, or California, some remained and continued the missionary service. Among these were John L. Bear and Anthony Metcalf.⁴

John Bear, a Swiss convert to Mormonism, became disillusioned with the LDS church because of what he perceived as its lack of spirituality and continual emphasis on the practical. Bear recalled an 1861 meeting in Providence where Ezra T. Benson encouraged the Saints to plan shade trees along the ditches, so “the angels could come

and instruct us in the line of our duties, as they would not come if there was no shade for them to rest under.”⁵ Bear struggled with polygamy as well as the continual intrusion of the Mormon church into everyday life, so in 1861 he moved to Weber County as a follower of Joseph Morris, an ex-Mormon, who predicted the imminent return of Jesus. The next June the territorial militia, or Navuoo Legion, fired cannon and then attacked the Morrisite fort on the Weber River. Bear’s wife and infant were killed and he was captured. A few months later Bear was released and moved with other Morris followers to Soda Springs, Idaho. It was in Soda Springs that he heard E.C. Brand and was baptized into the RLDS faith.⁶

In 1870 Bear returned to Providence and, according to his autobiography, met Jacob Nesser on Main Street of the village. He persuaded Nesser and the young man’s father to join him in the new faith. Apparently, he had some success among disaffected Swiss converts like himself. Bear organized a branch under the direction of Henry Bake, a convert from Hyde Park, who had been baptized by Anthony Metcalf.

Metcalf, who also lived in Hyde Park, became a district leader for the RLDS church and periodically made missionary trips through Cache Valley. He commented, “Elder Bear had made several converts to Providence and we organized a branch there. . . . Those people, like their country’s hero, William Tell, were lovers of freedom and free speech, and quite bright people.”⁷ Many of the one hundred people who signed the memorial against statehood were members of the RLDS congregation. However, Metcalf also reported:

We did not make much headway against the foe . . . but we kept Elder Penrose and others busy warning the people against letting us have a place to preach in, but there were some people in almost every town who were liberal enough to listen to us and harbor us, and we preached the truth as we saw it and believed it then.⁸

Although their success was limited, they did cause the Cache Stake leaders some consternation. The local Teacher’s quorum continued to try to find out who was attending the meetings and then reprimand them.

In 1872 the RLDS mission received a tremendous boost when



David Hale Smith, one of sons of Joseph Smith, Jr., and member of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, visited Cache County in the early 1870s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

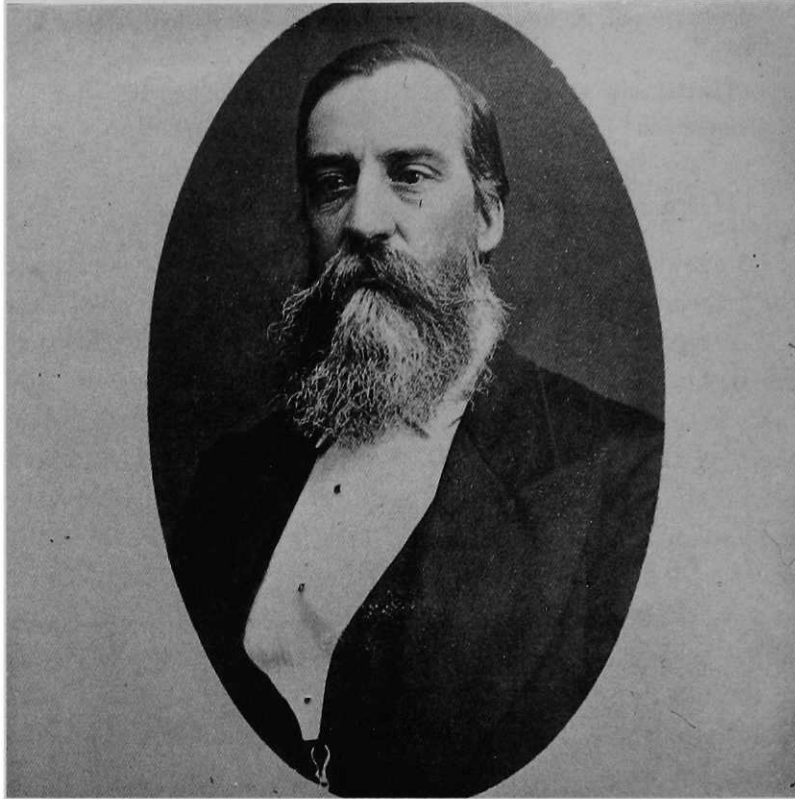
David Hale Smith, one of Joseph Smith's sons, visited the valley. Smith came into the valley from Malad through Weston Canyon and wrote his impressions:

Finally we emerged from between the mountain and Cache Valley lay before us. I was not expecting so lovely a scene; the harvest was fully ripe and the wide rich field of grain in the numerous little set-

lements upon the lovely crystal mountain streams in their pellucid transparent pure waters amply justifies the term crystal—were all truly beautiful sights, surrounded by their frame of high hills and mountains.⁹

Smith spoke throughout the valley accompanied by former LDS apostle Amasa Lyman, who was a spiritualist. Many people who came to hear young David Smith reportedly were disappointed because of the frequent interruptions of Lyman and his attempts at invoking a seance. Nevertheless, Smith reported that he experienced some success on his journey. He said there were twenty-one members, mostly Swiss or German, in Providence. He reported, “We had a good time, preached frequently, and baptized four in Logan. The baptism taking place in the meadow land in one of those clear little rivers. Our story was a succession of festivals and good meetings, and our parting one of regret.” David Smith’s older brother, Joseph Smith III, the successor as church leader to his father in RLDS doctrine, came to Cache Valley in 1885 and again in 1889, when he spoke on three successive nights in the Logan tabernacle. On one night he and Apostle Moses Thatcher of the LDS church debated the doctrines of the two religions. Ten years later Melvin J. Ballard of the Mormon church engaged RLDS missionary S.D. Condit in a debate at the Thatcher Opera House with the Rev. Newton Clemenson of the Presbyterian church as moderator. Clemenson, a former Mormon, believed Condit held his own.¹⁰

The RLDS converts usually left the LDS church for three basic reasons: the doctrine of plural marriage, what they perceived as Brigham Young’s excessive use of power, and the concept of presidential succession in the church. They maintained a congregation in Richmond for many years because many converts and their children moved to that location to experience more religiously hospitable surroundings. Of real significance to the history of non-Mormon activities in Cache County is the manner in which the LDS church handled dissent. According to A.J. Simmonds’s study *The Gentile Comes to Cache Valley*, the period from 1873 to 1896 is crucial to an understanding of why Mormons struggled to accept in their midst



Joseph Smith, III, president of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints visited and preached in Cache County in mid-1880s. (Utah State Historical Society)

those of other faiths or those who chose to leave the Mormon religion.

Simmonds claims that three significant events of 1873 brought internal religious, economic, and political forces together that led numerous individuals to reassess their commitment to Mormonism. These three items were the physical presence of the Episcopal church, the lynching of Charles Benson, and the development of the Mormon church's cooperative movement. All three developments helped bring the LDS church into a position of demanding compliance on the part of its members.¹¹

The Utah Northern Railroad brought many passengers to Logan on its maiden trip in January 1873. As previously mentioned, the

Right Reverend Daniel S. Tuttle, the missionary bishop of Montana for the Episcopal church, with jurisdiction in Utah and Idaho, and the Rev. William H. Stoy, who was called as the Episcopal missionary to Logan, got off that train and immediately entered into Cache County's history. Joseph Richardson, a New York financier, accompanied them but later moved on to California. There seemed to be no overt opposition to the church's establishment, but, as F.W. Crook recorded, "Through the hostility of the Mormon Heresy toward the Church, the missionary was unable to rent a suitable building in which to hold Divine Worship; he was therefore obliged to rent a small adobe building known as the 'Bakery.'"¹²

Aaron DeWitt, one of the original settlers of Logan, owned the bakery, and although he was a longtime church member, he had become disaffected by 1869. He signed the memorial against statehood in 1872. Tuttle actually stayed with DeWitt, and the DeWitt family are the first names on St. John's Parish register. Aaron DeWitt also hosted some RLDS officials when they came to the county. DeWitt and his fellow disaffected Mormons or nonbelievers helped establish the Liberal political party in opposition to the Mormon-dominated People's party. This exercise of political freedom became uncomfortable because of the lack of secret ballot. Nevertheless, the St. John's Episcopal Church became a permanent presence in Cache County and its schools offered a quality education for children of any faith.¹³

Another internal catalyst for the rise in Mormon apostasy was the aforementioned lynching of Charles A. Benson, a son of the late Apostle E.T. Benson. Young Benson had enemies before his murder, including Bishop William Preston because Benson would periodically shoot Preston's rabbits or chickens if they came into the street. While Benson was still hanging, C.C. Goodwin, appalled by the situation, threatened to go for a federal marshal. Goodwin was threatened by others and later was beaten and left in the snow.¹⁴

The religious result of the lynching was that at least seven families became active dissenters and ended up moving into the northwest corner of the valley. They included three of Benson's brothers-in-law, William, Frederick, and James Goodwin (no relation to C.C.); Mark Fletcher, the city marshal who tried to save Benson



Right Reverend Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, founder of Logan's St. John's Church and first Anglican Bishop of Utah. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

and who believed church members were behind Benson's fate; A. M. Simmonds, who had served with Benson in the LDS British Mission; Orson Beach, who participated at the inquest as a coroner's juror; and C.C. Goodwin. Some of these individuals may have had a wavering faith prior to the lynching, but their perceptions of a deeper community involvement helped in their decision to leave. For William Goodwin, one of Cache County's leading merchants, it probably was the last straw. He had been upset with Preston, Moses Thatcher, and others ever since the establishment of the Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution.

In 1869, when William Goodwin first joined the LCMI (which became the local ZCMI), his father-in-law, Ezra T. Benson, was the president and he was the treasurer. Shortly thereafter Charles Penrose wrote to Brigham Young that since the cooperative had already assumed some indebtedness by taking over other businesses and Goodwin and his partner C.B. Robbins continued their own business, Penrose had assumed Goodwin's treasurer position in order to "thus save the Institution the Treasurer's Salary."¹⁵

Increased pressure was applied to the two partners during the next two years. When William Preston became the institution's president after Ezra Benson died, he served notice that they only wanted one mercantile establishment in the area—the LCMI. Preston and his brother-in-law Moses Thatcher tried to enforce this policy throughout the county. They also insisted that Mormons not purchase from either gentile or non-cooperative stores. In 1869 a Providence merchant, Oscar Rice, was simply ordered to close his little store and turn his goods over to the church. This caused some hard feelings and numerous settlers protested. In Smithfield, Thomas Richardson and William Douglas had a small store; both were called on missions to Great Britain. When they returned in October 1871, they reopened the store, but a month later their establishment suffered a boycott. According to James S. Cantwell, he "was requested by the Bishop to write 3 letters to the 3 Presidents of Quorums telling them to prohibit their members from purchasing any merchandise from Richardson and Douglas."¹⁶ The boycott proved successful because the partners' goods were sold to the cooperative store the week before Christmas.



William Goodwin official in Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution had falling out with Mormon church, later appointed to federal position in Cache County. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

The rigorous boycott of gentile stores in the non-Mormon town of Corinne in nearby Box Elder County was also enforced. Sermons were delivered against the members trading their produce at Corinne. When Paul Larsen and his brother Magnus bought from the Corinne stores, they were both excommunicated. The consequence for the two families was that they joined the Presbyterian church and school in Mendon.¹⁷

William Goodwin understood the push for a mercantilistic monopoly. It shattered his faith, but he finally transferred his holdings to the LCMI for stock in the institution. He and Robbins served as clerks for a time, but in early 1871 Goodwin was dropped from the Cache Stake Elder's quorum for not attending meetings and then ignoring a summons from the church leaders. He then joined his brothers in homesteading a huge tract of rangeland west of the Bear River and northwest of Logan. They established a ranch that ultimately exceeded 1,100 acres.

In the summer of 1873, after Benson's hanging and the arrival of the Episcopalians, church leaders Brigham Young and John Taylor spoke to the Latter-day Saints at the bowery on the southeast corner of Logan's Tabernacle Square. Taylor reportedly said that "they who are opposed to co-operation are opposed to heaven, to their own welfare, to the welfare of their neighbors, to truth and to everything that is good." Young added that "We do not wish to co-operate in mercantile affairs only, but we wish to bring the minds of the people to consider the benefit of uniting and laboring together."¹⁸ With that prompting, the local leaders decided to implement Young's suggestion and they chose the local Teachers quorum as the vehicle to do so.

The function of the Teachers priesthood quorum of nineteenth-century Mormonism was very different from that of the twentieth century. The duties of the Teachers as outlined by Joseph Smith was to "watch over the church . . . see that there is no iniquity in the church, neither hardness with each other . . . and also see that all members do their duty."¹⁹ The quorums consisted of a few adults who visited the households of church members and preached, taught, delivered messages, and investigated happenings among the congregation. They seemed to have the power to excommunicate and they

definitely were empowered to act as a grand jury in indicting members for various forms of misbehavior. Their membership was known, but they served as a type of investigation team and had the power to call other church members before them.

After Young and Taylor spoke in June 1873, Thomas X. Smith, the president of the Logan Teachers quorum, requested that the teachers “visit every house in Logan between this and the next meeting to find out their feelings in regard to trading with the Cooperative Store and teach them the principles of right and truth.” By August Smith requested that he receive a written report of all who had traded with outsiders with their reasons for doing so and all complaints against the Cooperative Store. That year the Salt Lake City-based ZCMI incorporated the LCMI.²⁰

By early 1874 Bishop William Preston served frequently as a judge due to the number of noncompliers who appeared before him. This prompted Aaron DeWitt to write a brief poem that described his view of Preston.

The greatest of tyrants I ever did see,
Or that ever existed, is W.B.P.
If he had the power, as he has the will,
He would freeze out, or burn out, or starve out, or kill.²¹

Later that upset poet wrote about the economic intrusion of the church.

We’ve ‘defence funds’ and ‘Temple fees’
and emigration stock.
We’ve ‘teachers’ round for ‘Mission’ claims,
And ‘tithes’ to rob the flock.²²

DeWitt had also been hammered by the cooperative movement and his tax assessed property value decreased dramatically. There is little doubt that the Teachers quorums’ activities created tremendous tension. For the most part, they recommended public repentance and a request for forgiveness; yet their very tactics upset many.

As late as April 1882, a Logan writer to the *Anti-Polygamy Standard*, a Salt Lake City-based women’s journal devoted to the eradication of polygamy, claimed that the issue of Mormon trading

with non-members was still a gigantic issue. According to the letter, signed W.B., girls were counseled “not to hire out in Gentile families, and all the people warned in the coarsest language possible not to have anything to do with these enemies of the Saints.”²³ The author claimed that papers were passed around for signatures where individuals pledged to purchase from the Mormon stores exclusively, and the citizens signed the papers because they did not dare refuse. When one woman asked if they could patronize those stores which advertised in the *Deseret News*, the bishop harshly replied that “any Saint who gives them one cent of money, and I hear of it shall be cut off the church and sent to perdition.”²⁴ This type of expressed hatred could only create an atmosphere of antipathy and mistrust. Mormon leaders felt that the apostates, as they called them, had broken a trust and were the worst type of enemy. On the other hand, the former members felt that economic control, political dictatorship, and religious intolerance were not part of the gospel.

John Nelson and most of his family were excommunicated during the winter of 1874 for “Apostasy.” They, like the Robert Miller family, were probably excommunicated for inactivity or neglect of duty, voting for the wrong political party, or signing a petition. There is no record of specific charges. The concept of “neglect of duty” or inactivity seems to be the most commonly used. In reality, the Mormon church was closing ranks during the 1874 period and entering a period some called the “second reformation, which called for rebaptism as well as a reaffirmation of one’s faith. The Mormon church’s evangelical crusade in effect created its own opposition. As a millennial church, there was not room for or sympathy for anyone less than dedicated, and this included those who opposed polygamy or the economic cooperative movement.”²⁵

Many of those who left the Mormon church did so for political reasons. The politics of a religion can be as repugnant to some as its economics or theology. The fact that so many Mormons voted as the church directed unified the opposition as nothing else. Originally, the catalyst of opposition came from the Protestant schools. They created an uneasiness among some Mormons because they were very good and many Latter-day Saints sent their children to them. For instance, one of the charges against William Goodwin was that he felt

“justified in sending his children to the Gentile School also other things not according to the order of the Church.”²⁶ The presence of highly educated teachers and pastors presented an alternative to a theocracy where a few men of income, ability, and orthodoxy held both religious and governmental leadership.

It seemed as though most positions of power were in the hands of a very few people. The stake leaders, bishops, bankers, officers of the Utah Northern, and directors of ZCMI were the very same people. They were school trustees, legislators, and holders of mining and timber grants from the government. Their power was great and many also were officers of the People’s party. A good example of this is the 1874 municipal election in Logan, which was the first time that the Liberal and People’s parties appeared on the ballot. Until that time the official slate had been nominated and elected without opposition. There were 528 ballots cast and the People’s party candidates—who included Preston for mayor, and Moses Thatcher, Charles O. Card, Thomas Ricks, and Thomas X. Smith as alderman—all got 421 votes, except Thatcher who received 422. The opposition candidates each received 106 votes. Card, Alvin Crockett, and Robert Davidson, the latter two elected as city councilors, were also elected school trustees by the same 421 to 106 count. Although this appears to be a landslide, it does show that over 20 percent of the voters preferred an alternative. There was a most pronounced political division. Another consequence of this political disaffection is the way it was viewed by the local Mormon hierarchy. Since there was no secret ballot in Utah, the very act of casting a vote for the opposition was deemed a significant act of courage.²⁷ Indeed, Utah law provided that the voter fill out the ballot, fold it, and give the judge the ballot’s number. A clerk then recorded the name and number. In other words, it was very easy to check how an individual voted. So, although Bishop Henry Ballard could say the opposition “got only 106 votes to 421 of ours” and the “Apostates were again busy,” he could also check to see if any of his ward members voted for the opposition slate.²⁸

Thomas X. Smith, a victorious alderman candidate and president of the Logan Teachers quorum, instructed the Teachers to visit “the Brethren and Sisters that voted the opposition Election Ticket and teach them their duties and what is required of them if they wish to

keep standing in the Church.” This was very intimidating to some people. Many members were disfellowshipped or excommunicated for their vote or their refusal to cooperate with the authorities.²⁹

Among those excommunicated in the spring of 1875 was William Brangham. A very popular justice of the peace and later city judge, he became a member of St. John’s Parish. William Goodwin and John Reed were both disfellowshipped from the Mormon church and the Logan High Priests quorum dropped Henry Stoddard and Dominique Brodrero for apostasy and voting in opposition to the counsel of the church. Church trials continued throughout the summer in Logan as well as in Lewiston, Clarkston, and Paradise. In nearly a hundred church court cases that year, more than forty related directly to the difficulties of the previous two years. Most trials centered upon the fact that the children of the accused were attending a mission school, that the accused had voted for opposition candidates, or that they chose not to patronize the cooperative stores.

In attempting to cleanse the church and create conformity, church leaders helped establish a very strong community of ex-believers. Although earlier disaffected individuals left the area, the Aaron DeWitts, the Goodwins, John Nelson, and others chose to stay. John Reed became a grocer, the Goodwins opened a store near the ZCMI, Mark Fletcher’s blacksmith business continued, and C.C. Goodwin became a painter. Some joined other churches, others perhaps drifted back to the LDS church; but all claimed the county as their own. This may in part be due to the fact that some had used the Homestead Act as a way to gain land in northern Cache County, Petersboro, or Paradise. However, for the most part they acquired land on what was referred to as the Big Range—the area west of the Bear River and north of Amalga and Newton.

The Goodwin brothers played a major role in settlement west of Bear River, and their presence drew numerous other disaffected Mormons. C.C. Goodwin, the Blanchard brothers, A.M. Simmonds, and many others tried their lot at dry farming throughout the late 1870s. The western part of the valley provided a safety valve of sorts that provided access to land for those who felt dispossessed.

The nineteenth-century Protestant missionaries began their

entrance into the county at this time primarily through the auspices of educational efforts. The ministers who accompanied and in some cases supervised the teachers were zealous evangelists who believed they had a duty to destroy polygamy and restore morality to the people of Utah.

Methodist missionaries such as C.P. Lyford and A.R. Archibald came to conquer by means of hard-hitting attacks on the valley's predominant religion. Lyford's report to his superiors indicated their feeling:

Utah is a foreign mission field come to our own shores. No tedious voyage to distant lands to reach it; no wasting of years in mastering languages and dialects in order to cultivate it, but containing all the darkness and sin and wretchedness that exist in any field beyond the seas. Shall there be less of effort to Christianize the very heart of our own country than we would give to the same people were they located in a foreign land.³⁰

A.R. Archibald officially opened the Methodist mission with attacks on the LDS church and polygamy. These efforts convinced some that confrontational tactics could be very successful, at least on a short-term basis; but the Methodists withdrew from the area from 1878 to 1885.

In 1878 the Rev. Calvin Parks of the Presbyterian church came and began preaching education. Parks used the retreat of the Methodists and the inactivity of the area Episcopalians to his advantage. Establishing schools and ministries throughout the valley, the confident missionary created a tremendous opportunity for educational success.

The Methodists returned to Cache Valley in 1885 in the person of Norwegian missionary Martinus L. Nelson. Nelson enjoyed working among the Scandinavians and he, like Parks, used schools as part of a missionary effort in the small towns. Hyrum, Benson, Logan, and Cornish all had Protestant churches or schools trying to take advantage of disaffected Mormons. The Mormons, under severe governmental pressure due to anti-polygamy raids, were not aggressively countering the outside missionaries. LDS church schools were in disarray and leaders often in hiding. Politically, however, Mormons still



Reverend and Mrs. William R. Campbell, Presbyterian minister at Mendon, 1887–1897. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

were generally cohesive and the Liberal party did not have much of a chance in Cache County. The Protestant churches and schools helped fill a void, and antipathy on both sides subsided somewhat.³¹

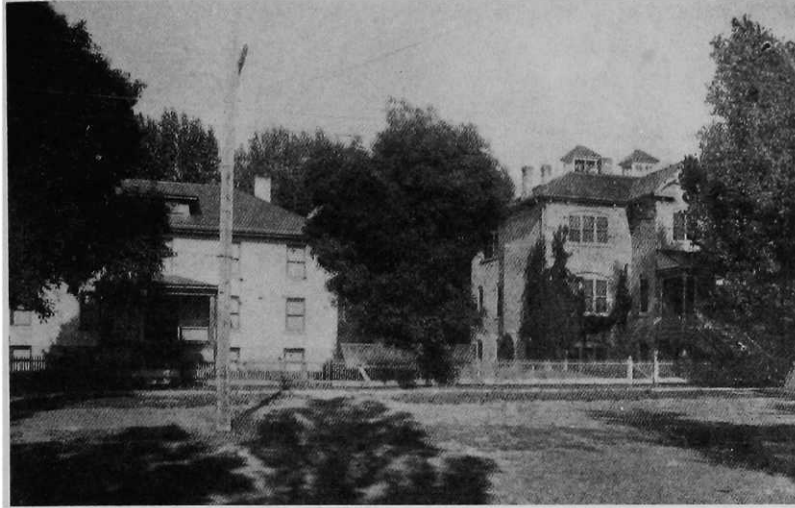
At the time of the 1890 Manifesto on polygamy, Protestants were well represented in Cache County: Methodists had four churches in the county, St. John's Episcopal Church seemed firmly established, Congregationalists had their New West school in Trenton, and Presbyterians boasted eight small congregations, many of them affil-

iated with schools. Besides that, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints had an active congregation in Richmond. There seemed to be some surety that a degree of religious diversity would be realized with statehood. And, in fact, when the two accepted national political parties came into Utah about the time of statehood, Mormons were intentionally politically split, some becoming Democrats and others members of the Republican party, and the politics of a theocracy disappeared.

In June 1891 the Mormon-dominated People's party was officially dissolved. Polygamy prosecutions declined immediately, editorial wars between the pro- and anti-Mormon newspapers became less intense, and former bitter enemies tried to work together on committees and within political parties. C.C. Goodwin and Mark Fletcher attended the first Cache County Republican convention with Herschel Bullen, Joel Ricks, and other former People's party stalwarts. When Cache County Probate Judge William Goodwin, a Democrat and former Liberal party leader, died in 1894, the LDS church offered the use of the Logan tabernacle for his funeral and a Presbyterian minister conducted the funeral service. Even C.C. Goodwin, the other gentile judge in the county, was attacked for alleged corruption by the *Logan Journal's* editor, Noble Warrum, also a non-Mormon. That two non-Mormons would take separate sides on an issue was an important step toward true independent self-government.³²

In 1894 President Grover Cleveland and Congress granted Utah Territory permission to draft a state constitution—a prelude to the granting of statehood. The constitutional convention was made up of 107 men, 28 of whom were non-Mormons, and the delegates wrote a constitution that forbade polygamy and also guaranteed religious liberty. Noble Warrum, the *Journal's* editor, won his bid to become a delegate to the state constitutional convention, where he served with Moses Thatcher, a Mormon apostle.³³ The vote approving the state constitution passed in Cache County, with a total of 2,608 for and 246 against, and the county came to statehood in January 1896 in virtual agreement.³⁴

The non-Mormon population still watched closely after statehood because many feared the Mormon church could not be trusted



New Jersey Academy, Logan, one of several non-Mormon schools established in the county. Photograph taken 1913. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

to allow democracy to work. There were a few problems. For example, at the October 1896 semi-annual conference priesthood meeting, Apostle Joseph F. Smith attacked general authorities Moses Thatcher and B.H. Roberts for running as Democratic candidates without the consent of the church leadership.³⁵ Smith's political blunder gave two impressions that upset many—one was that the church wanted a say in candidate selection; the other was that at least Smith wanted the Mormon church in the Republican camp.

There still remained numerous difficulties on a personal level as well as with institutions. Once public education became established in Cache Valley and the private schools gradually disappeared, children at schools were often subjected to verbal and physical abuse because of their religion. Young lovers who were members of different faiths usually ran into difficulties from parents and ecclesiastical leaders.

Protestant society in the county was usually middle class and somewhat puritanical. The Utah Presbytery, meeting in Logan in 1894, condemned "the fashionable amusements of dancing, card playing, and theater going—the worldly and carnal amusements of



Class at the White Brick School, Trenton, one of several non-Mormon schools in the valley. Photograph taken 1903. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

the Mormons.³⁶ However, Mormons were not the only foes: prominent saloon owner J.R. Edwards, who had done much to assist in the establishment of the Trinity Methodist Church, obviously felt like an outsider when Methodist Sarah W. Eddy based the local Women's Christian Temperance Union at the Trinity church. Eddy's Logan branch targeted Edwards and other saloon managers as enemies of the welfare of the people. The Methodists and Presbyterians also tried to have as many meetings as the Mormons, which meant that those churches gave ample opportunity for gathering and socializing for their members.

Despite the obvious and predictable difficulties, the numerous groups eventually got along together quite well. The Rev. E.W. Greene of the Presbyterian church was elected to a term as Cache County School Superintendent. Throughout the territorial period, Cache County proved to be a convert society, to or from Mormonism. Given the emotional and tremendous psychological complications of the situation, tolerance was very high. One reason for this is that the majority of second-generation Mormons did not feel as intensely the

pressure of past persecution. Also, the earlier belief in the immediacy of the Second Coming was less strong. Polygamy left many internal scars among Mormons, among them the fact that often children had little relationship with a father; its abandonment made better communication possible.

The establishment in 1888 of Utah State Agricultural College (University) in Logan was a great prize for the region and also played an important role in the diminishment of tension. The original faculty was predominantly non-Mormon and boasted greater academic training than their Brigham Young College (BYC) counterparts. The state-operated school attracted students from the region at the exact time barriers of polygamy and politics were being struck down. Although the college required chapel and its enrollment did not surpass that of neighboring BYC for many years, its presence guaranteed that the Lund Act charter would be followed: the school was committed to “faithfully and impartially carry out the provisions of this act for the common good, irrespective of sects or parties, political or religious.”³⁷ The college also played a role in providing an opportunity for a variety of students and faculty to have a church of their choice.

With the Manifesto on polygamy, the abandonment of church cooperative monopolies, the establishment of Utah State Agricultural College, and the creation of legitimate independent political parties, the major issues of the 1870s had disappeared by the turn of the century. No longer offended by a church which thought itself a government, some of its former members and many of their children returned. The number of people leaving the Mormon church also decreased, and the local Protestant churches in the county had to depend on in-migration rather than disenchanting locals for new members. In a way, however, they were strengthened even though their members decreased—those who remained were strong in their faith. Many former Mormons who rose to prominence in society moved to other areas; they included C.C. Goodwin, J.R. Edwards, and C.I. Goodwin who went to California, while George Goodwin, Robert Meller, and John Reed made their way north to Idaho. At this same time thousands of Cache Valley Mormons sought cheaper land in Idaho, Wyoming, and Alberta, Canada. Protestant churches main-

tained at least a skeletal presence in the county until after World War II. They continued to provide a religious home for numerous individuals who belonged to other churches prior to their coming to Utah.

Both World War I and World War II had a dramatic impact on religion in Cache County. Although numerous congregations such as St. John's Episcopal Church had long traditions, the wars brought literally thousands of outsiders into the community. Utah State University became a training center for the Army Air Corps and numerous soldiers from throughout the country. These young people looked for congregations where they could worship in as familiar a manner as possible. The years immediately after the Second World War saw a continual growth in the college campus and in those denominations trying to serve the diverse spiritual needs. Most veterans were LDS, but the low out-of-state tuition and friendly atmosphere brought numerous people back to Logan who had trained there during the war.³⁸

The overt religious tensions of the nineteenth century had disappeared, but there still remained an insider-outsider controversy. University fraternities and sororities broke that down to a degree; but many faculty and students felt somewhat stifled by restrictive laws relative to alcohol, coffee, and tobacco. Landlords also had codes for behavior that sometimes made it difficult for newcomers to feel comfortable and fit in off campus. Nevertheless, churches existed that provided a comfort zone and a refuge.

For instance, there was no real Catholic church in Cache County until 1941. Then, for twenty years local Catholics met at a small chapel on Logan's Fifth North called St. Jerome's, under the caring and watchful leadership of Monsignor Jerome C. Stoffel. Father Stoffel served there as pastor for thirty years. He became a virtual institution throughout the community and built up the congregation until it was able to purchase the Newman Center building on 800 East, north of the campus, and then add a chapel to the facility. The expanded building has proved successful in offering religious services to numerous Catholic residents as well as foreign students. For many years, the Catholic church also operated St. Anne's retreat up Logan Canyon.³⁹

The Rev. Miner Bruner of the First Presbyterian Church served from 1943 to 1986 and built a very stable congregation that is typified by its community involvement. Reverend Bruner involved himself in the community as a member of service clubs and also kept track of the students who passed through his congregation. In maintaining a church with definite pioneer roots, Rev. Bruner and his successors helped create the Shared Ministry of Utah, which brought together the Presbyterian, Disciples of Christ, United Methodist, Church of Christ, American Baptist, African Methodist Episcopal churches, and the USU Faith and Fellowship Center of Logan. This combined Protestant effort helps coordinate youth activities, aid to the homeless, food-bank participation, and a variety of other programs.⁴⁰

The Baptists entered the area in 1916 as part of the Utah Home Mission Workers Council, a Protestant organization designed to minimize the competition among churches in Utah. The first Baptist churches were in the railway towns of Cache Junction and Trenton. This meant that the Rev. W.M. Lewallen of Tremonton could move from one town to the other by rail during the winter without disruption. Rev. Lewallen's ministry did not last long and it was not until 1954 that another Southern Baptist mission was established in Logan. There are presently two Baptist congregations in Cache County. The Maranatha Baptist Church has developed a large congregation on South Main in Logan. Reinforced by an active student and youth group, they engage in numerous efforts to render service to those deemed less fortunate. There is also the smaller Grace Baptist Church which also serves a segment of the community.⁴¹

St. John's Episcopal church has continued to serve area worshippers for well over a century. Appealing to some early Cache Valley leaders such as George and Frederick Champ, the chapel and rectory stand as an architectural contribution to the county's history. The beautiful stained-glass windows, some commissioned by the Champs, also lend beauty to the edifice. During World War I, St. John's served as the local headquarters of the American Red Cross. Early priests developed the St. John's House as a combination youth center and hostel for those in need. Although numerous clerics have passed through the ministry, St. John's continues to serve as a place

of worship as well as a center for cultural events, music concerts, and social programs.

From Quakers to Seventh-Day Adventists to members of the Assemblies of God, Cache County, and especially Logan, now provides religious services for a great many faiths. Currently, all of the Protestant, Catholic, or other congregations list Logan as their home. This is in contrast to the nineteenth century when small congregations and schools dotted the entire valley. Those non-Mormons who now live in the outlying areas, and there are many, must travel into Logan for religious services. While the valley is dotted with numerous multipurpose LDS chapels, Logan is the only home for the religiously other-minded. Some congregations share facilities; for example, Presbyterians with Methodists, and Episcopalians with the local Lutheran congregation. This type of cooperation heralds a new spirit of religion in the county. Tolerance, understanding, and cooperation hopefully will distinguish the future of religion in the county.

ENDNOTES

1. *Deseret News*, 19 May 1872. See also A.J. Simmonds, *The Gentile Comes to Cache Valley* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1974), the premier account of early non-Mormon conflict and history.
2. *Deseret News*, 4 June 1872.
3. A.J. Simmonds, "Looking Back," *Herald Journal*, 15 September 1985.
4. A.J. Simmonds, "Looking Back," *Herald Journal*, 15 May and 22 May 1988.
5. *Ibid.*, 15 May 1988.
6. Richard Lyal Shipley, "Voices of Dissent: The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Utah 1863–1900," M.A. thesis, Utah State University, 1969, 73–85.
7. *Ibid.*
8. A.J. Simmonds, "Looking Back," *Herald Journal*, 15 September 1985.
9. Shipley, "Voices of Dissent," 89.
10. *Ibid.*, 94.
11. Simmonds, *Gentile Comes to Cache Valley*, 7.

12. Andrew G. MacDonald, "A History of St. John's Episcopal Church, Logan, Utah," typescript, 1955, in Cache Valley Historical Society Collection, USUSC.
13. Ian Craig Breaden, "Poetry, Polity, and the Cache Valley Pioneer: Polemics in the Journal of Aaron Dewitt, 1869–1896," USUSC.
14. Simmonds, *Gentile Comes to Cache Valley*, 9–11.
15. *Ibid.*, 12.
16. *Ibid.*, 14.
17. *Ibid.*, 15.
18. *Deseret News*, 16 July 1873.
19. Gustave O. Larson, "The Mormon Reformation," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 26 (January 1958): 44–63.
20. Logan Teachers Quorum Minutes, 186–87, USUSC; Ralph Smith, *Diary*, USUSC.
21. Aaron DeWitt, *Poetry Journal*, USUSC.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Anti-Polygamy Standard*, April 1880, USUSC.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Logan Teachers Quorum Minutes, 182.
26. *Ibid.*, 192.
27. *Deseret News*, 4 March 1875.
28. Ballard, *Journal*, USUSC.
29. Logan Teachers Quorum Minutes, 192–94.
30. C.P. Lyford, *The Mormon Problem: An Appeal to the American People* (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1886), 187–88.
31. Simmonds, *Gentile Comes to Cache Valley*, 40.
32. *Ibid.*, 63–64.
33. J. Duncan Brite, "The Public Schools," in *The History of a Valley*, 323–25.
34. *Herald Journal*, 19 August 1895.
35. See Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Moses Thatcher in the Docks: His Trials, the Aftermath and His Last Days," paper in author's possession.
36. Archival file, Presbyterian Church, Logan, Utah.
37. Joel E. Ricks, *Utah State Agricultural College, Fifty Years* (Logan: Utah State Agricultural College, 1938), 23.
38. Utah State University Enrollment Records, 1945–49, USU Archives.
39. William F. Deady, "The Beginning of Catholicism in Northern Utah," S. George Ellsworth Collection, USUSC.

40. David Weamer, interview, 18 March 1987, typescript in possession of author.

41. The dynamics of Protestantism results in the fact that churches are constantly in a state of flux. Churches continue to organize in the valley to accommodate the beliefs of residents both new and old.

THE ECONOMY IN TRANSITION, 1890–1920

Talk about aspiring to be gods and possess the power to create worlds, we do not show enough ability to create a hoe or rake, plow or wagon. We have failed in these home industries . . .

—WILLIAM B. PRESTON, 1894

The above quotation from Mormon bishop William Preston is in direct contrast to what Ray Stannard Baker, the muckraking journalist, wrote a decade later describing Cache Valley. Baker's prose, printed in a national magazine, described Cache Valley in glowing words.

Such an impression of high cultivation, fruitfulness, and civilized habitation does this valley give that the visitor realizes with difficulty that only a comparatively few years ago it was a barren and apparently uninhabitable desert. A marvel of irrigation! The principal roads and the villages are adorned with stately rows of Lombardy poplars, where no trees ever grew before, distantly recalled the beautiful country of southern France, and there are cottonwoods, poplars, balm of Gilead, and many other trees, and



The automobile comes to Cache County, a 1910 Cadillac. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

spreading orchards of apple and cherry, for the country produces the finest of fruit, though in somewhat limited quantities.¹

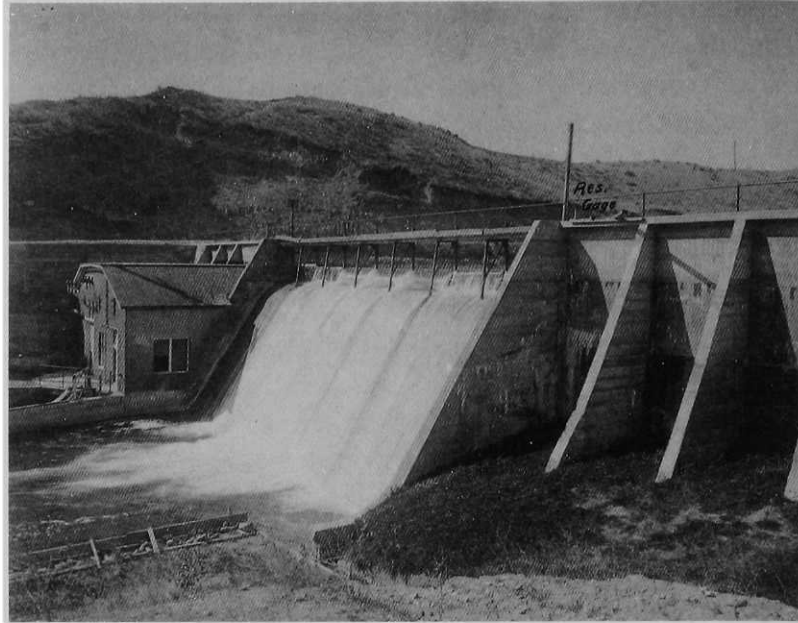
Baker reported alfalfa being harvested and piled into haystacks, with cattle feeding in luxuriant green pastures. He concluded that “One might go far indeed to find a community which so exhaled the very odor of comfort and prosperity.”²

Cache Valley residents were not all totally prosperous or comfortable, but the valley and its residents had made tremendous strides into the twentieth century. Nationally, the late nineteenth century was a very difficult time for agricultural producers. There was a series of economic panics and depressions from 1873 to 1896. The banks and railroads generally were not sympathetic to agrarian needs and farmers suffered; yet Utah voters did not seek the radical alternatives suggested by the Populist movement. Of course, Utah was still a territory during the Populists’ high point in 1892 when the neighboring states of Idaho, Colorado, and Nevada cast their electoral votes for Populist presidential candidate James Weaver, who advocated government ownership of railroads and utilities. Despite Baker’s glowing words, the path to prosperity was difficult and often ended for many in mortgage foreclosure.

During the ensuing years Cache County's agriculture changed dramatically. There are a number of reasons why second-generation Cache Valley farmers moved into a national market economy. Agriculture became more intensive and crop-specialized in part because all of the irrigable land had been taken. Many of Cache Valley's residents had moved on to the upper Snake River Valley or to Alberta, Canada, in search of land. The familial connections that remained between the regions also led to economic and communication ties that assisted continued economic development. As the economy became more mature and sophisticated, there developed a proliferation of private enterprise endeavors that led to a varied economic pattern and base. No longer did the people rely on cooperatives, and private enterprise became much more common. That, of course, involved an evolution away from ecclesiastical direction of the economy. Mormon church leaders discussed economic projects but no longer directed their development and expansion. The economic institutions of milling, banking, and marketing became subject to individual owner manipulation. Cooperation still existed within the irrigation districts and in the various communities, but things were very different than they had been earlier in Mormon-dominated Utah.

Agricultural research and development spearheaded a dynamic change from subsistence agriculture to the production of specialized cash crops, livestock, and produce, and agriculture became dominant economically during this period. Dairying expanded, then row crops, especially sugar beets, and orchards developed, a sheep and wool industry grew, scientific dry farming opened new land, and, finally, a number of long-distance canals created thousands of newly irrigated acres. Land use had to be intensified because of the lack of new lands, and farmers adjusted accordingly. Railroads shortened the time necessary to get crops to market and banking expansion brought additional capital to the region.

Cache County is currently noted for its prosperous dairy industry, which has a long history in the valley. When Brigham Young established the Mormon church-owned ranch southwest of Logan, part of his plan was to initiate a dairy industry. Many of the later church-administered cooperatives had thriving dairy operations



First Dam spillway, mouth of Logan Canyon 1920. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

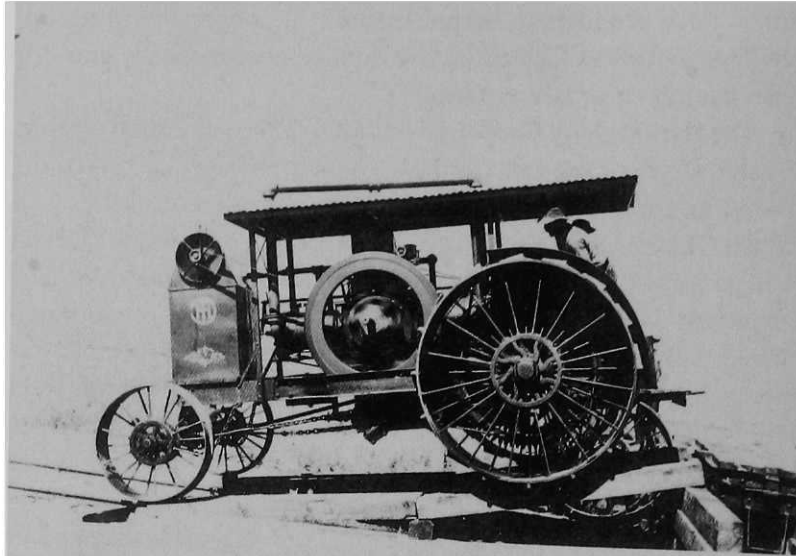
which produced butter and cheese as well as milk. As early as 1871 a combined cooperative herd of Bear River and Cache cows under the supervision of Christian Hansen, a Danish convert, was highly productive. Hansen, a creative manager, kept a journal on each cow and weighed its milk daily. One-half of the cheese produced was distributed on a prorated basis back to the farmer who owned the cow. This enterprise eventually included over 600 cows which were milked twice daily by up to thirty girls and a few men and boys. The girls spent the day making cheese and butter, while boys herded the cows, hauled the milk, and put up hay. Annie M. Mitton of Wellsville, who married Hansen's son, wrote, "I milked twenty five cows every morning and evening and we made real cheddar cheese, of a quality you never find nowadays."³ Her fellow Wellsville native Amanda Bailey Murray said the girls averaged twenty cows apiece and got paid two dollars per week besides their board. In one year's time the dairy produced \$8,000 worth of butter and cheese, and in 1875 it sold 40,000 pounds of cheese. Hansen also raised a hundred hogs, which con-

sumed waste products and supplemented the cooperative meat supply. This dairy was located on the divide between Cache and Box Elder counties near Beaver Dam.⁴

The Hyrum Dairy Cooperative was also a very successful venture. Located south of present Hardware Ranch, the dairy gathered the cows from participating farmers in the spring and returned them in the fall. The co-op rented the cows by measuring each cow's milk and then giving the owners half of the cheese and butter produced. The cooperative also relied on young women to perform the milking, cheese-making, and butter-churning tasks, employing as many as twenty girls for the summer. This enterprise gradually disappeared in the 1880s. One reason for this was the abundance of sheep in the valley; after they grazed an area, cattle would not touch it, nor, if it was overgrazed, could the cattle find sufficient grass.

After the Cache National Forest came into existence, the number of beef cattle and sheep on the forest lands was restricted by permit and the dairy herds became relegated to domestic acreage. They were no longer allowed free access to high mountain pastures. Individuals who owned pasture land or a lot of hayfields were able to succeed in maintaining a viable herd. A number of families forged large dairy enterprises, and the number of dairy cattle multiplied from 4,000 in 1880 to 16,000 thirty years later. Small cheese-and-butter operations replaced the cooperatives, but many farmers handled their own produce and distributed it privately. The dairy industry subsequently would go through a number of significant phases, but its Cache Valley history is a long and continuous one.⁵

Row and orchard crops benefited from the improved irrigation water supplies. Certain areas, including Providence, Greenville (North Logan), and, to a degree, Hyrum, were able to produce fruit in abundance. The east benches near the mouths of canyons where wind modified cold temperatures seemed the most successful fruit-growing areas. Peaches were introduced from Box Elder County, as were cherries, then apples, and pears. Besides water, the key to an orchard's success was a long autumn with cool nights and warm days. Blossoms could be destroyed by a late spring frost; cherries seemed most susceptible and less predictable. In 1881 the *Deseret News* reported that the fruit crop at Hyrum was excellent: "Beautiful



Farmers in Cache County switch from horsepower to gasoline power to work their fields. Two cycle IHC gasoline tractor being unloaded at the Petersboro spur. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

peaches were grown in a place where it was thought impossible to raise a peach.” The LDS church-owned newspaper concluded that the climate had been changed “by the blessings of God for the benefit of the Saints.”⁶

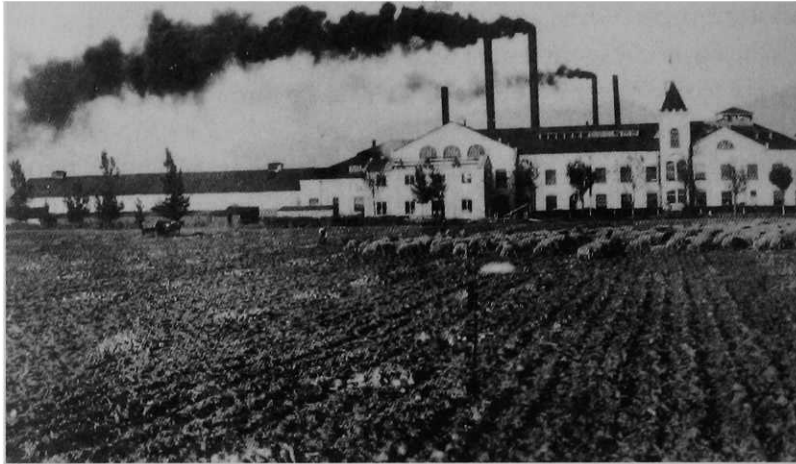
Many people planted a few fruit trees in their yards for their own needs. Apples of numerous varieties proved to be the most predictable and dependable fruit crop, and gradually peach and pear orchards diminished. Commercial orchards sold products valued at \$3,204 in 1890; by 1920 the value had risen to almost \$200,000. This diversification of agriculture also demonstrated the area farmers’ desire to use rocky bench land in a more productive manner. The new canals along the high benches allowed the orchards necessary water, and the result proved positive.⁷ A century later those same benches became the area’s most coveted residential land.

Probably no row crop caused such a dramatic change as sugar beets. The beets required labor-intensive work, including back-breaking thinning, tedious weeding, and topping. They were grown in

Utah on an experimental basis in the 1880s. A large production factory at Lehi showed that the market could sustain this new source of western sugar. When a sugar beet factory opened in Ogden, some Cache farmers experimented with the crop and shipped the product by rail to the Weber County facility. A glance through the LDS Cache Stake manuscript history and minute books shows how heavily debated the sugar industry was and how church leaders urged farmers to switch to sugar beets. It was one reason many pushed for longer and better canals.⁸

As early as 1889 the stake clerk reported that through the scientific culture of the sugar beet “it was now quite easy to obtain 18 per cent of sugar from them which made the manufacturing of sugar a very profitable investment.”⁹ It was claimed that a million dollars worth of sugar was imported into the state every year, and a committee was formed to convince a sugar production company to move to Cache Valley. The next year N. W. Kimball was called to head the committee, but he reported that gathering funds was difficult and interest was low. On 12 December 1890 Apostle Marriner W. Merrill spoke on the need to get involved in sugar making. He reported that Lehi had been awarded the factory but that Cache Valley farmers could buy stock worth \$50,000 in the company. Merrill also said the local stake had offered a \$40,000 bonus to a company that would establish a plant in Cache County.¹⁰ The next year Mormon church president Wilford Woodruff spoke on the topic of a local sugar factory and said he hoped that the Saints “would assist all in their power toward erecting that factory.”¹¹ Two years later church leader Joseph F. Smith spoke to the stake about the success of the Utah Sugar Factory in sacking 1.4 million pounds and preparing it for market.

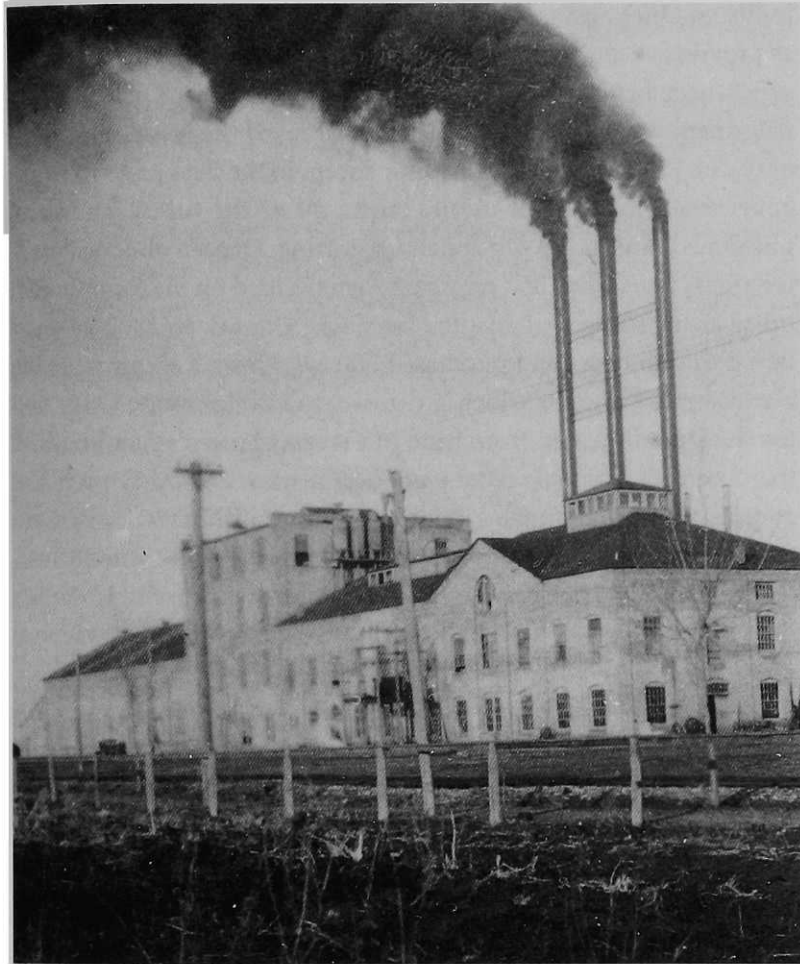
In the 1890s the Mormon church did not have capital because of its conflicts with the federal government over polygamy and the severe economic depression of 1893, so it relied on individuals to spearhead economic developments such as a sugar beet factory in Cache Valley. However, the local leaders had difficulty in building the factory. In July 1896 Bishop William Preston lamented that the people spent “so much for tea, coffee, and tobacco that they could build two sugar factories like the one in Lehi each year.”¹² While Apostle Merrill was advising the farmers to “not go into debt buying



Sugar beets were an important cash crop first decades of 20th century. Sugar Factory in Logan looking east, 1910. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

new farm machinery—repair what you have and there is enough to do the work,” local stake president Issac Smith in April 1897 reported that the sugar factory committee was still working. He then mentioned what ultimately helped the beet industry in Cache County: “Seeds will be distributed by the Experiment Station.” Leaders wanted someone in each ward to attempt to grow the crop.¹³ College researchers at the Utah Agricultural College thus helped the initial investment. The next year, however, the Spanish-American War broke out and the future of the sugar cane industry was briefly delayed. Joseph F. Smith summarized the impact of sugar when he told the Cache stake in 1901, “I presume you were never more prosperous in Logan than now because of the many thousands of dollars that are being paid out by the sugar factory to the people for beets. Now go out and get out of debt.”¹⁴

With the new Utah Agricultural College’s support, church encouragement, and both the Amalgamated Sugar and Utah-Idaho Sugar companies on the horizon, beets soon replaced wheat as Cache County’s main cash crop. Sugar beet production rose from 1,500 tons



Cornish Sugar Beet Factory, 1920. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

in 1900 to 105,000 tons in 1910; it then doubled in the next decade. By 1920 nearly 10,000 acres of Cache Valley farmland was growing sugar beets. At one time Lewiston, Amalga, Logan, Cornish, and Whitney all boasted thriving sugar beet refineries. Although the work was difficult, sugar beet farming provided a solid cash crop which continued into the 1960s.

Another agricultural development near the turn of the century was the dramatic rise (and subsequent meteoric fall) of the sheep

industry. Once again, college extension agents were involved as well as progressive and innovative ranchers. One of the most adventurous sheep breeders during this period was a former Cache County dairyman, Willard S. Hansen. Hansen believed the western foothills of Cache Valley were well suited for sheep. In the days prior to active government control of public lands, all of the forest lands and unclaimed rangelands were open for grazing. Hansen obtained grazing rights to nearly 5,000 acres and then decided on the Rambouillet breed as the sheep best adapted for Cache County. In 1890 he journeyed to California and purchased 300 ewes from a sheep ranching establishment. Soon his flock had grown to 1,300 animals. Other valley sheepmen learned from him, but it was Hansen's Rambouillets that first won national prominence for the area. Willard Hansen also continued his breeding experiments with draft horses, and Edwin Seely credited him with bringing the first Holstein cows into the valley. Apparently, Hansen also brought some assistance to his wife's domestic chores—he bought both a washing machine and a vacuum cleaner, one of the first in Cache County to do so.¹⁵

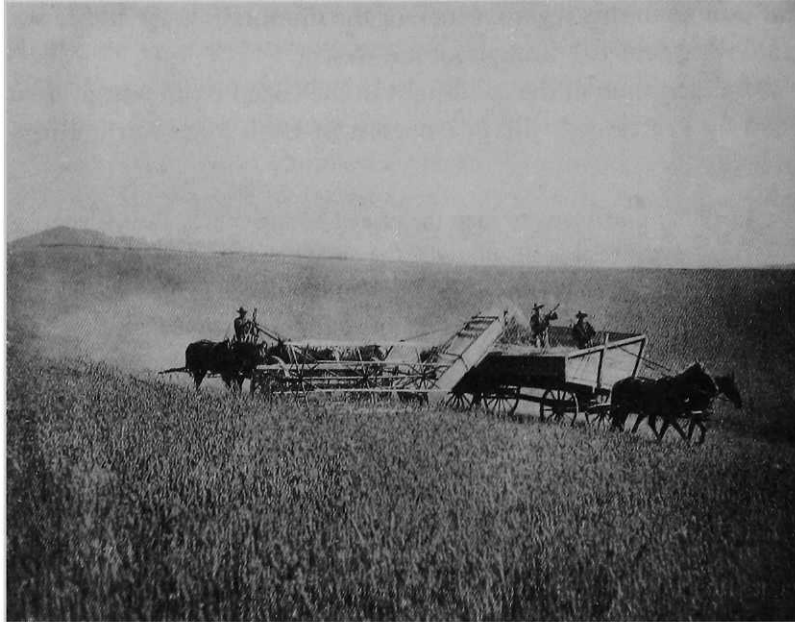
The success of Hansen and others with the sheep industry inspired many others; by 1900 the number of sheep in the county reached 300,000—a huge increase from the 10,000 in 1880. By 1900 over 1.5 million pounds of wool were being shipped annually or used by local manufacturers. A large wool grower's association developed in the county and the possibilities seemed endless. However, the success of local sheep production was based on the free grazing on forest land and the utilization of the desert lands west of Promontory in Box Elder County. Albert Potter, a Forest Service investigator, described the impact of sheep on the mountain terrain in 1903: "During 1901, there were 35,000 resident sheep and 25,000 transient sheep shown on the county records. As this represents not even two-thirds of the actual number it is safe to say that 150,000 sheep were grazed in the Logan River basin last year."¹⁶ The animals were beginning to severely damage the land and associated watershed. Potter went on to add that unless something was done in a big hurry the mountains would be void of grass, trees, and any means of controlling erosion, run-off, and subsequent flooding. Cache County was

not unique in this regard. Much of the mountain grass and forest lands were depleted throughout the West.

A description of the conditions in the Logan Basin was given in 1903 by Professor William Peterson of Utah State Agricultural College:

In 1903 I undertook to map the glacial geology of the Bear River range as a special problem under the direction of the University of Chicago. I knew this range intimately and proposed to work it with merely a saddle horse and a pack horse. The area covered was from Blacksmith Fork Canyon to Soda Springs on the north and from Cache Valley on the west to Bear Lake Valley on the east. My assignment was to traverse every canyon in its entire length to determine the amount of glaciation that had taken place and to represent such data on a map. As I had known the area, the tops of canyons and the high cirques had never been grazed, so I started with a small amount of grain, feeling that I could graze my animals as the work proceeded. I cannot over-exaggerate the conditions found. The first night out my animals were tied up to keep from wandering, because there was absolutely no feed available. I purposely visited the very head of the canyons, those areas which were most generally inaccessible, but greatly to my surprise sheep had been there and had transformed what had previously been a luxuriant growth of grass and flowers into a dirty, uninviting barren spot. Only one night do I remember I was able to graze the animals out and that was by partially building a trail that got the horses onto a ledge where sheep had not been able to climb. This was the only night of actual grazing given to my animals during the six or seven weeks I rode the Bear River range.¹⁷

In response to a petition of the Cache Valley citizens and Potter's survey, President Theodore Roosevelt established the Logan Forest Reserve on 29 March 1903. This reserve was transferred in 1905 to the Department of Agriculture and in 1908 was renamed the Cache National Forest.¹⁸ Although some private and state lands were maintained, all local federally owned mountain lands were included in the newly created Cache National Forest, and grazing was limited to a specified number of cattle and sheep. With permits required, the impact was immediate. By World War I the number of area sheep had



Some Cache County farmers adopt dry farming to produce wheat. Header cutting wheat near Clarkston, 1902. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

decreased to less than a third of what it had been at the turn of the century.¹⁹ The forest lands were preserved and reforestation, flood control, and supervision became a Forest Service obligation.

Dry, or non-irrigated, farming had been a possibility ever since settlement; but the hope was always that more water could be brought to more acres. There were thousands of acres on the foothills, benches, and along the west side of the Bear River that might produce if water could be distributed to them. The key to dry farming such land came from the Utah State Agricultural College's experimental work. By creating a more scientific agriculture based on crop rotation, seasonal plowing, land lying fallow, and new strains of grain, dry farming became practical and to some degree profitable. Indeed, many Cache Valley residents ventured into Box Elder County and into southern Idaho above Snowville, Utah, where they brought huge tracts of land under cultivation. Although the county only aver-

ages about sixteen inches of rainfall per year, proper dry farming can produce crops with only ten inches of rainfall.

Another important development that assisted dry farming was experiments done by the agricultural college on grain varieties. Winter wheat, spring wheat, and barley could all do quite well as dry-farm crops. Even alfalfa might produce two solid cuttings on some bench land. Wheat planted in the autumn would sprout, be covered by snow, and then grow again in the spring. This meant an early summer harvest. Plowing and then either planting a nitrogen-loaded grass or letting the land lay fallow a year allowed the land to reclaim its fecundity and also absorb moisture. Dry farming allowed Cache farmers to expand the number of acres producing wheat from 12,000 to 80,000 between 1880 and 1910; the bushels produced increased from 235,000 to 1.5 million for the same thirty-year period. When this was added to sugar beets and orchard production, it reveals that the valley was highly productive by World War I.²⁰

Much of this increased production was also due to a never-ending search for more water for the land. Most farmers still preferred taking their chances with irrigation before they would willingly go without water and try their luck and God's good nature on a dry farm. Long before sprinkler pipe, wells, and electric pumps, canals and ditches provided the lifeblood of Cache County. In the late nineteenth century, farmers found three ways to increase their water supply. The most significant was the construction of dams or impoundments that controlled run-off; this meant existing canals could carry water into the autumn. Second, farmers began using artesian wells; and, third, they constructed new and improved canal systems. Due to these efforts, over 40,000 additional acres in Cache Valley were brought under irrigation, and these improvements increased the irrigated acreage by 80 percent.²¹ Cache County's acres had become heavily utilized.

The primary storage facility on the west side, the Newton Dam (begun in 1871) was improved and enlarged repeatedly through the years. Although small-dam construction occurred on the Logan River, its main initial purpose was to produce hydroelectric power. However, the impoundment also guaranteed some distribution of water later in the growing season.²² Dam sites were also located on



Ceremony of turning on the Cache Junction Pumps, 3 July 1920. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

the Little Bear, Blacksmith Fork, and Cub rivers. Most of these dams were built during a later period, but the concept was established quite early. In part because of the idea of small reservoirs on the Logan River, a number of individuals decided to build a new canal quite high in Logan Canyon. Earlier Bishop William Preston had stated that “the question of our water supply is worthy of our consideration. Logan Canyon is of little use to us at present. Unless the government makes reserves these mountains will fall into private hands who will be oppressive.” Preston’s fears were allayed when the canyon was declared part of the forest reserve and a canal was constructed.²³

In some ways it not only was more costly but also more difficult to build new canals. The earlier time of being called to perform free labor for your community and its survival was gone. Also, farm prices were depressed for nearly twenty years from the 1870s to 1890s. In fact, S.M. Molen reported to the LDS Cache Stake that after “visiting many people as county assessor, . . . they do not know how they are going to make a living.” Farmers could not get cash to fund a canal, but the water companies were able to borrow money and then hire the work done. The two major area projects were the expansion of

the Logan, Hyde Park, and Smithfield Canal and the construction of the gigantic West Cache Canal.²⁴

The high canal left the Logan River at a diversion about three miles up the canyon. The path chosen took the canal high along the north side of the canyon. A tunnel was blasted through solid rock under the direction of Andrew Long, a former coal miner. The canal turned north into the present Logan Golf and Country Club and then made its way on the high bench nine miles through Smithfield and the present Birch Creek Golf Course. Men worked on the project in the winters and in the summer as time allowed between crops on their farms. The canal company ran out of money and eventually deeded to the workers land that would be served by the canal. By March 1884 the canal company minutes recorded that “Even the directors are discouraged enough that they haven’t the heart to attend directors meetings as the canal keeps breaking out.”²⁵ Finally, in 1887 Thatcher Brothers Bank foreclosed on the canal company. Two years later a new company was formed which bought the rights back from the bank. Thirty-seven men purchased 400 shares at five dollars a share, raising \$2,000. A watermaster was hired and twenty-five men worked during the winter of 1889–90. Flumes that had been bashed by falling rocks were replaced by pipe, although banks cut through the canyon walls still could be destroyed by rocks and then erosion. Water finally was delivered to 3,060 acres along the east side of the valley.²⁶

The West Cache Canal was begun in 1899 and when completed transported water over forty miles from near Riverdale, Idaho, to the Cornish-Trenton-Lewiston area. Over 17,000 acres were brought under cultivation by this lengthy canal, including land as far east as Amalga and Benson and south to Newton. The land was barely above the Bear River, but until that time only had been used for grazing and some dry farming. Consequently, the west side of the valley became considerably more attractive to constantly challenged farmers who were facing a changing economy. Now the land use could be diversified and crops like peas or beans or the new profitable sugar beets could be raised.

Agricultural productivity in Cache County rose quickly on the heels of the change in emphasis, especially in the sugar beet and dairy

industries. Both industries helped bring brilliant business and financial wizard David Eccles to the fore in Cache County business circles. The attempt to get a sugar beet processing factory followed quickly the new demand to grow beets. The LDS church was anxious to have the sugar beet industry succeed, and the church became the financial power behind the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, which constructed plants in Lehi, Garland, and Idaho Falls, Idaho. Due to the tariff policy of the United States during the 1890s, American beet sugar was able to compete in the marketplace with imported cane sugar. This led David Eccles and some of his associates to construct the first of their factories in Ogden. Again, with the cooperation of Utah State Agricultural College Extension Service, Cache Valley growers put thousands of acres into sugar beets. David Eccles and his good friend Charles Nibley combined their resources and eventually completed a factory near the juncture of the Logan and Blacksmith Fork rivers southwest of Logan. With a capacity to handle 350 tons of beets daily, the factory produced 45,000 one-hundred-pound bags of sugar in 1901. The next year Eccles combined his factory in Logan with the one in Ogden and another in La Grande, Oregon, to form the Amalgamated Sugar Company. A year later, in order to take advantage of the tremendous growth in the cultivation of beets in the Lewiston area, Eccles and Nibley, with others, constructed a plant in Lewiston. Both the Logan and Lewiston plants cost in excess of one-half million dollars. In 1914 the Lewiston plant also became part of the Amalgamated Sugar Company.²⁷

The combined production of these plants exceeded 130,000 tons by 1910, which were processed into 325,000 hundred-pound bags of sugar. More importantly, besides the wages paid to factory workers, the two factories paid out over one-half million dollars to county farmers. This was a dramatic departure from subsistence agriculture that characterized the previous two generations. The production continued to rise during World War I, even though the Underwood Tariff of 1913 lowered rates considerably.²⁸

The commercial processing of dairy products naturally followed the rise in the number of dairy cattle. In 1895 C. C. Lee of Logan built a small creamery at his residence in Logan and with his sons began buying milk from local dairymen. The men bought the machinery

necessary to make both butter and cheese. Six years earlier Lorenzo and Christian Hansen had tried to do the same in Wellsville, but when they ran into resistance from local farmers, they built the large dairy herd previously mentioned. As the Hansens' dairy operation developed, more local people were willing to sell their excess milk for cash. The breeds of dairy cows varied and opinions relative to Shorthorn, Jersey, Guernsey, and Holstein cattle created controversy. In 1894 Joseph Kimball returned from an Omaha stock show and reported that there "needed to be more care in the kind of stock being raised." Kimball claimed that the Shorthorn-Durham was the best type and that the "Holstein is not wanted." Time proved him wrong as far as Cache County producers were concerned.²⁹

During the 1890s other dairy plants in Millville, Logan, and Hyde Park were constructed. Many farmers, who were used to a harvest pay-off for wheat, other grains, and even beets, liked the more steady cash flow produced by milk cows. Hansen consolidated his enterprises and formed the Cache Valley Condensed Milk Company in 1904 with a condensery at the Logan plant. Since he concentrated on condensed and evaporated milk, Hansen determined to expand his sales to Salt Lake City. Using butter as his experimental product, Hansen negotiated with the railroad's Pacific Express Company (PEC) on a fair price for shipment. The PEC wanted one dollar per hundred pounds of butter or condensed milk; Hansen thought that was outrageous and offered to pay sixty cents. With Hansen threatening to organize his own freight business, the PEC basically challenged him to go ahead. Hansen purchased eight mules, four draft horses and a wagon and established a relay system with four animals at each station. Carrying a ton and a half of product, Hansen's teams made four trips a week and returned with supplies for Logan's merchants. Within two years the PEC came to terms and asked him "to take them damn mules off the road."³⁰

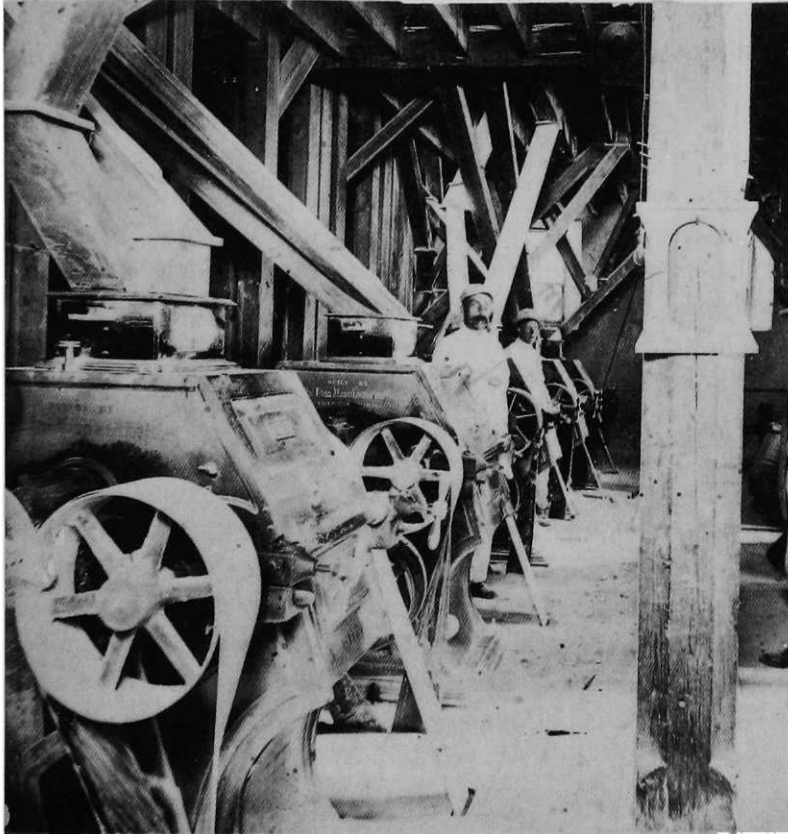
In the meantime, in 1900 Marriner W. Merrill and his friends from Richmond created the Cache Valley Dairy Association and opened a plant on High Creek. A cheese plant was built west of Smithfield in 1892. Combining with other groups, J. B. Rackliff, a native of Maine, built the Utah Condensed Milk Company factory near Richmond in 1902 and began marketing condensed milk under

the label "Sego." David Eccles became a primary partner in the company. This plant handled 40,000 pounds of milk daily, year around. All of these plants also paid wages to men to work year around. These plants supplied dairy products to much of the Mountain West, and the Cache Valley dairy groups made a tremendous impact on the regional economy.³¹

Another agricultural industry that mushroomed late in the nineteenth century was flour milling. Dry farming related directly to this development because the increased amount of wheat harvested made possible modern milling facilities. The smaller gristmills of pioneer times were designed for private enterprises at a community level. Still, each community maintained a small gristmill up until World War I. The larger commercial operations converted to roller mills, and the market for their products expanded far beyond the borders of the valley. The Thatcher Mill, constructed in 1879 and later enlarged several times, milled over 1,000 bushels of wheat daily; when grain elevators were added as storage facilities, its capacity increased to 40,000 bushels. Central, Gilt Edge, and Deseret mills all tried to follow the Thatcher lead to improve their storage facilities in order to create a year-round industry. In fact, the sugar beet, dairy, and grain farmers increased their production so dramatically that they could support related processing industries on a year-round basis.³²

Near the turn of the century, the wool industry developed. Due to large amounts of local wool and the availability of many female laborers, John A. Hendrickson established a knitting works upstairs in his Logan home. He sent a Mrs. A. Crouch to Salt Lake City to learn how to run a knitting machine, and when she returned she supervised and taught eight young women to run the knitting machines. They started by knitting stockings and marketing them locally. There had long been female-oriented cottage industries in the United States, and Cache County was no exception. Many women used their skills and available resources to knit, crochet, bake, quilt, sew, or do a variety of other things to supplement their family incomes. So, just as some young women milked cows for pay, others operated knitting machines.³³

The demand soon exceeded Hendrickson's upstairs facility's abil-



Interior of Central Mill, Logan, circa 1907. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

ity to produce, and he expanded to a small building with twelve girls. He also subcontracted to a Providence family who had their own machine and experimented with knit caps, skirts, and other products. Hendrickson saw a huge potential market in underwear as well as LDS church temple garments. Sensing that bulky and uncomfortable woolen underwear could be replaced, he bought a special knitting machine from Switzerland. Claiming to manufacture the first seamless underwear in the West, his company, the Cache Knitting Mills, prospered. Advertising its product as the “neat and trim union suit guaranteed to fit alike from morn until night,” the company’s catalogue offered underwear made of worsted woolen yarn in white,

cream, gray, cardinal, and blue and pink stripes. Local wags felt that red or cardinal underwear helped relieve one's rheumatism.³⁴

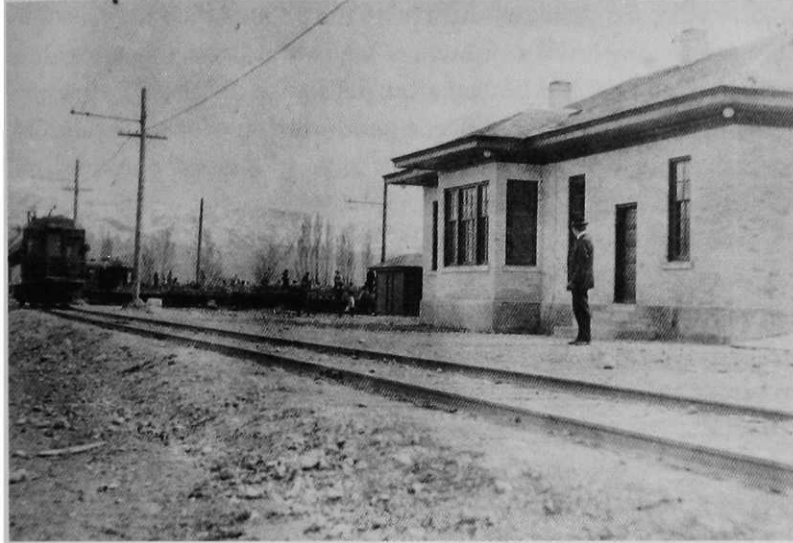
The new knitting machine could produce up to six suits of underwear per day. As orders grew, new machines were purchased and underwear became a business that brought in over \$50,000 annually. Socks, caps, and other items were still manufactured, but Cache union suits soon were being sold throughout the western United States. Hendrickson hired salesmen on commission and sent them into retail stores to market the product.

Only a few months after the manufacture of union suits began, Hendricks decided to meet with LDS church officials and convince them that temple garments, a type of union suit underwear, could be manufactured commercially. With an obvious concern about distribution and privacy, church officials were skeptical, but Hendrickson convinced them that a well-made, standardized, and comfortable product was far superior to what was available. The approval was granted and the new items, with a guaranteed market, sold very well.

Hendrickson's success and ingenuity prompted others to quickly enter the business of knitting. By 1905 there were three other mills, the M. J. Fannesbeck Company, the Logan Knitting Factory, and the Union Knitting Mills. All were located in Logan and depended on local wool as well as wool from Bear Lake, Star Valley, and the upper Teton valleys where many Cache residents' relatives were in the sheep business.³⁵

However, the success of the industry depended on an abundance of available female labor. The pay was low and the work intensive, but the women were willing to work. A few worked in the creameries; however, there was not much other work available. During this period many employers paid their employees in produce, scrip, and some cash, which enabled the owners to increase profits. Some owners actually went out to farms, bought produce at a low price, and then paid their employees with eggs, butter, or vegetables. Often they could purchase store scrip at a discounted level and then pay off their employees at its face value. The scrip system was finally abandoned about the year 1910. There is no recorded attempt of Cache Valley workers to protest, organize, or form a union.

As mentioned previously, public utilities became a major part of



First Utah-Idaho Central train to enter Lewiston, 26 February 1915.
(Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

Cache County's history near the turn of the century. Prior to the formation of public utilities commissions and state management agencies, there was a scramble for utility service in specific areas. The rural areas received service last because of their fewer potential customers, but competition developed, which meant that service came earlier than it might have otherwise.

Telephone service came to Cache County at Logan in 1883, with a Mrs. A. Edwards as the first operator. Three years later three homes and fourteen businesses had phone service. The construction of telephone poles for each line made a visual eyesore, yet that was the only technology available. It took nearly a decade to include the other communities on the exchanges. In Logan the wide city streets and general absence of alleys meant that telephone lines, electric light lines, and electric railway trolley lines all ran down the middle of the streets. Some of the scaffolding poles from the recently completed LDS temple was used as poles for the telephone and power lines.³⁶

A person had to make all phone calls through an operator, who physically connected the lines at a switchboard. This situation continued until the late 1950s. In the earliest days a long-distance call

required that the customer must go to the phone office and talk. The phone company hired a messenger who would run, bike, or ride a horse to find people who had a long-distance call. By the time the person got to the phone office, a good portion of the community knew there was a call and many went to the phone company to share the news.

Although the Rocky Mountain Bell Company first brought consistent service to the area, it later became part of the giant American Telephone and Telegraph system. Although small private exchanges existed in many of the communities, the AT&T network provided efficiency and reliability. The phone created a communications revolution. With party lines, long distance, and intercommunity lines, the valley was tied together as never before. Doctors and nurses could be called immediately during a crisis. Being able to call for help rather than send someone became very important. Schools could be connected to each other and friends could communicate with one another. The lines literally tied communities together, and their impact cannot be diminished. The multiparty lines were a nuisance and a source of considerable humor, but they did perform a valuable service for years.³⁷

It is difficult to realize that domestic electricity is only a century old. As an integral part of everyday life, it is an integral part of modern life, including refrigeration, television, radio, milking machines, and many other devices. It is totally central to the culture. Electricity came to Cache Valley when Gustave Lundberg and Christian Garff petitioned the city council for the privilege of enlarging the Benson and Thatcher millrace in 1880 to generate electrical power. They were concerned that the smoke from the installation had "become offensive to some people living near our shops and realizing the danger from fire to others as well as ourselves arising from the use of steam power to drive our machinery." This small plant may have been the first in Utah to provide incandescent electric lighting. Five years later Garff and Lundberg sought an exclusive franchise to provide the city of Logan with electricity. The city council gave a franchise but refused to make it exclusive. The city was invited to subscribe to half of the stock but could not legally do so. The Logan Electric Light and Power Company was organized in 1886 with a capital stock of \$5,000. The

city commissioners, as private citizens, bought half of the stock. The city originally ordered five lights, with the mill to “provide the electricity to the city at night.” Who needed electricity during the day? Times changed that provision dramatically. The small direct-current arc machine provided the lighting at fifteen dollars per lamp each month. Logan’s citizens awaited further experimentation and perhaps home use.³⁸

In late 1886 the city decided it could own the electric business and bought out its commissioners’ interests. Two years later it also purchased the Lundberg and Garff equipment. The city then moved the arc machine to the mill of C. W. Card on south Main Street. By using water from the Logan River, the city reduced the average cost to \$6.66 per month. However, the tiny little plant could not compete with the equipment of larger companies which moved into Cache County in the 1890s.³⁹

The Logan Power, Light, and Heating Company joined with the Hercules Power Company in 1900. Those two companies had brought electricity to most of Logan and envisioned sending power lines throughout the county. However, individual towns also sought their own sources of power. The Hercules Company appropriated additional Logan River water and began building a dam above the second dam on the river. The company built a 3,000-horsepower generating plant and pioneered a long-distance power line from Logan to Bingham, Utah. This company died within one year, however, and Logan Power Company picked up their pieces. The new company was a division of the powerful new Telluride Power Company of Colorado, pioneers in hydroelectric power, headed by L. L. Nunn, the company’s founder. Quickly finishing the plant and line to Bingham, the company provided good quality service to Logan by the use of hydroelectric power, and they did the same for Provo and many other Colorado and Utah communities. Nunn’s innovation was to build the first commercial alternating-current generating plant in the country. The company took lines into many mining camps of the West, but it also provided good service to communities. In 1912 Nunn sold his Logan River holdings to the Utah Power and Light Company. Five years later Nunn relocated in California and established an experi-

mental college, Deep Springs College, on a ranch in a high mountain desert valley.

Nunn's company had difficulty in Logan, like many companies had and do, because they were "outsiders." Consequently, Logan's city council decided in 1902 to build the city's own power plant. The city offered Telluride \$20,000 for its lines, poles, and supplies; but the weak offer was rejected. The city then bonded to build a new plant.⁴⁰ In a short time the mouth of Logan Canyon was crowded with generating facilities. Since Logan could not build its line within four feet of the Telluride line, for a time Logan suffered from two sets of electrical lines and poles down the center of its streets.

Logan City's venture into the electricity business has always created controversy. Its station was submerged at one point and the rate war with Telluride almost ruined the city. Some civic groups felt that private enterprise should control the power business, but Logan City officials held on, as did Hyrum City. Hyrum built its own system on the Blacksmith Fork River and eventually provided power for the town and some outlying south end regions. The High Creek Power Company in Richmond tried to supply the north end of the valley with electrical power. It struggled with an insufficient water supply, and in 1913, the year after Telluride did the same, it sold its holdings to Utah Power and Light Company.⁴¹

States came up with utilities commissions as part of the reforms of the Progressive period, and utilities competition became a thing of the past. Responsibility to customers and control of prices became a state regulatory function. Utah Power and Light basically took over supplying power to most of the county, while Logan and Hyrum retained their independent operations. Small phone companies existed in the north end of the valley, but Mountain Bell's monopoly finally came.

The development of utilities came about in part because there were also new combinations of banking interests that influenced trade. Banking became an essential part of Cache County's economic growth during this period. Each institution deserves a place in history. The Thatcher Brothers Banking Company opened in 1883 with the primary purpose of lending money to the growing commercial and industrial establishments of Cache Valley. The bank, a partner-

ship among many local men, invested deeply in a variety of Cache County enterprises—especially mercantile, milling, and retail shops and small industries. The Thatcher Bank had a direct tie to Moses Thatcher and his economic holdings. Consequently, some people felt an outside bank might do well in Cache County; if there was opposition to Thatcher, they hoped to find it. With James Z. Stewart as the first president and W. S. McCornick running the operations, Midwestern investors created the First National Bank of Logan in 1892. Thomas Smart, a prominent sheepman, joined other successful agricultural men as primary shareholders, and the success of the venture was guaranteed.⁴²

George H. Champ, also from the Midwest, organized the Utah Mortgage and Loan Company in 1892. Champ made real estate loans on both agricultural and personal property and then sold the loans on eastern markets. Champ's venture meant that he maintained close ties with other banking institutions, so it was no surprise for many to see Moses Thatcher and W. S. McCornick on his board of directors; and, in fact, early banking in Logan was somewhat incestuous, with the same individuals on the boards of various banks. Champ was a pioneer in extending long-term credit for land mortgages throughout the area. A nearby institution providing personal contact meant a lot to local people. Cache Valley Bank grew out of Utah Mortgage and Loan. However, nearly every community—Lewiston, Richmond, Smithfield, Cache Junction, Wellsville, Hyrum, and Trenton—had locally owned banks at one time or another. All except for the Lewiston Bank were later absorbed into larger institutions.⁴³

The final industrial development of significance during this period was the county's brief and sporadic mining industry. Cache County has been prospected, claimed, and then prospected again. Mining districts were organized and numerous companies formed, but few valuable ores have been located. In the 1870s there was some serious prospecting activity, but nothing substantial developed. Then, in the 1890s, thirty years after the big precious-metal strikes in Idaho and Montana, mining hit Utah big time and Cache Valley to a degree. The coal deposits of Carbon and Emery counties and the Park City silver mines brought prospectors and speculators galore.

In 1893 the LDS Cache Stake clerk reported that "Mining mat-



Miners working inside Sundown Mine, La Plata, 1892. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

ters are once again attracting a share of the public attention.” Then he reported with great optimism that a mine in Devil’s Gate in Logan Canyon, the Emerald claim in Smithfield, and the Nielsen Mine in the left hand fork of the Blacksmith Fork all seemed “destined to create considerable of a mining fever in the near future.”⁴⁴ A fever does not necessarily mean wealth, yet optimism flourished. A week later the *Deseret News* reported that a lost mine had been found in Cache County: “the ore appears to carry more silver than gold . . . coal has been found about seventy-five miles west of Snowville in Curlew



Frederick Percival Champ, 1896–1976, prominent businessman and banker of Cache County. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

Valley, Idaho.”⁴⁵ In 1894 the three recognized mining districts of Cache County—Paradise, Hyrum, and Richmond—had 253 mines registered. The claims listed silver, lead, copper, iron, coal, and gold. Many of the registered claims had to show work year after year in order to “prove up” the claims.

The real mining hot spot of the 1890s was the southeastern corner of the county, at the mountain site of La Plata where a sheepherder reported a whole mountain of rich silver-lead vein. The Salt Lake City assay office confirmed the quality of the ore and prospectors soon flocked to the site. The road from La Plata to Logan was soon filled with prospectors coming from all over the West. A boomtown existed, with saloons, hotels, shacks, and dance halls. The Thatcher Brothers Bank bought the sheepherder’s original claim for \$10,000, so now a Logan business owned what was called the Sundown Mine. According to David Lewis, ore was shipped north into Logan and then taken by rail to Salt Lake City. For a brief time



Mine tailings of the Sundown Mine, La Plata, 1892. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

La Plata flourished; but it soon declined, and by the turn of the century it had almost reached ghost-town status.⁴⁶

Other mines in the region also flourished for a brief time. H.C. Hansen was consistently active for many years in the Logan Canyon area and was part of the Amazon Mine ownership. The Amazon, located thirty-five miles up Logan Canyon, had ore assayed with silver, gold, lead, and copper. Five tons of the ore sold for a \$1,000 a ton in Salt Lake City, and the *Logan Journal* reported that this was very encouraging to the people of the valley. Numerous other mines including the Blue Bell Copper Mine in the Paradise District and the Cache Mammoth in Logan Canyon created tremendous interest and some ore. The Blue Bell shipped two million pounds of copper ore, but it faded as cheaper and more accessible ore was mined in Bingham Canyon in Salt Lake County.

In reality, mining was never of great economic importance in the



Park-A-Mine in Hyde Park Canyon, 1920. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

county and, although miners still fiddled with their claims, the *Salt Lake Mining Review* listed only nine mines as operating in the county between 1899 and 1928; none operated beyond 1919. Still, an observer can almost find some type of mining residue in every canyon of the county. Each mine has a history including some work by pick and shovel, wheelbarrow, or hand drill. Some were blasted, and the piles of rock dumped outside a narrow shallow entrance have left a scar on the countryside. Each mine with its interesting name still stirs memories and excitement in many, but none produced much ore.⁴⁷ That may actually have been good, because, as a result, there were none of the smelting, pollution, and associated difficulties that came to characterize other mining districts in the West. Indeed, extensive mining may have too severely taxed the fragile mountain environment that the county depended upon.

The agriculture and related industries that did develop fit the valley well. Financial, governmental, and educational institutions were well established. In fact, the county's environment in part defined its future. When the Logan Forest Preserve that evolved into the Cache National Forest became a reality by President Theodore Roosevelt's decree in 1903, unlimited timber cutting, livestock grazing, and quarry excavation became things of the past. Part of becoming a

national partner was the realization that the spectacular scenic beauty of the county's canyons, rivers, and mountains must be preserved and shared.

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45. See David R. Lewis, "La Plata, 1891–93, Boom, Bust, and Controversy," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (Winter 1982): 4–21.
46. H.C. Hansen, "Mining in Cache County: Past, Present, Future Outlook," 1946, typescript in USUSC.
47. *Ibid.*

EARLY EDUCATION

As Americans and as churchmen we did the right thing to take hold of school work in Utah. There were no public schools in the American sense among the Mormons.

—EPISCOPAL BISHOP DANIEL S. TUTTLE

Education is one of the most important and dynamic facets of contemporary Cache County. Public education has replaced private learning as the primary route of students; however, in early Cache County that was not really the case. Mormon settlers throughout the West established small ward schools which were often seasonal and definitely church controlled. Although the Mormon church established the University of Deseret in Salt Lake City, its primary concern remained physically conquering the arid West. As Mormons had moved under duress from Ohio to Missouri to Illinois and on to Utah, they never totally became a part of American public education, one of the nation's grand commitments. Like many other agrarian Americans of the time, education was a luxury for families who needed hands to milk, plant, weave, weed, sew, can, and harvest. In the territory of Utah and Cache County, permanence finally became

the lot of the Mormons and they could begin to assist in the development of public education at all levels. In the meantime, the local communities and private non-Mormon church schools filled the educational gap. The story of Cache County's evolution toward a highly educated community is very significant.

Early schools were an important way for some citizens to collect an income. Churches as well as some homes and public buildings served as schools, and a small tuition was paid for each term. In a few cases the tuition was sixty cents, in others \$1.50; for some, tuition was paid in produce, but it was not free. In Logan a small school and public building was completed by January 1860 and Edward Smith was employed as a teacher. As each ward under the Logan charter of 1865 built schools, a number of teachers came and went. Using donations of rock, lumber, paint, books, bushels of wheat, and labor, four adobe school structures existed in Logan by 1870.¹ Small schools were built in Smithfield and Wellsville within years of the communities' founding. George Barber used his home as a writing school "in compliance with urgent request of a number of the brethren." Barber's statement indicates the role of the church in education to assist its people. A few months later James S. Cantwell began holding school during the winter in a log building.

Hyde Park residents built a schoolhouse in 1863 and Providence citizens built on the current grade-school site about the same time. Since there was little tax money or cash available, a bushel and a half of wheat per quarter was the tuition. This method of payment of tuition to teachers was common for many years. Local communities had total control of their schools; but gradually both Cache County and Logan City developed school districts, although it took a long time for this to take place.

Cache County appointed a school superintendent as early as 1860, and many of the county's prominent residents such as William Hyde, Samuel Roskelley, Moses Thatcher, William Budge, and John T. Caine, Jr., rotated through the office during the first few decades after settlement. Ida I. Cook, one of the area's premier teachers, served as superintendent of county schools during the early 1880s. It was certainly a position of little pay (William Budge got seventy-five dollars), essentially a committee chair who tried to coordinate the

quality of education. John Caine wrote that in the early days “it was thought that people who were not much good at anything else would do to teach school.”²

The primary schools stressed reading, writing, spelling, and basic arithmetic. A little later curriculum expanded to include penmanship, history, personal hygiene, and some science. Students were provided slates and slate pencils, erasure cloths, and elementary reading material. Discipline was stern and often included spanking, slapping, and temporary expulsion.

The county court, which had authority for schools, was responsible for the decision to create numerous school districts that corresponded with LDS ward or community boundaries. Consequently, by 1864 there were twenty-three districts in the county, and William B. Preston, James H. Martineau, and S. M. Blair served as a board of examiners who determined whether or not teachers met qualifications. Although Logan eventually became one school district, as late as 1886 there were still seventeen separate districts in the rest of the county. Territorial officials hired a superintendent who recommended textbooks and began approving a legitimate academic curriculum. The various districts’ trustees and teachers slowly began to enter the territorial system.

The only guaranteed financial support for schools prior to 1874 was tuition fees and local taxes. After 1874 the Utah Territorial Legislature made regular appropriations to be apportioned on a school-age per capita basis, but the total appropriation was only \$15,000 a year. In order to get money, the districts were required to operate a school at least three months of each year. The teachers’ pay remained very low; it usually averaged around forty dollars per month as late as 1880. The fact is that not many potential students attended school, and those who did received an uneven education.³

When Logan consolidated its LDS ward districts into one school district in 1872, the city was one of the first Utah communities to do so. The district, under the direction of trustees Charles Card, Alvin Crocket, and Robert Davidson, decided in 1872 to open a high school under the leadership of Ida I. Cook. Cook’s school was really a county school located at Lindquist Hall in Logan, which “the more advanced pupils of the various settlements may attend and become . . . pre-

pared for the business of teaching.” During the winter 110 pupils attended, and thirty-one of those were from adjacent settlements.⁴ The tuition was five dollars per quarter unless you were from Logan, where tuition was half that amount. The county non-residents paid twice as much tuition. If students could not pay fees in cash, wood, wheat, or other items in-kind would be accepted. Board records are filled with decisions on whether the board should expel a student whose family had not paid the previous month’s tuition.

The schools consistently suffered from poor attendance, and the statistics from the county are very revealing. Of the 1,804 school-age children in 1867, only 1,035 were enrolled in schools, and many of those did not attend. In 1875 Logan had 577 children between the ages of six and sixteen, but less than half of them were in school. By 1880 the county situation had worsened considerably. There were now 4,022 potential students under the age of eighteen, but only 2,389 were enrolled and less than 1,700 actually attended a school. The average teacher’s salary was about \$250 a year and the communities seemed unwilling or unable to tax for additional buildings or teachers.⁵ The Protestant mission schools, to be discussed later, picked up some slack, but the *Logan Leader* recognized the fundamental problem in a scathing 1881 editorial:

And still the school question in this city remains unsolved. Soon the time for opening the schools will be upon us, when somebody’s children, to the number of three hundred at least, will have to be DEBARRED ENTRANCE TO OUR DISTRICT SCHOOLS. What a commentary on Logan, the Queen city of the North, the Grannery of Utah. With all our wealth and prosperity, over one-third of our school population must depend on mission schools . . . we cannot but deprecrate [sic] the feeling that has led a minority to defeat the wishes of nearly two-thirds of our citizens on the school question.⁶

Logan responded with a 1 percent tax to build new schools, but the schools were still operating at the ward level even though the district had consolidated. The voters seemed unwilling to provide equal access to all for a public education. The city of Logan had 900 children between the ages of six and eighteen, but local schools only had

seating space for 505 youngsters. Even though tuition was much higher at the private schools, they provided the only alternative for some students. Cache County school superintendent William Apperly campaigned throughout the county for increased support of education.

Apperly speculated that if the communities were willing to assess a 2 percent tax, it could solve the construction and maintenance problem. The cost in 1885 to educate a youngster was \$2.71 per term, but parents were only paying \$1.87. Apperly painted a very vivid picture to each town. He said there were 2,638 children enrolled, but 2,022 did not attend any district school at all. The bottom line for the aggressive superintendent was that "As only 36% of our children actually attended school, many of those enrolled attended but a short time. Adding 3 per cent for number attending mission schools leaves 61 per cent of the children in Cache County that are growing up in ignorance."⁷

School property in the county was worth about \$45,000; but, by 1885, general taxable property was valued at over \$2 million. Apperly realized that most of the people were not even a generation away from log cabin one room schools; but he maintained that in order to compete in a modern economy, the district must respond through education. Apperly tried to convince the citizens that the "greatest boon we can transfer to posterity is the establishment of free schools." He concluded his tour by requesting that the press and the community leaders cooperate to advocate free public education. Wellsville and Hyrum immediately responded by voting for school taxes a year after rejecting them in an earlier election. The situation remained critical in those towns. Hyrum only had school room for 250 children, which meant 300 stayed home. Many were too far removed from the Protestant mission schools.

One of the leading educators in Cache County was Ida I. Cook. A former teacher at the University of Deseret, the tall, black-haired educator was impressive in appearance as well as being a notorious disciplinarian. Prior to becoming the Logan school superintendent in 1891, she served in a variety of teaching capacities, including instructor and principal of Brigham Young College. In 1876 Cook's contract was ninety dollars a month "if the school makes it, if not eighty dol-

lars per month, if the school makes \$100 a month or over, she is to receive one hundred dollars a month.” This was a very high salary and was tied directly to the school’s ability to attract paying students. Cook must have succeeded—most teachers were not getting ninety dollars a month as late as 1912.⁸

In 1892 Cook became the principal of the Logan schools at a salary of one hundred dollars a month. After some type of dispute, she resigned the next year; but the board refused to accept her resignation. Instead, it combined the principal’s job with that of superintendent and offered her \$1,500 per year to take the position. She accepted with the proviso that she be given a free hand in running the affairs of the district. Cook hired a number of highly trained teachers out of the University of Chicago and, utilizing Salt Lake City’s district rules, she outlined behavioral regulations and duties relative to board, staff, students, and faculty. She assigned teachers to schools and also handled discipline questions. Cook, a stern disciplinarian, suspended a teacher who repeatedly hugged and kissed young students and then tried his charms on a female teacher. When his female colleague protested, Cook reviewed the case and fired the male teacher. She dismissed another teacher who frequented Logan’s saloons and refused to change his ways. One of her duties was examining prospective teachers’ credentials, and she did most of the hiring. She utilized the school board’s assistance through a variety of committees. The innovative administrator also professionalized janitorial staffs and hired workers for summer maintenance.⁹

Ida Cook claimed that she only had physical room for half of the potential Logan students in 1893. The overcrowded conditions were extremely hard on the teachers after 1890 when a territorial public school law required compulsory attendance for those under fourteen. That law also helped the financing of the public schools; but it spelled the end of many private schools in Cache County.

Accurate school records are not easily obtained, especially prior to the consolidation movement in 1908. One county superintendent, E.W. Greene, a Protestant minister, visited each school in the fall of 1891. The superintendent, under territorial law, was to coordinate school activities; but the local wards and precincts still chose their own teachers. Greene did have the responsibility of apportioning

monies on a per capita basis, but he could only observe what was being done in each of the district schools. It is assumed that each district board of trustees received his report; but, like any touring coordinator, he was undoubtedly amazed by the differences in teachers and facilities. Mostly he talked about the teachers and their capacity to perform their tasks. The following citations from his notebook illustrate the variety of teachers and circumstances:

September 29, 1891:

Visited Mr. Lee's school at Benson. Mr. Lee is a fairly good Teacher.

October 5, 1891:

Visited Mr. Anderson's school in Hyrum. Mr. Anderson is not a first class teacher. His use of language is not good and he is a poor disciplinarian.

October 6, 1891—Hyrum

Miss Lucy Parkinson is a first class primary grade Teacher.

October 7, 1891

Visited Mr. Joshua Homer's school in Clarkston. Mr. Homer is in no way fitted for school room work.

October 8, 1891

Visited Miss Josephine Turner's school, Millville. Miss Turner is a very good teacher. She keeps good order and is superior to the average teacher.

October 13 Newton

Mr. James keeps good order and is doing the best he can. His is not particularly bright.

October 29

Visited Miss Cynthia Burnham's school at Trenton. Miss Burnham is an excellent teacher, and should be in a larger school.¹⁰

It is interesting to note that Greene had no pattern that made real sense in his visits. October in Cache County is spectacularly beautiful and he may have just enjoyed traveling through the valley. Many young teachers were only involved in the profession for a short time. One was H. J. Bullen in Richmond, whom Greene described as being "hardly fit for school work." Bullen moved onto a very successful

ranching and business career, and Greene may have simply preferred female teachers.

Mormonism inspired many Protestant missionaries to come to Utah. Polygamy may have been one of the main reasons for missionaries to come into the area, but there were also many people in Utah who had tired of Mormonism and wanted contact with another Christian religion. Either way, numerous denominations made their way into Cache County after Episcopal Bishop Daniel Tuttle and Rev. William Stoy came to Logan in the winter of 1873 on the Utah and Northern Railroad.

Mission schools played a very important role in Cache County's educational history. Tuttle said that the schools were the "backbone of Episcopalian missions," and he believed education might even be more important than religion to some people. Many active Mormons as well as those who had left the church sent their children to the Protestant schools. According to Tuttle, "They said they wanted their children to get a good education and they declared that our schools were the best places in the territory for them to get this education."¹¹ The St. John's parish school opened in 1873 and remained in operation for twenty-three years. Bishop Tuttle used a scholarship system to assist poor students to attend St. John's. He gave 500 forty-dollar scholarships during his twenty-one years of service. The facilities were limited and very selective, yet with sister schools in Plain City and Ogden, numerous area youngsters received an excellent education. Joseph Richardson, one of the New York partners in the Utah and Northern Railroad venture, secured the site for the building and helped significantly in its construction.¹²

Another school of great interest and considerable impact was the New West Education Commission's school at Trenton in northern Cache County. The New West group was organized in Chicago in 1879 by the Congregational church. Eastern philanthropists gave money for the support of its tuition-free schools until 1893. Again, the Congregationalists viewed Utah as potentially fertile ground because of religious dissent and the weakness of public education. In Utah the Congregational church had twenty-six schools with 2,500 students by 1889. Nearly three-fourths of the students came from LDS households. The New West schools also featured a circulating

library wherever they had a school. The school in Trenton and a sister Cache Valley school in Oxford, Idaho, both attracted highly qualified and committed eastern teachers. Carrie Hunt of Worcester, Massachusetts, and Gertrude Samson of Smith College both taught there, and they taught elocution, music, and hygiene as well as more expected topics. One Mormon graduate of the schools said, "The only religion that was taught was an invocation and scriptural reading at the beginning of the day."¹³

The records for the New West Trenton school show that on average 40 percent of the pupils were non-Mormon. The number of school-age children fluctuated between fifty-five and eighty, but only 20 percent of the children did not attend school. This was much less than the county average. In Trenton, both Mormons and non-Mormons attended the district school as well as the New West school. The New West schools were only active for a short time, but the quality of teaching was so high that their impact was very great.¹⁴

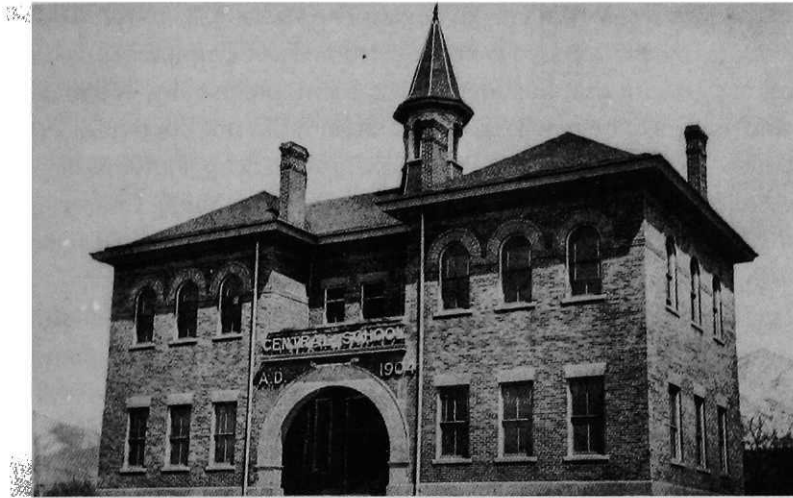
Florence S. Crosby, a Massachusetts teacher whose desire was to bring Christianity to Mormon Utah, was a teacher in the New West mission school at Cornish, which was considered part of Trenton. She wrote to the New West *Gleaner* in 1888 and reported to the supporting Congregational church on a significant event in her teaching ministry. One of her students, a fourteen-year-old boy named Albert Sandberg, had died of pneumonia in February 1888. Crosby wrote that upon the death of his son, Adam Sandberg came to the school and requested that she conduct the funeral. The elder Sandberg said, "I am no Mormon and I don't want any Mormon doing over my boy. Christian friends cared for him and I want him to have a Christian burial. You may take charge of everything and have the service where you please." The depth of both religious conviction and misunderstanding is revealed by her report. She postulated that not "10 of the people had ever seen a Christian funeral" and expressed doubts about Mormon beliefs in the resurrection. Mormons were Christians and did believe in the resurrection, though this may not always have been clear to other people.¹⁵

Crosby gathered her students on Saturday and they cleaned the school for the funeral, "doing all that loving hands could do as our last tribute to the dead." Using a student choir, with herself as accom-

panist on the organ, the students sang, she prayed, they sang again, and then Florence Crosby delivered a thirty-minute sermon. The school was filled to capacity, including many local Mormon leaders; she recalled: "At first my voice trembled, but soon grew strong and . . . I seemed to hold every eye." They then took the body to the cemetery three miles away through deep snow and laid young Albert to rest with his teacher officiating. Many young people died in early Cache County, but the Sandberg death can stand for all because it illustrates the role of school, schoolmates, and teachers in the lives of young people. The mission schools, LDS schools, and later public schools played an important role in bringing a democratic spirit to the communities.¹⁶

Other private religious schools of significance included the Methodist church schools, which tried to focus on Scandinavians in Utah. A number of Danish and Swedish people converted to Mormonism and immigrated to Utah. For a variety of reasons, some became disaffected with Mormonism, and Methodist missionaries responded by giving the Utah Scandinavians a religious and educational alternative. The Rev. Martinus Nelson, a native of Norway, led the Logan school and mission during the late 1880s. Nelson brought women missionaries with him and organized a Women's Home Missionary Society with two teachers identified simply as Miss Sweet and Miss Dryden. Their school stood at the site of the southeast corner of Main and Center streets, but this school did not last long. The Methodist missionaries moved on and the church eventually merged with the Presbyterian church.¹⁷

The Presbyterian mission schools came to Utah shortly after Rev. Daniel Tuttle established St. Johns Episcopal School in Logan. Presbyterians had eleven schools with 800 day pupils by 1879. Their original intent was to have an academy in every major town and smaller primary schools in other small communities. The lead district missionary, Duncan J. McMillan, envisioned as many as six large academies fed by thirty-six smaller schools in the Mormon-dominated area. Cache County came the closest to fulfilling McMillan's dream. Under the direction of Rev. Calvin Parks, schools were established in Millville, Hyrum, Wellsville, Mendon, Smithfield, Richmond, and Logan, as well as five others in southeastern Idaho.



Hyde Park Schoolhouse, 1910. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

Reverend Parks's 1883 report indicated the success of the mission as well as his optimism for the future: "Land to be occupied and we can give them the right hand of fellowship and bid them God speed. We can labor side by side."¹⁸ As with other missions, the Presbyterians hired numerous young female teachers from the east. By 1884 there were a number of students in each of the county Presbyterian schools, with an average total attendance of over 1,100. Tuition was minimal—fifteen cents a week for the older students and five cents for the younger—and there was not enough room for all of the potential students. Parks reported that older students had to leave the school "because there was no one to hear them recite."¹⁹

Parks and his wife, Susan, also opened the Logan Academy, a Presbyterian school for girls, in 1878. Originally called the Cache Valley Seminary, it lasted until 1934, when improved public education facilities and the Great Depression combined to force its closure. This academy was both a day- and boarding school and emphasized education for high-school-age women. In the early days first through twelfth grades were taught; but it evolved into a combined junior and senior high school. The school was built on the corner of Second West and Center Street. When the Women's Synodical Society of New Jersey donated \$11,000 to the school in 1890, the name was changed

to the New Jersey Academy of Logan. The teachers, who were paid an average of \$300 a year, were college trained and emphasized a classical curriculum that included Greek, Latin, philosophy, and biblical studies. Since the new Logan High School did not open until 1917, South Cache in 1916, and North Cache High School after 1920, private education, including the Mormon Brigham Young College, was the only consistent alternative for many students interested in pursuing an academic course of study beyond the eighth grade.²⁰

There is no doubt that the mission schools advanced education in Utah dramatically. In Cache County education was enhanced because of the determination of mission-school supporters as well as the intense desire on the part of parents and students, regardless of religion, to obtain a good education. The Presbyterian effort was very widespread and accompanied missionary work of local pastors, who came to preach as well as teach. The costs of operating the schools relied to a great extent on eastern philanthropy and the dedication of many of the underpaid young women teachers, many of whom only came for a short time. The Women's Board of Home Missions was the largest contributor to private education in the county. Annual teacher's institutes were held as a primary feature of the collective effort, and various reports indicated that each school had a Webster's Dictionary and other library reference books. On the eve of statehood, the summer workshops emphasized working with public schools to consolidate their joint efforts.²¹

Public education law was made part of the state's 1896 constitution, and, as the state public education system developed, mission schools declined. Of course, the system had a similar impact on LDS secondary boarding and day schools, such as the Brigham Young College in Logan, the Oneida Academy in Preston, and the Fielding Academy in Paris, Idaho. Dr. D.J. McMillan believed that it never was the purpose of the Presbyterian church schools to compete with other schools that met the requirements for a proper education; yet almost everyone agreed that the educational system in Utah, and in Cache County in particular, was enhanced by the mission schools. At times in Cache County, the Mormon-Protestant competition for the minds and souls of youngsters was very keen. Statehood certainly helped bring about specific educational gains because it deempha-

sized internal conflict. Polygamy was gone, free public education was in place, and the decline of the Protestant mission schools was a result of the achievement of statehood.²²

Utah's statehood and the development of a unified statewide school system had a dramatic impact on Cache County. Although some school districts were doing very well—for example, new brick school structures had been built in Providence in 1905 and Newton in 1908—consolidation of the districts was inevitable. A 1905 state law specified that where there were more than 3,000 children between the ages of six and eighteen, a school district of the first class should be established, and the local district trustees could then turn over the school property to the county board of commissioners. The 1905 law was optional; but ten years later it was made mandatory. By 1915 Logan had already established school consolidation, but the series of laws dramatically affected other county schools. In March 1908 the Cache County Commission abolished the small districts by a unanimous vote and twenty smaller districts were combined to become the Cache County School District. There were great inequities in the various mill levies, and it was hoped that the county school tax burden would be equalized and that the quality of education would be enhanced by the consolidation move.²³

Ironically, both the Cache County Attorney and the Utah Attorney General agreed that prior to the 1915 law the commission had a right to create but not to dissolve. Opposition to the consolidation decision was raised in Hyrum, Trenton, Cornish, Petersboro, and Mendon. Residents there did not want to give up local control, and smaller communities feared further consolidation would eliminate their local town school. At the time there were five small high schools in the county, and when the new Cache school board tried to consolidate them into two schools in 1913, it failed to get support. However, a 1911 bond had passed for new high schools in Richmond and Hyrum. Residents of the towns that did not get new buildings were angry. The Cache County School Board achieved high school consolidation when the two new schools, North Cache and South Cache, were opened by 1920.

Consolidation became possible due to transportation changes during the period. The Ogden, Logan, and Idaho interurban railroad

provided reduced student fares and trains were run to schools. Also, the development of paved roads made access easier. In 1913 all pupils living six or more miles away from a high school were given 40 cents a day for transportation. Special wagon boxes were built and teams of horses employed to gather the students and distribute them. Horse sheds were maintained along the routes; but by the 1920s automobile and bus traffic had greatly increased. Winter roads could be impossible to traverse, so teams and wagons were still used into the 1930s.²⁴

One church-owned high school, Brigham Young College (BYC), thrived well into the 1920s. The school had an amazing history both before and after statehood. From the time it opened its doors in September 1878 until its final commencement ceremonies in May 1926, it brought education to thousands of students. Despite its name, Brigham Young College was not a traditional institution of post-high-school education. The term college was used more in the British sense of a high school. However, before it closed, the curriculum had expanded and many BYC courses were accepted as collegiate level.

In the spring of 1874 Brigham Young visited Cache Valley and inspected the land between Logan and Wellsville. In the spirit of sacrifice and commitment that was sweeping through Utah's Mormons, he announced to a small group with him that the nearly 10,000 acres owned in his name would be used to establish a free educational institution to accommodate up to 1,000 young people, where they could spend from "four to six years in acquiring a liberal and scientific education as complete as can be found in any part of the world."²⁵

According to the clerk of the Logan Tithing Office, Young then told the gathering that he also wanted a very practical aspect to the education. He wanted every young person to learn a trade and also to understand scientific farming and stock-raising methods. He wanted every young women to learn to spin, weave, and sew as well as learn dairying, poultry raising, and flower gardening. He felt that one-third of all the students' time should be spend in labor on a dairy, in the fields, or in maintenance shops.²⁶ Many who knew Young felt he was influenced by Oberlin College in Ohio, which not only



Nibley Hall, Brigham Young College campus, 1926. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

was the first coeducational college in America but also required that its students clear land, raise crops, build buildings, and make the school self-supporting through a student labor program. Young may also have been aware of the land-grant movement, which through its sponsor, U.S. Representative Justin Morrill, also offered a similar type of practical education. Obviously, Young had no way of knowing that the territorial land-grant college would be awarded to Logan fourteen years later after he established Brigham Young College. Of course, Young also advocated the intensive teaching at the college of theology as well as of liberal and practical arts.

According to the trustees, any young men or women of good moral character should be admitted, whether members of the Mormon church or not; but while attending they were required to live the lives of good Latter-day Saints: "They must keep the Word of Wisdom, no intoxicating liquor or tobacco will be kept, sold or used in the institution."²⁷ These standards were a common requirement for any church-administered institution. Young also wanted to commit the school to supply each graduate with a "free set of tools for his particular trade, a team and wagon, farming implements made at the institution worth about \$500 so he could start right out producing

results.” This private wish proved most difficult to articulate into the eventual charter; but it showed Brigham Young’s idealism and practicality at their inconsistent best. Then Young reflected for a moment, turned to his companions, and said, “I shall not live in the flesh to see this accomplished but you are younger than I and I shall expect you to hew this line and live to see it all accomplished.”²⁸

In order to assure his vision, Young appointed his son Brigham Jr., as trustee along with Milton D. Hammond, C.O. Card, William B. Preston, and brothers Moses and G. W. Thatcher. Young wanted the college to be located on the farm; but for practical reasons the trustees decided to have the school physically located in Logan. On 24 July 1877 Brigham Young deeded the Elkhorn Ranch to the trustees of Brigham Young College. In order to guarantee his vision of the college’s future, the deed specifically stated that none of the property could be sold without the written consent of Young or his successors as president of the Mormon church. All rents, profits, or increase from the farm land was designated for the college’s benefit. Young, never shy about changing the name of a town or having towns or institutions named after him, demanded a tight deed. Thirteen days later Young died in Salt Lake City. On 7 August 1877, the day after Young’s death, the Logan-based trustees met and selected Brigham Young, Jr., as their board president, Milton D. Hammond as treasurer, and Ida Cook as secretary. Miss Cook was also added to the board of trustees.²⁹

The original classes were taught at the old Lindquist Hall on the corner of First East and Second North. The three-story building had been rented by Logan City and had a jail cell in the basement; but once the college moved in, students boarded on the third floor and the second floor was used exclusively for classrooms. Classes began in September 1878 with seventy-eight students, and Ida Cook taught them spelling, writing, reading, and mathematics. The student body soon nearly doubled, so William Apperly, a local teacher, joined the faculty for one year. Then, in 1880, William Smart and Horace H. Cummings were hired. With the increased number of students, faculty, and courses, the school’s reputation grew rapidly.

Ida Cook left to become the superintendent of Logan city schools in 1881, but by then the BYC was established. The next year, 1882, the

school was moved a block to the basement of the unfinished Logan LDS tabernacle. With over 200 students, the college needed a permanent home and the trustees responded by obtaining land on the southwest corner of First West and First South. The Thatcher family, with two brothers and a brother-in-law, William Preston, on the board of trustees, granted title to thirty-three acres as well as the home of Hezekiah Thatcher. Gradually, a campus emerged. At the December 1882 trustee meeting, Don Carlos Young, a church architect and son of Brigham Young, was hired to prepare plans for a college building. Don Carlos Young, who also designed the LDS tabernacle in Paris, Idaho, designed a beautiful structure soon to be called the East Building. It is amazing that the money for the campus additions came from local donations at a time when both the Logan LDS temple and LDS tabernacle were still under construction, as were the Salt Lake City and Manti temples. A ceremony on New Years Day 1885 dedicated the college for teaching as Brigham Young had outlined eleven years earlier. Moses Thatcher, one of the many speakers, made it clear that the East Building would become a dormitory, because they planned a new building west of the current structure. With the Thatcher homes and orchards, a new building, and a willing student body, it appeared that the school's future was very bright.³⁰

As the students enrolled in 1884, they were met by a new president, J. Z. Stewart, as well as a new campus and a new "Rules and Regulations" card that all students and Stewart signed. The students agreed on the following ten principles:

1. I will not use tobacco.
2. I will not mark or deface in any way, any college furniture, building, fence, or tree.
3. I will not visit places of amusement nor leave school without permission.
4. I will not play nor be noisy in any of the school rooms between school hours, nor be disorderly in school.
5. I will not visit saloons or places of bad reputation while I am a pupil of the college.
6. I will faithfully try to prepare my lessons, and to set a good example at all times.

7. I will be clean and tidy in person and dress, and kind and courteous to my teachers and fellow students.
8. I will take good care of my health.
9. I will try to be obedient to my Parents and Teachers.
10. I will try to do to others as I would like to be done by at all times, and mind my own business.³¹

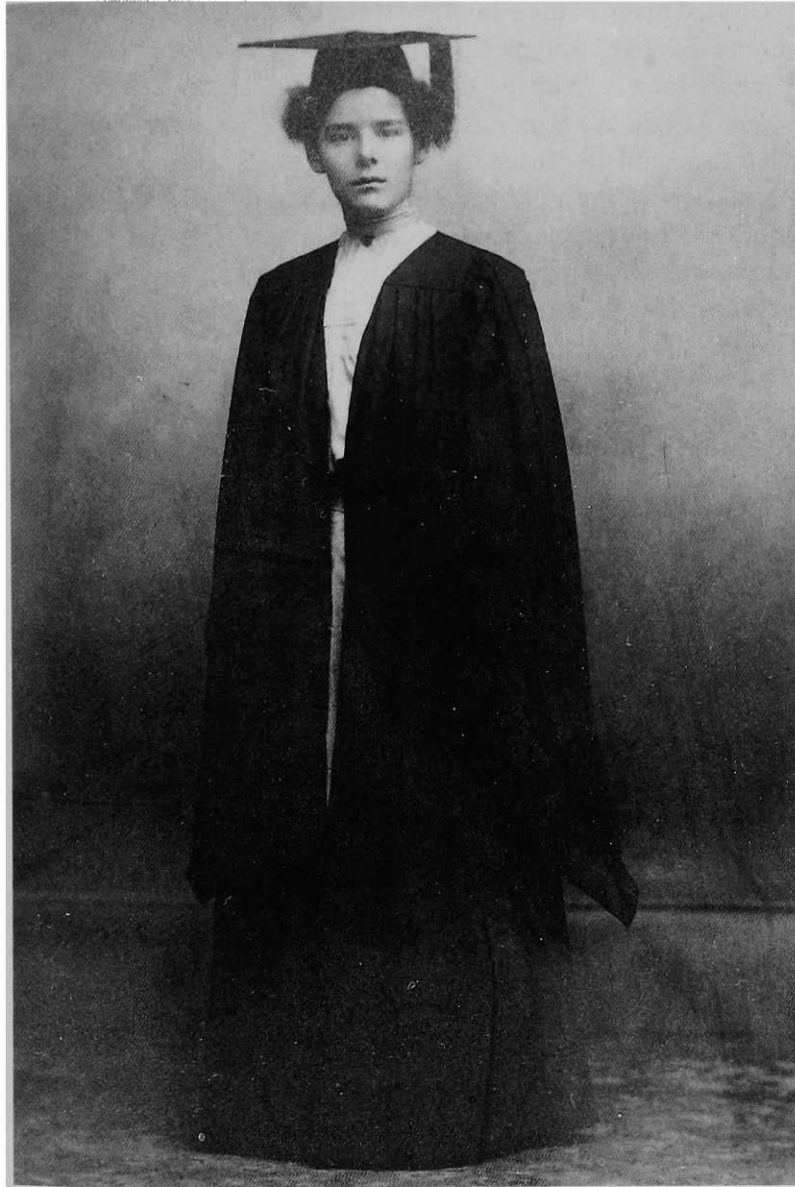
Stewart had a reputation as an enthusiastic teacher of religion and was also very tolerant and understanding. The new building had an assembly hall, and devotionals there became part of the curriculum. Stewart also instituted religious instruction, establishing classes on the New and Old Testaments plus Mormon scriptures and history. Cook and Apperly, well-known educators, taught there along with Smart and a musician and artist, Dr. G. Hessel.

BYC graduates filled a significant niche as teachers in Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming. The demand for good public-school teachers was great and neither the University of Deseret nor Brigham Young Academy in Provo were fully filling that need. It is clear from the curriculum that many Logan students did want a teaching credential. For the most part, BYC was essentially a three-year secondary school, yet its graduates were held in very high esteem.

By the time of statehood, the college had completed the new West Building with its gymnasium, administrative offices, library, and museum. A mechanical arts building also was completed as was Nibley Hall with its fine large lecture hall. The Woodruff School was acquired as a teacher-training school, and the institution seemed destined for longevity. In 1888, however, the territorial legislature granted Logan the land-grant school, and when the Utah Agricultural College opened in 1890, BYC's role and fate were questioned.³² However, the school continued another thirty-six years.

Very capable leaders and administrators came through the college. A succession of presidents including the brilliant Joseph M. Tanner, Joshua H. Paul, and William J. Kerr headed the college before moving east to the president's home at Utah State Agricultural College. Tanner, an orator of some repute; Paul, a classical philosopher; and Kerr, a mathematician and classicist, expanded the faculty and student body and worked very hard to improve the college's quality.

Tanner, who resigned and went on to Harvard Law School,



May McCarrey, Brigham Young College graduate, 1907. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

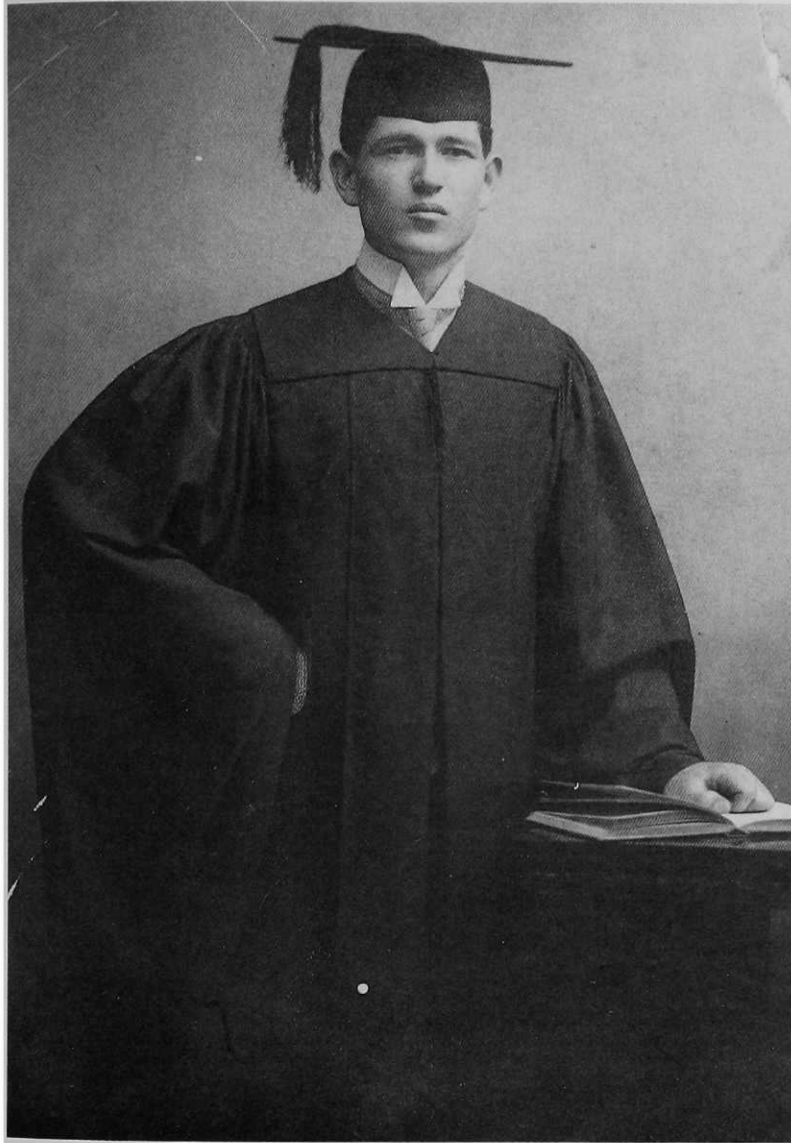
persuaded many of the school's best students to go east and achieve advanced degrees. Among those who followed his advice were George Thomas, John A. Widtsoe, George C. Jensen, Henry Peterson, Roy Bullen, and George Hendricks. Tanner's successors at Utah State then hired them and they made renowned contributions.

Since 1888 the administration of a local board of trustees had been replaced by a churchwide education system. This meant that the Mormon church took over funding of the school because the farm in what was College-Young Ward had never brought enough funds to establish solvency.

The school attracted teachers and scholars who were able to further general education considerably. In 1909 the Mormon church decided to restrict the college offerings to junior-college status and to stop making any pretense of having a bachelor's degree. High school classes were still offered, but the faculty felt somewhat diminished. The graduates of the college-oriented component of the school had no problem having their academic credits accepted at major universities when they transferred; however, the church board moved in the direction of eliminating all college-level courses. The school could still prepare teachers, but the church board of education announcement was devastating to many of the students and faculty. Students asked to voice their concerns to the board and a spokesman made the points that the college cost was nominal, the board had always assured that there would be a permanent school, being an alumnus of a terminated institution was hurtful, and their faith was somewhat shaken. However, the decision stood.

The college's future remained uncertain. The school still attracted serious scholars such as William H. Chamberlin. As a professor of Geology at BYU, Chamberlin refused to dismiss Darwinian theory and consequently was himself dismissed in a purge at the Provo school. Ironically, BYC hired him, and he received a contract even though both schools had the same supervisors.³³

Brigham Young College offered a wide spectrum of extracurricular activities that included operas, plays, musicals, debate, and athletics. The Thatcher Opera House was used until it burned in 1912 and then Nibley Hall housed many of the events. Brigham Young's desire for a practical education that bequeathed tradesman's tools



Joseph A. Geddes, Brigham Young College graduate, 1907. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

and a team of horses to graduates was replaced by a strong liberal education curriculum combined with the doses of religion he desired. There still was considerable industrial education, which



Brigham Young College basketball team, 1901. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

included nurse training and domestic science, but BYC took its general education role very seriously. For the most part, teaching excellence continued and student attendance and participation remained very high—usually between 650 and 800 students were enrolled.

It should also be pointed out that many of the students were older than normal high school students, especially those who were in fifth and sixth year teacher-education programs. Maturity increased their leadership skills and commitment to school newspapers, magazines, and social clubs. But the fact remained that the Cache County School District had consolidated and was building two new high schools and junior high schools were also being built. Logan had also opened a high school before 1920. Although academically superior, BYC had to struggle to maintain its student numbers. As this movement of consolidation of public-school districts took place throughout Utah and Idaho, the LDS church began to question the future of its private schools, as did the Presbyterians and other denominations that supported mission schools.³⁴

Nevertheless, in 1920 Mormon church president Heber J. Grant told the BYC faculty that “We will support you. Your tenure, if you deserve it, is secure. Your salaries will equal the average of the best college teachers in Utah.” Grant also challenged the faculty and alumni to raise a \$100,000 endowment to guarantee the college’s future. In a dramatic gesture, he gave donations to the school in both his and his wife’s name. Within a few years, over \$70,000 had been raised. Despite Grant’s verbal and economic gestures, the church board of education eliminated the first college year in 1920 and then the second year in 1923. Brigham Young College was now exclusively a high school, with the earlier grades and then the college courses eliminated. The school maintained a vital and concerned faculty, many with doctorates. In fact, the final president of the school, W. W. Henderson, encouraged faculty to pursue doctorates in order to maintain the high standard. By 1926 the faculty size had dropped to twenty-eight, from forty-five in 1909.³⁵

Almost the entire BYC curriculum was now offered by Utah State Agricultural College, which grew rapidly during the 1920s. The agricultural college had even begun to prepare teachers and offered courses in agriculture, domestic arts, and industrial education. By 1926 Professor Joseph Geddes, later a renowned Utah State University sociologist, said, “Brigham Young did not know as President Grant does know that another large college will grow up in Logan. Those who are alive perceived duplication and unnecessary expense in the maintenance of two colleges.” Yet many still were surprised when Apostle John A. Widtsoe, a former student and agricultural college president, announced the church’s decision to close all of its schools—including Brigham Young College—in 1926. Widtsoe refused to invite the faculty but did allow administrators to come to the meeting announcing the closure; however, he conducted a church-type meeting with no discussion.

Some of the students, faculty, and alumni were outraged. Educator Edith Bowen wrote:

Can this great institution go with a simple nod of the head or a gesture of the hand? We would despise you if your loyalty were not



Closing exercises for Brigham Young College, 22 May 1926, in Logan Tabernacle. *Inset:* Margaret Anderson who furled crimson banner. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

deeper rooted. Those who criticize have never yet come even close to the spirit of B. Y., never had felt its force.

Do not feel censured because your emotions are stirred—sorrow until time softens the blow.³⁶

The \$70,000 was returned to the donors. The faculty and students completed the year and tried to prepare for the future.

Brigham Young College's final gathering was the 22 May 1926 commencement. Alumni and emotional supporters filled the Logan tabernacle to bid farewell to the institution after its forty-eight years of proud existence. The school had survived depressions and panics; but it was owned by the LDS church, and its decision was irrevocable. The financial stress suffered by the LDS church during the 1920s contributed to the difficult decision to close the fifty-year-old school. Scott Nelson, the college's last valedictorian, told the assembled throng that "they who have stood by her in this last crisis and have borne gladly a share of the burden, we bow in sorrow. . . . We regret the passing of this great fountain of inspiration. . . . To close our school makes this a day of mourning." The *Logan Journal* reported that at the conclusion of the program two young women lowered a veil over the Crimson Banner, a large flag, obscuring it from sight as the entire audience stood at attention. Beneath the tabernacle plat-

form, three young trumpeters—Karl and Lyle Wood and Gilbert Thorpe—played the strains of Tost’s “Goodbye.” According to the newspaper, “tears of sorrow filled the eyes of the girls of the college choir” and those of hundreds in the audience.³⁷

The Logan city school board bought the campus and eventually moved Logan High School to the site. The colors of the school also were eventually adopted, but graduates could never view it as the same. The school really symbolized the rapid development of education within the region. Had Utah been granted statehood earlier and complied with provisions of the Land Ordinance of 1785, private LDS church schools may not have been necessary. The local ward and community schools lacked proper funding, quality, and coordination, so Brigham Young’s desire for a school like the one that bore his name was natural and is to be respected. However, once a public-education system gained a strong foothold through compulsory attendance and a secure tax base, most private schools in a struggling economic environment were doomed. With the location of the land-grant college in Cache County, the final nail was driven in the coffin of BYC and its sister institutions.

In all probability, the subsequent Great Depression would have forced closure of the church schools anyway. The teachers and students who viewed education as a key to a successful and secure life of service deserve historical respect. Whether it was Florence Crosby in Cornish, Calvin Parks in Logan, or Ida Ione Cook, almost everywhere they contributed to the quality of Cache County life. They established a solid foundation and a positive environment for higher education, which came to be typified by Utah State Agricultural College.

ENDNOTES

1. Among the best sources for the history of community and ward schools are the community histories of most Cache County towns, whose authors have always felt inclined to include a very long section on early education. Many of the private journals and family histories also discuss the educational experience. Local nineteenth-century school minute books are now at Utah State University Special Collections, and the more recent records are held at the respective district offices. See also Clifton D. Box, “Development of Public Education in Logan, Utah, 1871–1915,” M.S. report, Utah State Agricultural College, 1946.

2. John R. Caine, Autobiography, typescript, USUSC.
3. John C. Moffitt, *The History of Public Education in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Department of Education, 1946).
4. Box, "Development of Public Education in Utah," 7.
5. Cache School District, Minute Books, 1880, USUSC.
6. *Logan Leader*, 16 August 1881.
7. *Logan Journal*, 6 October 1885.
8. J. Duncan Brite, "The Public Schools," in *The History of a Valley*, ed. Joel E. Ricks (Logan: Cache County Centennial Commission, 1956), 338.
9. *Ibid.*, 339.
10. Cache School District, Records, 1891, USUSC.
11. A.J. Simmonds, *The Gentile Comes to Cache Valley* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1974), 58.
12. J. Duncan Brite, "Non-Mormon Schools and Churches," *The History of a Valley*, 304–6. See also Simmonds, *The Gentile Comes to Cache Valley*.
13. Brite, "Non-Mormon Schools and Churches," 306–7.
14. *Ibid.*, 310.
15. A.J. Simmonds, "Looking Back," *Herald Journal*, 13 May 1989.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Brite, "Non-Mormon Schools and Churches," 308.
18. The best sources for the Presbyterian school effort are located in the archives at Westminster College, Salt Lake City. The William M. Paden Collection includes material from Rev. Calvin Parks's tenure in Logan. They also have numerous scrapbooks as well as a variety of reports.
19. Calvin Parks Papers, Paden Collection, Westminster College Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.
20. Harold Y.S. Loo, "History of the New Jersey-Logan Academy, 1878–1934," M.A., Utah State University, 1952.
21. A Walton Roth, *A Century of Service in Utah, 1869–1969* (Salt Lake City: Presbyterian Church, 1969), 13–14.
22. Brite, "Non-Mormon Schools and Churches," 330
23. *Ibid.*, 332.
24. *Ibid.*
25. I.C. Thorsen, "History of the Founding of Brigham Young College," 1919, Cache Valley Historical Society, USUSC.
26. *Ibid.* See also A.N. Sorensen, "Brigham Young College," in *The History of a Valley*.
27. Thorsen, "History of the Founding of Brigham Young College."

28. Brigham Young College Deed of Trust, Brigham Young College (BYC) Records, USUSC.
29. Sorensen, "Brigham Young College," 352.
30. *Ibid.*, 351.
31. BYC Records, 2 December 1887.
32. Sorensen, "Brigham Young College," 353.
33. *Ibid.*, 363–64.
34. *Ibid.*, 366.
35. Brigham Young College 1926 Bulletin, BYC Records, USUSC.
36. Edith Bowen to BYC Alumni, Edith Bowen Papers, USUSC.
37. Sorensen, "Brigham Young College," 369.

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY— AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

In the whole range of the mountain region there is no institution more beautifully located than the Agricultural College of Utah. . . . [W]ork in this cool mountain atmosphere cannot fail to be restful and strengthening in a high degree, far more so than in the crowded sessions of a city university.

—DAVID STARR JORDAN

In the summer of 1862 General Robert E. Lee's Confederate Army once again moved into northern Virginia and, within thirty-five miles of Washington, engaged the Union Army near Manassas Junction. That same year Abraham Lincoln signed into a law four bills that had a tremendous impact on Cache County. It is well to remember that the Morrill Act which created the land-grant college system and Utah State Agricultural College was Civil War legislation. While Cache Valley pioneers were founding settlements, buildings churches, and organizing governments, thousands of their fellow Americans were dying on battlefields. Three companion pieces of legislation that year also dramatically affected Utah Territory and Cache County: the transcontinental railroad authorization, the Morrill

Anti-Bigamy Act, and the Homestead Act. The new railroad would bring hundreds of thousands of settlers into the West, many of them to file for a coveted 160 acres of free land. Finally, the federal government determined that it could legislate morality and chose to attack the Mormon practice of plural marriage. The government waited almost two decades to prosecute polygamists, but the law did warn of future action. All of these legislative acts had the effect of cementing the West to the Union cause during the Civil War.

The federal land-grant movement had a long history in the United States. A concept of federal aid for nationwide, democratic, post-secondary education was a long-held dream of Jonathan B. Turner, an Illinois professor. Turner felt that existing private universities catered to a small privileged class that generally was interested in the classics, religion, art, literature, science, medicine, and law. Turner felt that those interested in commerce, labor, mechanics, and agriculture also needed educational opportunities. The law Congress passed and President Lincoln signed apportioned public lands to the states or territories to the extent of 30,000 acres for each representative and senator. As those designated acres were sold, a perpetual fund for the establishment of one land-grant college in each state was guaranteed. The legislation also outlined the teaching mission of the new schools by stating that the purpose of the schools was to teach “agriculture and the mechanic arts . . . in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life.”¹ It also suggested that the new schools not ignore science, classical studies, and military tactics. This legislation had a dramatic effect on education throughout America.

The discussion over Utah’s role in public higher education escalated during the decades after the Civil War. Although the LDS church had essentially established a university in Salt Lake City and a variety of secondary school academies throughout the territory, many legislators believed they should seize the opportunity presented them by the Morrill Act. Many European converts to the LDS church and other immigrants to Utah were aware of the education act, and on 28 February 1888 Representative Anthon H. Lund, an immigrant, introduced a bill in the territorial legislature to establish an agricultural college and accompanying experiment station. Lund had

observed similar schools in his native Denmark and believed that Utah should provide this type of education for its citizens.

Actually, the twenty-eighth Utah Territorial Legislature considered establishing three necessary institutions: a school for wayward boys and girls, a state mental hospital, and the agricultural college. Counties seemed more interested in the facility with the largest appropriation. Weber County was awarded the reform school; Utah County, the mental hospital; and Cache County, the agricultural college, with an initial appropriation of \$25,000. The Lund Act, like the national Morrill Act enabling legislation, set forth a curriculum for the new school:

The leading object of the Agricultural College of Utah shall be to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, and such other scientific and classical studies as shall promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life.²

Actually the university has had four official names since its founding. From 1888 to 1916 it was called the Agricultural College of Utah. From 1916 to 1929 Utah Agricultural College was the official title. From the 1930s until 1957 the title Utah State Agricultural College became the commonly used name, and since 1957 Utah State University has been the official name of the institution. In this chapter Utah State University (USU) is used to identify the institution.

The original enabling act specified that teaching the English language, mathematics, civil engineering, chemistry, "animal and vegetable anatomy and physiology," veterinary science, entomology, and geology should be included in the curriculum. Besides the science of agriculture and practical mechanical arts, the school was encouraged to offer domestic economy, horticulture, moral philosophy, history, bookkeeping, and politics. In other words, a genuine liberal education should be offered to all students.

Under territorial law, the school's first trustees were designated as the governor, the county assessors from Cache, Davis, Sanpete, Utah, and Salt Lake counties, and a secretary. John T. Caine, Jr., of Logan served as the secretary for more than thirty years and had a dramatic impact on the evolution of Utah State while serving with

six different presidents. The initial task of the trustees was the selection of a Cache County site for the college. A local committee comprised of the Logan City Council and members of the Cache County Court finally selected a seventy-five-acre site in Providence. Their main concern was to acquire property close to a large agricultural area. Providence's numerous orchards and well-watered fields seemed perfect. The price tag was \$3,000, with Logan City paying \$1,000 and the county \$2,000. However, Judge William Goodwin of the Cache County Court said that in no way would the county pay more than Logan. No one had really looked for a site in Logan because the LDS church's Brigham Young College was already there; therefore the committee checked Hyrum, Millville, Smithfield, and different land in Providence. Even though the city agreed to pay half on another Providence location, Goodwin still felt the price was too high. Then, on 6 February 1889, Zions Savings Bank foreclosed on Logan bench property owned by the Logan, Hyde Park, and Smithfield Canal Company. Suddenly, Judge Goodwin saw his bargain. The joint committee approved a bid and submitted it for the property. As a result, they received one hundred acres of sagebrush-covered bench land east of Logan for \$2,500. They then deeded forty-five acres back to the canal company and kept the site on the hill overlooking Logan. Judge Goodwin, in his desire to save \$500, had helped secure the land at a minimal cost and simultaneously incur the good feelings of many in the county.³

Prior to selecting the location, Caine and the trustees had already advertised for plans for the main building. They chose plans submitted by architect C. L. Thompson that recommended a three-phase construction of a building measuring 270 feet long and 100 feet deep. In April 1889 trustees walked over the fifty-five-acre site and Governor Caleb West chose the site of the building, looking straight down present Fifth North Street. On that same visit the trustees concluded that the south wing of the building should be completed first. By May that summer Peterson and Company workers began their task. In July the cornerstone was laid, and the first phase was completed in February 1890, at a cost of \$20,305. Later that same month the territorial assembly authorized another \$48,000 for buildings and equipment. By late 1890 construction began on the college presi-

dent's home, the experiment station director's house, a barn, and the experiment station.⁴

John Caine, who had studied at Cornell, was given the task of finding a director for the experiment station and assembling a staff. Caine wrote to numerous former Cornell associates seeking a recommendation and was impressed by the credentials of a New Hampshire native who was currently serving as the dean at the University of Missouri, Jeremiah W. Sanborn. Caine and Sanborn began a series of communications that led Caine to offer \$2,500 to Sanborn to come and direct the experiment station. Sanborn turned down the offer. Caine, with the board's approval, persisted. In a lengthy personal letter, he described the incredible beauty of Cache Valley and upped the offer to \$3,000. Sanborn, who did not tell Caine that some Missouri politicians wanted him fired for holding too many positions, accepted under condition that he could have a temporary living suite in the Old Main building. In January 1890 Jeremiah Sanborn came to Logan and was met at the train station by Caine and others. Sanborn lived with the Caines for five months and quickly established a functioning experiment station; he also recommended a new teaching staff.

The Lund Act which chartered Utah State specified that in prescribing the studies . . . no particular preference shall be shown by the trustees to one sect or religious denomination over another, nor shall anything sectarian be taught therein; and the persons engaged in conducting, governing, managing, or controlling, the said college and its students and exercises in all its parts, shall faithfully and impartially carry out the provisions of this act for the common good, irrespective of sects or parties, political or religious.⁵

This was an unusually farsighted piece of legislation for 1888; but Utah history during this period demonstrates that the territory's legislators were trying to pacify the federal government and wanted a clear understanding relative to the separation of church and state. In this spirit, Sanborn hired a diversified staff from outside Utah including W. P. Cutter of Cornell in chemistry; E. E. Richman of Arkansas Agricultural College in horticulture; A. A. Mills and Abby Marlott of

Kansas Agricultural College in experimental work and domestic economy, respectively; J. M. Sholl of Purdue, in mechanical engineering; with Caine himself hired to teach in the preparatory school. Sarah Goodwin obtained a position as a music teacher and librarian.⁶

In September 1890 the college opened its doors to new students, and by the time classes began 139 students had registered. This was only about one-fourth the size of Brigham Young College enrollment in 1890, but the school gradually developed a following of considerable size. On 4 September 1890 the college dedication ceremony took place. Territorial governor Arthur L. Thomas came to Logan to preside over the ceremonial services. As his featured speaker, Thomas brought Sarah Eddy, a feisty Salt Lake City Methodist Sunday school teacher, and asked her to address the topic of “The Higher Education of Women.” Eddy gave a wonderfully concise speech that foreshadowed female education as one of Utah State’s great traditions. She claimed that

The all-absorbing ambition of the enlightened mother now is to have her daughter well-educated, able to converse learnedly and fluently on any subject, and, perchance, able to advocate the various reforms of the day. . . . I rejoice to say that here no hair-breadth distinctions will be made between the sexes. Here the young lady may enter side-by-side with her brother, and if sufficient mental power be hers, she may keep by his side, or go ahead, if she can.⁷

Eddy so impressed the governor with her remarks that he offered her a position at Utah State. She taught in Logan from 1891 until 1896 and also served as an advisor to the Philadelphia House, a boarding house for young women constructed on the corner of Center and Main streets. She also represented the Women’s Christian Temperance Union in its attempt to eradicate the consumption of alcoholic beverages. Eddy charted a course for female students as equal partners in the development of Utah State University.

Early students at the college were required to attend daily chapel services in the small auditorium in the original south wing of Old Main. A Methodist, Sanborn felt the students needed continuous “non-sectarian” religious instruction. Sanborn also set up a schedule

whereby all classes were taught between Tuesday and Saturday. Sanborn and his successors reasoned that students could go to church on Sunday and then rest for the remainder of the day. The students could then study on Monday. Hence, the school's leaders did not want a student studying on Sunday. The college kept that schedule until World War I. Sanborn required church attendance for any student under twenty-one years of age.

Sanborn consistently sought increased appropriations from both the territorial legislature and the federal government. Money for the college experiment station came from the U.S. Congress, and in 1890 Sanborn learned that an annual \$15,000 for the station was secured as well as an additional \$1,000 per year for ten years. These federal appropriations kept the school operating during the severe financial panic of 1893 when Utah territorial funds were very limited. Sanborn continued experimental agriculture as well as teaching the dignity and worth of agricultural life while extending the benefits of knowledge into the county and the state.⁸ Through its purchase of local land, the university's extension laboratory had a Cache County base.

By 1894 Sanborn had achieved a great deal in the previous four and a half years. The north and east wings of Old Main joined the south wing, and many other buildings had been completed. A student boarding house for seventy-five male students and two faculty cottages on campus as well as the earlier mentioned buildings gave the hill overlooking Logan the appearance of a bustling community. The college had acquired 105 additional acres of land and was operating numerous agricultural experiments. Sanborn had decided to resign and return to his native New Hampshire. His commencement address in 1894 indicated a great pride in his achievements as founding president of the college:

The history of the College you know. Four years ago it was the sage brush; today it is most broadly based, most completely equipped, most thoroughly manned with an industrious corps of teachers, has one of the most completely organized Experiment Stations . . . of any known to be in the arid region, save the college of the great and wealthy State of California.⁹

Sanborn came to Utah during a time of intense political, economic, and religious concern. Polygamy had been discouraged by the Mormon church and agricultural economic dislocation occurred frequently. Sanborn constructed a solid foundation, but he also possessed a vision that he presented throughout Utah. A man of educational and ethical ideals, Sanborn's philosophy guided the institution during its formative years. He understood the power of religion, but he also felt strongly about individual needs of students and constituents. Consequently, he moved well in Mormon circles at a time when Mormon church leaders were trying very hard to gain national respectability. However, some Cache citizens felt that Sanborn emphasized the classics and literature more than practical education. The *Logan Journal* attacked both the curriculum and Sanborn, whose decision to leave Utah State and Logan proved to be well timed. Ultimately, the local population became more interested in the college and its direction and consequently sought local leadership for the institution.¹⁰

It took nearly twenty additional years for the college to become somewhat assured of its future in Cache County and Utah, and a closer examination of these years is warranted. The board of trustees chose Joshua H. Paul, the president of Brigham Young College, to succeed Sanborn. This indicates that Utah State's prestige (and salary) had surpassed that of Brigham Young College. The Utah State faculty apparently wanted J. T. Kingsbury of the University of Utah, but the board, probably for political reasons, realizing the necessity for Cache County support as well as Mormon support, chose Paul, a Utah-born Mormon. This act immediately gave them a powerful tie to the local community. Paul stated that the college's future lay in the hands of the people: "They may make of it almost what they will by the support and patronage they give it. . . . I regard the people's interests thus delegated to me as of paramount importance."¹¹ Sanborn's departure and Paul's appointment led many of those hired by Sanborn to leave the school and the territory.

Joshua Paul's brief tenure as college president is significant in many ways, but primarily because he chose to market and promote the college in an unparalleled manner. He traveled throughout the region, talking about the land-grant philosophy and what it meant to

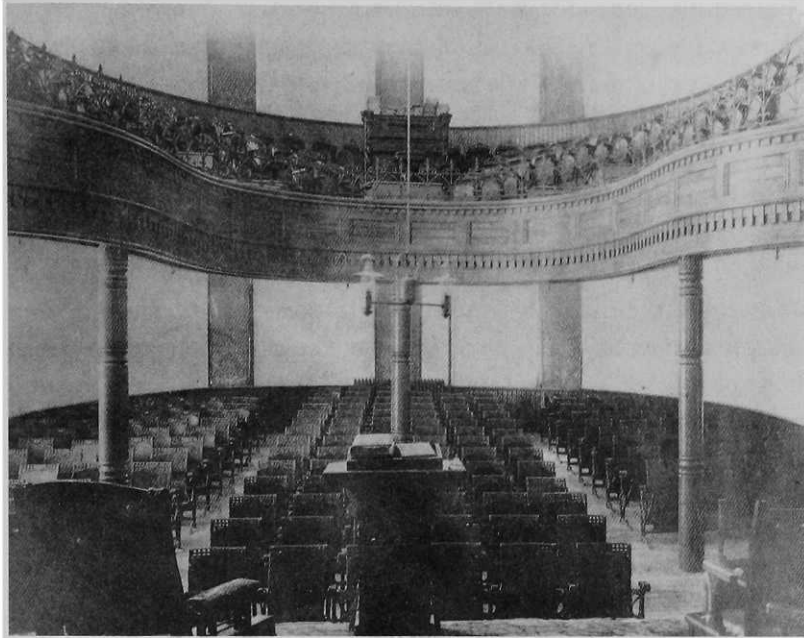
rural Utahns. He also persuaded Logan City and Cache County leaders to publish a pamphlet extolling the virtues of Cache Valley and Utah State. He soon had a mailing list of nearly 2,000 possible students and he wrote to them, their teachers, and their parents. He flooded southern Idaho, western Wyoming, and all of Utah with the brochures. This helped increase the school's enrollment from 166 to 275 in one quarter. Paul also fought hard to make sure that Utah State was not swallowed up by the University of Utah in 1895. His work guaranteed Utah State a position of independence which was included in the statehood constitution of 1896. Joshua Paul only served two years; then, much to his chagrin, the board forced his departure by simply reopening his job and allowing him to reapply. Paul could not understand any reasons for his dismissal other than political ones.¹² An active Democrat, Paul pushed his ideas of local democracy at all levels, including his open-admissions policy. Nearly two-thirds of the admitted students had to take preparatory courses; this upset many educational purists, but Joshua Paul wanted students to succeed. Paul's enemies accused him of using his position to further the interests of the Democratic party during the hard-fought 1896 election.

The *Logan Journal*, a Democratic paper, editorialized that Utah State's trustees set a very dangerous precedent by dismissing its presidents so often:

It is better to keep our colleges out of politics altogether. There is little incentive to honest, conscientious effort when a turn of the political wheel means that a man's work is over and that his labor and achievements count for nothing against a political pull.¹³

The students argued that Paul had doubled the enrollment, strengthened the faculty, and advanced the school. They admired Paul for pursuing a straightforward course and believed he merited their "profound love." The LDS church intervened by calling the deposed president to serve a three-year LDS mission. However, Paul's wife, left behind, petitioned for her husband's last month of salary—a request that the board of trustees repeatedly denied.

Joseph Marion Tanner replaced Paul in the year of statehood. Ironically, Tanner had been president of Brigham Young College



Chapel in Old Main, circa 1891. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

before Paul and now replaced him at Utah State. Tanner had left BYC and traveled east to attend Harvard with many of his former students in tow. One of them, George Thomas, who came back to teach history and chemistry and later became president of the University of Utah, said, “I know he inspired others to go from other sections of the state, and that was the first group of students who went to Harvard from this state.”¹⁴ Some people felt that Tanner, an active Republican, had plotted the demise of Paul; but Tanner’s qualifications could not be questioned. Tanner, because of his political connections, had his choice among a Utah Supreme Court clerkship, judge of the district court, or the presidency of the agricultural college. He chose the latter, although the pay was \$500 less than the judgeship. A magnificent orator who practiced the gospel of hard work, Tanner loved teaching much more than he did the law. John A. Widtsoe called him “an inspirer of men.”¹⁵

Tanner hired many of his former Brigham Young College students and required advanced degrees for all faculty. He also increased

the requirements for both admission and graduation. Limited Harvard University standards of admission were imposed to a degree, and this upset many Utah State supporters who recalled the more democratic admissions policies and philosophy of Lund and Paul. Tanner argued that Utah's new public high schools needed to increase their standards, thus enabling colleges to cancel their own preparatory classes. Tanner's regime was severely criticized for some of his changes and some people demanded his resignation; but both faculty and students united in supporting Tanner's retention. Mormon Joseph Tanner was not one to separate church and state, and when he spoke at the 1898 commencement Tanner held Christ up as a model for students to follow. Years earlier Sanborn, a Methodist, had done the same thing in his daily chapel sessions.

The 1890s were politically and religiously very volatile both in Utah and in Cache County. The debate over the impact of the 1890 Manifesto on polygamy created a charged atmosphere. Ironically, it was controversy over Tanner's religious beliefs that forced his resignation in 1900. Tanner, a known polygamist, had three wives, one of whom lived in Bountiful. The college president continued to cohabit during the 1890s and fathered many children. He never lived on campus, and he turned the president's home there into a women's dormitory. A practicing polygamist as president of a land-grant college was not something that the federal government, which in part funded the school, found acceptable. In Tanner's short tenure he saw the mechanical arts building and a botanical conservatory built; but he refused to back away from polygamy. The federal government had outlawed the practice, and attacked it with various laws including the Edmunds-Tucker Act. Finally, the Mormon church issued its Manifesto in 1890 which discouraged new plural marriages, advising the LDS people to obey the laws of the land. Tanner, however, continued to father children, teach, preach, and make legislative requests, even though Utah State depended on federal dollars for much of its funding. When B. H. Roberts, a polygamous Democratic elected to Congress, was denied his seat in 1898, Congress began an investigation of the agricultural college. The House Appropriations Committee determined that the administration and some faculty were in violation of federal law. On 24 January 1900 Indiana

Representative Charles B. Landis introduced an amendment which denied the college its annual appropriation. Landis claimed that

The President of the college—and I make this charge on my honor as a representative—the president of that college is a polygamist living in open and notorious polygamy with three wives. One of his leading professors is a polygamist living in open and notorious polygamy with two wives. A trustee, who guides and directs the business interests of that college is a polygamist living in open and notorious polygamy with seven wives, and they have blessed him with thirty-nine children.¹⁶

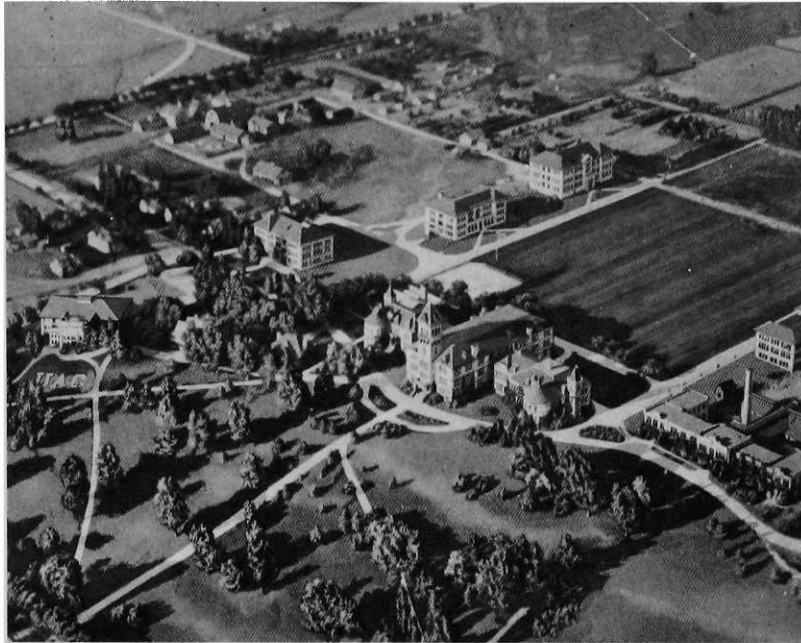
Three days later Tanner resigned. Once government officials got word of Tanner's resignation, the federal dollars were appropriated. Although Tanner's resignation solved an immediate problem, it exacerbated a larger Mormon–non-Mormon rift in Utah society. Both former presidents, Sanborn and Paul, applied to replace Tanner and return to Utah State; but Tanner actively tried to engineer the selection of John Widtsoe as his successor. The non-Mormon contingent realized that it could not get Sanborn chosen and finally decided to support William J. Kerr, a native of Cache County. Kerr was appointed to the position. It is ironic that Cache County's land-grant college became a battleground that reflected both internal and external tensions when the school continued to fulfill its purpose to educate the region's young men and women.

A fundamental conflict arose when Widtsoe became the director of the Utah Agricultural College Experiment Station and spent the next few years in a behind-the-scenes power struggle to subvert Kerr's presidency. In 1904 Widtsoe resigned, joined the faculty of Brigham Young University, raided Utah State's faculty, and attacked Kerr and Utah State through the pages of the *Utah Farmer*.¹⁷ Widtsoe believed Kerr had sacrificed agricultural teaching and research for his new emphasis on creating a complete university. Kerr, an aggressive leader, with a vision of what a great school should become, ploughed forward in spite of Widtsoe's criticism. One of his main goals, to complete Old Main, reached fulfillment in 1901. The west wing and tower became the symbol for the entire campus. He introduced faculty rank, reorganized the departments, and created schools in agricul-

ture, engineering, domestic arts, commerce, manual training, and general science. The School of Commerce anticipated the future and is heralded as one of the first west of the Mississippi River. Kerr even added a School of Music in 1903 and expanded the summer school in order to retrain public school teachers and encourage them to obtain a college degree. Kerr also advocated the awarding of graduate research degrees. By 1904 Utah State's enrollment had reached 733 and the faculty numbered sixty, and William Kerr's leadership was appreciated by many throughout the state.¹⁸ However, Widstoe had an influence upon rural legislators and they opposed Utah State's rapid expansion into areas beyond what they deemed to be the land-grant mission. Cache County citizens supported the new breadth of the school but lacked political clout.

In 1905 the state legislature and Governor John C. Cutler decided that there was too much duplication between the University of Utah and Utah State. Legislators proposed an amendment to the education act that recommended the administrative consolidation of the two schools. Although the amendment failed, the state legislature did pass legislation that limited "the courses of instruction in the Agricultural College." Specifically, the bill provided that the college "shall not offer courses in engineering, liberal arts, pedagogy, or the profession of law or medicine." The act threatened the future of the college, but Kerr made determined efforts to preserve the school and secure more friends for it. He fretted over the loss of faculty because of the confining legislation and believed Widstoe was behind the attempt to stifle Utah State. The next year Kerr established an extension department at the college and fought to keep his vision alive. Nevertheless, the board, which included Widstoe's mother-in-law, asked for Kerr's resignation in 1907. He complied, and Widstoe replaced him.¹⁹

Widstoe had to live within the legislative restrictions for which he was in part responsible. The Norwegian-born scholar doggedly pursued a positive course for the college. He refused to anger the legislature or the state's other public university by fighting for a return to a pre-1905 curriculum. He sought degrees in irrigation, arid farming, and animal husbandry. Widstoe also used his long experience in Logan to raise private money for the Smart Gymnasium and a



Aerial view of Utah State University campus, 1924. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

women's dormitory. He also secured the funding for the chemistry building that now bears his name. By the time Widtsoe left Utah State in 1916, the school enrolled 875 students and 110 graduated that year. Widtsoe took the college to the people as he traveled the state, forwarded extension work by creating the first county agents in the United States, organized an alumni association, and expanded the school's athletic participation. Widtsoe, who always sought influence in Salt Lake City, left to become the president of the University of Utah and later accepted a call as an apostle in the LDS church.²⁰

One interesting development during Widtsoe's tenure was the first attempt at campus planning and landscape design. The Boston firm of Pray, Hubbard, and White planned the institution physically to develop around a quadrangle east of Old Main. Until 1911 the area remained a rocky wasteland where animals grazed and football games were held. Widtsoe moved athletic events down to Adams Park on Fifth North and the quadrangle eventually became the heart of the campus.

The selection processes for a successor to Widtsoe proved very difficult. George Thomas and Franklin S. Harris both sought the position, and each possessed excellent qualifications. The board, however, finally settled on Elmer George Peterson, a native of Plain City in Weber County. Thomas went on to become president of the University of Utah and Harris did likewise at Brigham Young University. Peterson was the first Utah State graduate to return to the school as president. A bacteriologist with a degree from Cornell, Peterson had followed Kerr to Oregon State when Kerr became president there. Two years later, at age thirty, he returned to Logan as director of the Extension Division. Four years after his return, he became the president of Utah State.

Elmer Peterson knew Cache County and the campus very well. During World War I his administration cooperated with Utah governor Simon Bamberger to convince the War Department to build permanent barracks on the campus that could be used by the college after the war. Since the campus was used as a training camp for soldiers, the federal government agreed; and soon what became the Animal Science, Plant Industry (now Geology), and Education (now Ray B. West) buildings lined the quad, giving it its current configuration. The top two floors of the Plant Industry Building doubled as married housing after the war and were claimed to be the first publicly owned married student housing units at a college in America. In 1930 a library was built on the east side of the quad and five years later the Family Life Building, a Works Progress Administration (WPA) project, was completed. Within twenty years the quad, symbol of Utah State University, was surrounded and developed and students were filling the new buildings.²¹

After the First World War, Peterson began an all-out attack on the restrictive legislation of 1905. Aided by Anthony W. Ivins, the chair of the board of trustees and a Mormon leader, the ban on teacher preparation courses was removed in 1921. Now public school teachers could again be trained in all the subjects authorized at the college. The new president also developed a brilliant concept that altered the school permanently. Peterson recognized that Cache County had a fantastic natural resource, its beautiful summer environment. In 1924 he created what was called the National Summer School, and for the

next few years, at least until the Depression, Utah State became the place for many students to study in the summer. Enjoying the cool evenings and the canyon breezes, thousands of students camped on the quad or stayed with friends and relatives. The summer enrollment eventually reached 1,377 from twenty-three states and five foreign countries. Some of the most distinguished scholars in America spent their summers in Logan; among them were such acclaimed academicians as Henry C. Cowlis, a botanist from Chicago; E.V. McCollum, a biochemist from Johns Hopkins; Frederick Jackson Turner and Frederick Merk, historians from Harvard; E.L. Thorndyck, a psychologist from Columbia; and David Starr Jordan, the president emeritus of Stanford University.

Utilizing the school's enhanced national reputation to attain admission in the Association of American Universities, Peterson pushed for the legislature to give the college more respect, increased status, and more money. Utah State was a leader in research in many areas and had attained a position of considerable prestige throughout the state. Consequently, in 1927 Peterson worked with Senator John W. Peters of Box Elder County, a former student at Utah State, to pass a bill that became in effect the Magna Carta of the college. Called the Course of Study Bill, it removed almost all curriculum restrictions and passed the state senate and house very quickly. Peters and his colleagues thwarted all attempts to alter the legislation. Governor George H. Dern gladly signed the bill on 8 March 1927, Utah State's Founder's Day. Peters skillfully avoided specificity in the bill so that science could mean all sciences and arts could mean language, music, history, and English as well as the visual arts. This gave Utah State a green light to pursue a variety of degrees and train students in many more disciplines, with the exception of law and medicine.²²

In retrospect, Peters and Peterson had perfect timing. Three years later, in the midst of the Depression, that legislation would probably never have passed. The college developed schools of education and forestry and agriculture to accompany the earlier disciplines. In spite of the Depression, enrollment grew dramatically—from 1,162 students in 1927 to 2,834 by 1938. The Depression actually brought more people into Cache County to seek higher education. Federal



Frederick Jackson Turner, noted Harvard Professor of history, instructor at National Summer School at Utah State University, 1925. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

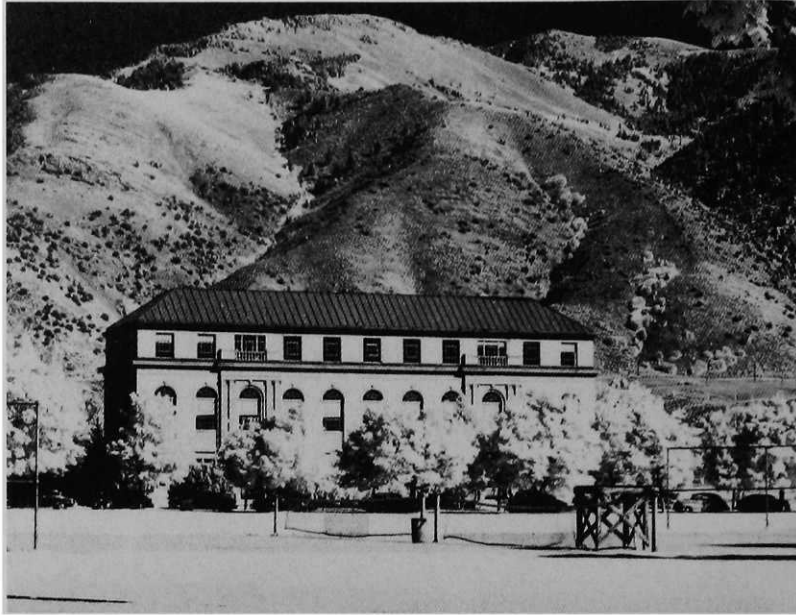
building projects like the Nelson Fieldhouse, the Family Life Building, and the amphitheater provided employment, while programs from the National Youth Administration and Works Progress Administration provided assistance for students wanting to complete their education. The New Deal slate of programs of President Franklin D. Roosevelt provided numerous resources to the youth of

the area and Peterson's administration took full advantage of any program that would enhance Utah State's physical and economic well being. The county's economy was actually quite strong during the decade because students provided additional funds for apartment owners, grocers, and other retailers.

During World War II enrollment naturally decreased dramatically, reaching a low of 789 in 1943; but the campus remained active due to its use by the United States armed forces. Army, Navy, Marine, and Army Air Corps detachments received training at the college and they virtually monopolized the fieldhouse, Mechanic Arts, and Old Main buildings. After considerable debate, the administration allowed soldiers and sailors to smoke on campus. Peterson saw long-term advantages in having the campus closely tied to the military. A number of barracks and temporary buildings constructed for military purposes proved valuable after the war for both housing and classroom needs.

The university's Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) program shifted into high gear and young officers received commissions before being sent elsewhere for final training and often overseas assignments. By 1943 men were so scarce on campus that the traditional Valentine's Day Preference Ball did not choose a "Preferred Man." Potential pilots obtained training at the college, and a small strip of land northeast of campus was used as a simulated aircraft carrier deck, so navy pilots could practice take-offs and landings. They also trained at the airport northwest of Logan. One of the results of the war was the creation of a new ROTC program for the air force, which joined that of the army. In 1947 more second lieutenants were commissioned from Utah State than from any other school except the United States Military Academy at West Point.

Utah State conducted extension classes through its College of Education and did other volunteer and instructional work at the Topaz Japanese American Relocation Camp in Millard County during the war years. Many students volunteered to work weekends or evenings at the Defense Depot in Ogden, and the Utah State Extension Division helped mobilize citizens in an attempt to raise more food. E.G. Peterson's presidential tenure as Utah State's president lasted twenty-nine years, more than twice as long as that of any



Merrill Library looking east across the Quad, 1940s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

predecessor or successor to date. However, these were years of two world wars and a disastrous depression. Peterson preserved the academic, physical, and economic integrity of the institution during most difficult times. Ironically, the college's board of trustees pressured Peterson into an early retirement in 1945. It seemed that some representatives of agricultural interests, like those who had opposed William Kerr, saw Peterson's goal of obtaining the title "university" for the school as a mission that would remove the school from its traditional role.²³ The board selected Franklin S. Harris, the former Utah State professor and BYU president, as Peterson's successor. Harris had wanted the Utah State job in 1916 and now, thirty years later, had his wish.

Utah State and Cache County changed dramatically in the first years after the war. So many students came into the valley that it taxed the communities' ability to house the newcomers. Although many Logan homes had added apartments and there were a few boarding houses, there was very little available housing for married

students with families. Army barracks, quonset huts, and metal trailers were forced into use. Surplus army and Civilian Conservation Corps barracks were moved onto the campus. Temporary wooden classrooms were tucked into spaces all over campus and a large married student barrack complex existed on 1200 East in Logan. Two of Harris's most significant hirings were Ione Bennion as dean of women and Daryl Chase as dean of students. In administering many of the campus activities, Bennion created a positive atmosphere for coeds to succeed. Chase spent a considerable amount of time planning and preparing for the construction of a new student union building. The college also made some long-term building plans that included more women's dormitories and the Edith Bowen Laboratory School. Harris tried to employ a faculty that could maintain intellectual rigor and still meet all of the teaching needs brought on by skyrocketing enrollments.

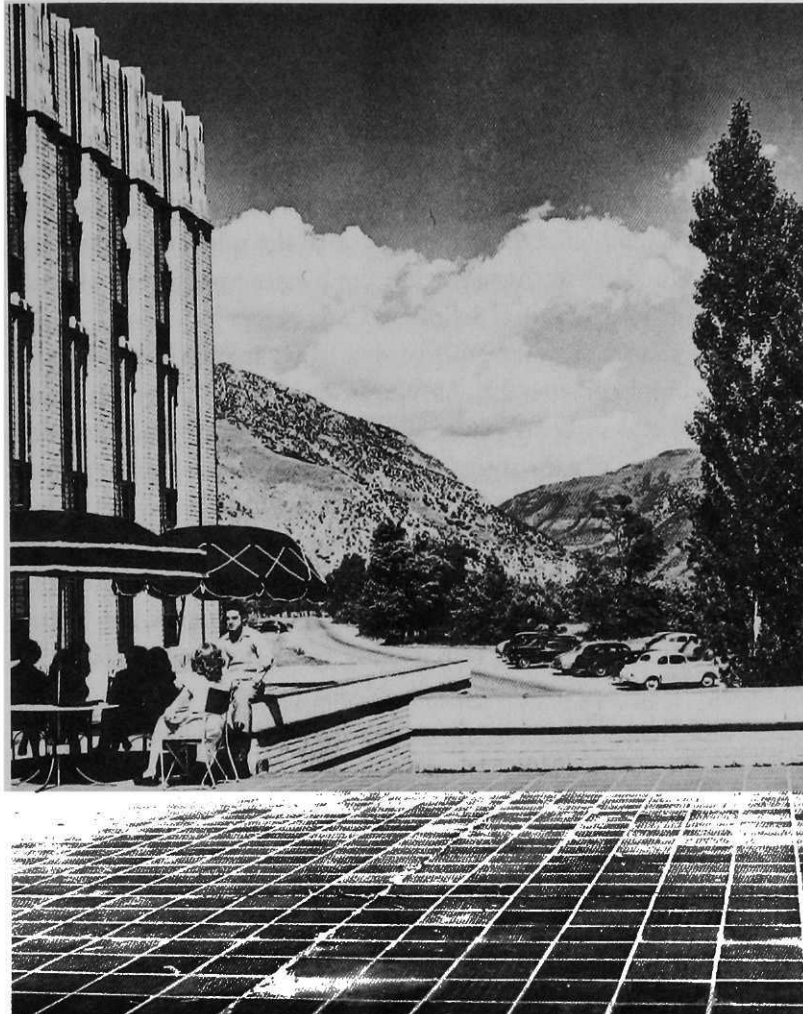
While the college's enrollment mushroomed to over 4,000 because of G.I. Bill and ROTC programs, Franklin Harris moved the institution in another direction. A native-born Utahn with a Ph.D. in agronomy from Cornell, Harris had a keen interest in foreign development and had many contacts in the United States Office of Foreign Agriculture. He took an administrative leave to serve as a United Nations observer in Greece, Turkey, and Syria during 1946–47. When President Harry Truman initiated the Point Four Program, which called for agricultural and economic aid to developing countries, Harris and Utah State were prepared to move to a new level of involvement. While still at BYU, Harris had used Utah State employees Donald Putman and Luther Winsor during the early 1940s to conduct agricultural experiments in Iran. Harris negotiated contracts that led to Utah State's first agricultural mission to Iran in 1949, and he resigned the presidency to become the technical advisor to the U.S. ambassador in Iran. Utah State maintained an active research and advising role in Iran for nearly thirty years.²⁴

Harris's absentee leadership and the board of trustees' determination to define Utah State's role in agricultural terms rather than as a university led to an administrative crisis at the college. Conservative Governor J. Bracken Lee advocated tight budgets, little building, and less faculty freedom. Between 1944 and 1954 the college had five

presidents; and, just like in the early years, the board of trustees played detrimental politics with the presidency and consequently the entire college. The college's relations with the county also deteriorated because of intrusive politicians.

Louis L. Madsen, another Utah State graduate with a Cornell Ph.D. and years of service with the federal government, was hired by Harris to head the Animal Husbandry Department in 1946. Four years later the forty-three-year-old Madsen became president of the college. Madsen battled the board repeatedly and considered its chair, Thorpe B. Issacson, to be a dishonest meddler who conspired with Governor Lee to block appointments and orchestrate dismissals. Madsen knew that faculty hiring and tenure control was important and he fought for those powers. Madsen encouraged the adoption of a report from the college community, named for its chair, Fred Kelly, which recommended that the college adopt certain administrative and curricular changes that would help it prepare for the projected enrollment influx of the 1960s.²⁵ The popular Ione Bennion was terminated at Lee's demand in 1952 and the board requested Madsen's resignation the next year. When he refused to resign in May 1953, the board fired him.²⁶ The students almost closed down the campus and hundreds marched on the Capitol in Salt Lake City to protest the dismissals. With the graduation of many World War II veterans, the enrollment dipped to slightly over 3,000, and once again the school's future seemed in jeopardy. Madsen, like William Kerr, had a long and distinguished career in higher education following his departure from Utah State. Like E.G. Peterson, he was a young man with considerable vision; however, unlike Peterson, he was not allowed to fulfill his destiny in Logan.²⁷

Governor Lee then appointed a committee chaired by longtime LDS educator Adam S. Bennion to review the college and its future. Bennion felt that administrative changes were needed, especially in the power given to the business office.²⁸ The board of trustees chose Henry Aldous Dixon, the sixty-three-year-old president of Weber Junior College, to replace Madsen. Dixon, whose career was in educational administration and banking, served slightly more than a year. When the Republican party asked him to replace incumbent U.S. Representative Douglas Stringfellow on the 1954 ticket, Dixon



Terrace of the Family Life Building, background tree lined two lane Fourth North winding to Logan Canyon, 1940s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

chose politics over education. There is little doubt that his tenure at Utah State would have been brief anyway because of his age.

With such a remarkably unstable administrative history, it is almost surprising that a replacement for Dixon could be found. However, prospective college presidents, like athletic coaches, are always in the wings. The board's choice was Daryl Chase, a man who

knew Cache County and Utah State very well. Chase later said that he did not expect to last a year but thought he would “give it a try.”²⁹ His tenure was nearly fourteen years. A former LDS seminary teacher in Preston, Idaho, until he went to the University of Chicago to obtain a Ph.D., Chase then served as a director of LDS institutes in Tucson, Arizona, and in Logan. Franklin Harris then persuaded him to become Utah State Dean of Students. In the midst of the turmoil of Louis Madsen’s administration, he became president of Utah State’s Branch Agricultural School in Cedar City.

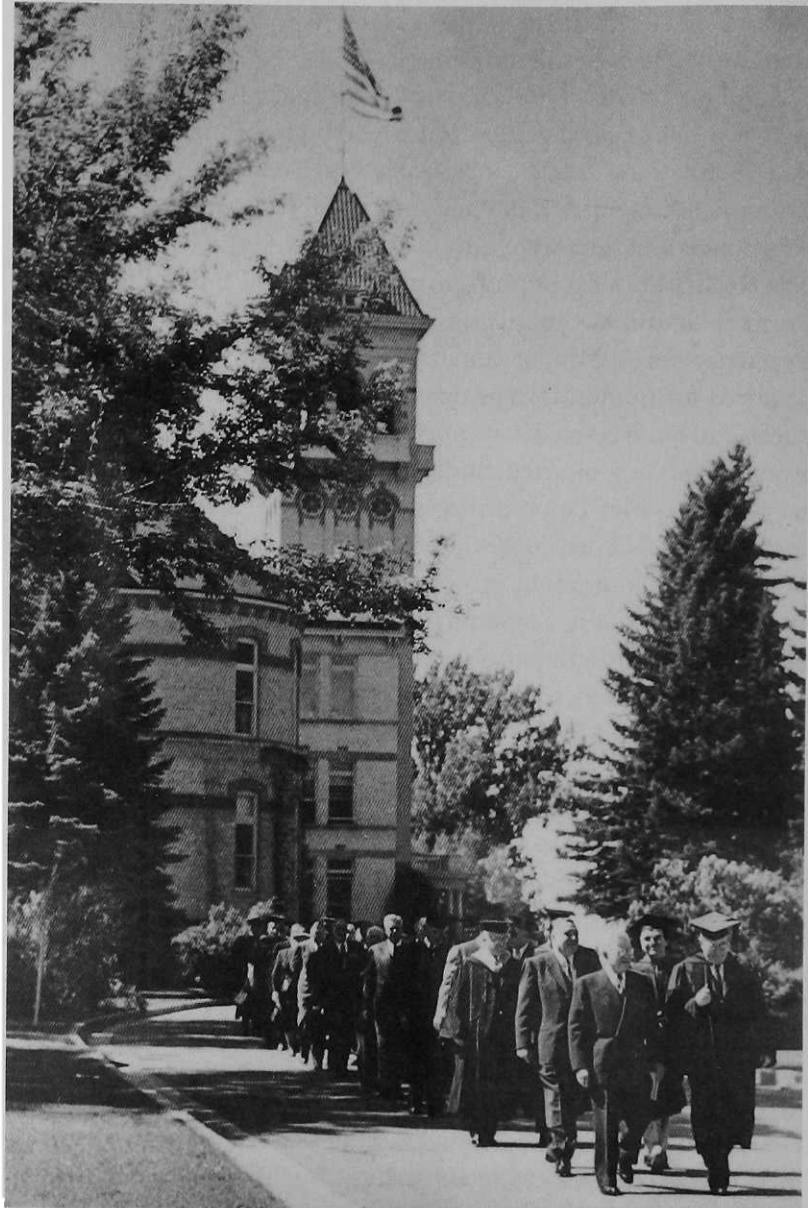
Chase soon had a very positive view of Utah State’s future. Three men aided him considerably. He chose Dr. Milton R. Merrill, a popular teacher and student-faculty advocate, as the academic vice-president. Alma Sonne, a longtime Logan banker and LDS church general authority, replaced Thorpe Issacson as chair of the board of trustees and removed the board from daily interference with campus affairs. Finally, George D. Clyde, Utah State’s former dean of engineering, became the governor of the state. It might have been luck, but Chase’s administration benefited remarkably from these administrative changes.

Daryl Chase focused his attention on the physical and economic needs of the college. His work with the legislature was effective and the results were astounding. The first major accomplishment was gaining university status for the institution in 1957 as Utah State University of Agriculture and Applied Sciences. Still emphasizing the land-grant theme, Chase and his administration succeeded in moving Utah State toward becoming a powerful research university. During the fourteen years of Chase’s administration, research appropriations increased by 400 percent and the student body rose from 3,600 to 8,710. Chase expanded various Agency for Internal Development overseas projects, which also brought additional foreign students, especially from Iran, Iraq, Bolivia, Thailand, and India. By 1968 there were nearly 1,000 foreign students on campus. The faculty grew by 40 percent and the necessary academic qualifications for admission were also increased. Milton Merrill guided the academic growth with the attitude that every student and faculty member had value and significance. Once again the university’s growth had a very positive economic and social impact on the county. Comparatively

low out-of-state tuition helped create diversity, which aided the attainment of university status in 1957.

The university's physical plant also changed dramatically. The post-war baby boom generation began coming to campus in the mid-1960s, necessitating considerable expansion. During his tenure the Agricultural Science, Biology and Forestry, Engineering, and Fine Arts Center buildings were completed and the library was renovated. The Health, Physical Education, and Recreation Building, the new Romney Stadium, the Business Building, and the multipurpose Spectrum were all under construction when he left. Funding was acquired for numerous new dormitories and the LDS church was allowed to build seven dorms northeast of the cemetery. The university also built new married-student housing units north of the cemetery and a trailer court on LDS church-owned land east of the married units. Chase desired an on-campus residence base for students and encouraged the growth of adjacent fraternities and sororities.³⁰ Cache County's economy received a tremendous boost from all of these construction projects.

Daryl Chase retired in 1968 and was replaced by Glen L. Taggart, who led Utah State for eleven years. Taggart, a native of Lewiston and a Utah State graduate with a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Wisconsin, had a worldwide reputation in international education and service. Taggart continued many of the policies of Chase in regard to research, teaching, and service; however, the 1970s were a time of slow growth and a fairly stagnant national economy. Taggart did develop an entirely new administrative structure within weeks of his arrival. He created the office of provost and brought another Cache native, R. Gaurth Hansen, a biochemist, back to direct the academic affairs of Utah State. He then created the position of vice-president for research, to which he appointed D. Wynn Thorne. The vice-president for the Extension Division was Clark Ballard, another former "Aggie" (Utah State alumnus) who, like Hansen, had been with Taggart at Michigan State. He also eventually chose vice-presidents for business, university relations, and student services. Most importantly, Taggart and Hansen developed the concept of a decentralized budget. This meant that every academic department or other university agency was given a budget and that its operating, travel,



Utah State University graduation, 1960s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

and miscellaneous monies were administered at the departmental level. The result of this was an elevation of each administrative unit and an increase in research initiatives.

Taggart also orchestrated changes in student government. He also worked for numerous additions to the university's physical plant. Taggart had positive relations with the county community and convinced area residents that the university and the county were closely conjoined. Taggart's concern for international education led Utah State to join with other like-minded institutions in international development projects. He implemented hiring procedures recommended by national affirmative-action legislation. Taggart also allowed successful research efforts to help create a direction for the university. Under his administration upper atmospheric research was acknowledged as a Utah State area of expertise, and he allowed the College of Engineering to develop the famous Space Dynamics Laboratory. He worked with the commissioner of higher education, a statewide coordinating office, to build classroom extension programs throughout the state. Successful centers in the Uinta Basin and in Moab are a result of this effort.³¹

Taggart took an early retirement in order to serve the USAID program and work in international education. His successor was his former vice-provost, Stanford O. Cazier. Cazier, a native of Nephi, Utah, had come to Utah State as a historian in 1960 and left in 1971 to become the president of Chico State University in California. A popular teacher, Cazier inherited an institution in 1979 that was again on the brink of dramatic expansion. He also believed in the decentralized budget system, having been one of its architects. He kept R. Gaurth Hansen as provost until Hansen retired.

The student body increased from fewer than 10,000 to more than 16,000 during Cazier's thirteen years at the helm. He worked closely with students to increase their participation in campus activities. A near-disastrous fire in Old Main in 1983 prompted a renovation of that historic landmark as well as an expansion of the Student Center. He also sought private funding and state cooperation for new Food and Nutrition, Forestry, Science and Engineering, and Education buildings. Once again the local economy received a great boost from this expansion. The groundwork was laid for a new Science and

Technology Library as well as for sites in Roosevelt and Vernal for Extension Division centers. Cazier also fulfilled Taggart's wish when the Kellogg Foundation funded the University Inn in the center of campus and the David Eccles family donated the money for a conference center.

Cazier presided over the university's 1988 centennial ceremonies. Under his tenure, research grants increased to the degree that they outdistanced state dollars as a means of support for the university. Simultaneously, private giving increased as well. The university had been a bit negligent in cultivating its graduates, but this effort intensified during Cazier's tenure and accelerated under his successor.

Under the state's Higher Education Reorganization Act, each institution has a board of trustees as well as the statewide Utah Board of Regents. Cazier, like many of his predecessors, saw boards as somewhat intrusive at times and felt their role should be to affirm, raise money, and not bother the academic functions of institutions. The boards combined, however, and asked him to step down at age sixty-one, offering him a tenured position in history. Cazier chose not to battle them and, after a sabbatical, returned to the classroom in the fall of 1993.³²

George H. Emert, the first non-Mormon and non-Utahn to serve as president of Utah State University since Jeremiah Sanborn, became president in 1992. Emert, a biochemist with a Ph.D. from Virginia Polytechnic Institute, came to Utah after administrative experience at Auburn University and the University of Arkansas. Emert has successfully built university relations to enhance alumni, development, and information services. He has established alumni chapters in every county of the state, and his work with governing boards and the legislature appears very positive.

On campus Emert ran into the usual "outsider" stumbling blocks. A trustee decision to build a new president's home on Old Main hill coupled with a vocal desire to follow the regents' counsel and switch from a quarter to a semester system brought Emert some community and campus ill will. Ultimately the change was made to semesters. Popular provost Karen W. Morse accepted the presidency at Western Washington University, and a difficult two-year search for a replacement ensued, with Jay Gogue receiving the appointment.



Aerial view of Utah State University campus, 1987. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

Some people expressed concern over what they perceived as a preoccupation with a drive to achieve intercollegiate athletic success. Emert immediately devoted considerable attention to alumni development and information services. Focusing on the Wasatch Front, he endeavored to get Utah State's story told throughout the region.³³

Each administration has faced a series of difficulties. The institution has survived many trying times and will likely face others in the future. The fundamental role of educating Utah's citizens is still the paramount goal of the institution, and Utah State has proudly fulfilled the best dreams of Justin Morrill, Anthon Lund, and John Caine, Jr., among others. Cache County's own high school graduates regularly constitute a large part of the student body. The campus is an extension of the county and has provided opportunities for education and employment to thousands of county residents. The programs of the university's presidents reflect the desires of the people, and for the most part Cache County's citizens are most pleased with Utah State.

ENDNOTES

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6. Ricks, *Utah State Agricultural College*, 32.

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17. See Widtsoe, 84–102. See also Ricks, 50–51, and William Kerr to J.W. Woolf, 20 January 1910, William Kerr Papers, USUSC.
18. Ricks, *A History of Fifty Years*, 44.
19. Herschel Bullen, Jr., “The Utah Agricultural College, University of Utah Consolidation Controversy, 1904 to 1907 and 1927,” manuscript, 1934, Consolidation Papers, USUSC. See also Widtsoe, *In a Sunlit Land*, 83–127.
20. Widtsoe, *In a Sunlit Land*, 128–41.
21. The Elmer G. Peterson Papers, USUSC, is a tremendous collection that details the college’s history. The papers are also a genuine contribution to the history of the county.
22. Senator John Peters to President Elmer Peterson, 22 April 1930, Peterson Papers, USUSC.
23. Board of Trustees Minutes, 12 July 1944 and 16 May 1945.
24. Gwen H. Haws, ed., *Iran and Utah State University: Half a Century of Friendship and a Decade of Contracts* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1963), 8.
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26. *Herald Journal*, 26 May 1953.
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28. “Bennion Committee Report,” 1953, USUSC.
29. Daryl Chase, interview with F. Ross Peterson, 19 February 1980, Daryl Chase Papers, USUSC.
30. Daryl Chase, speech, 28 May 1968, Daryl Chase Papers, USUSC.
31. Glen L. Taggart, interview with F. Ross Peterson, 4 May 1987, USUSC. See also the presidential papers of each president, USUSC.
32. Stanford O. Cazier, interview with F. Ross Peterson, 18 May 1990, USUSC.
33. George H. Emert, interview with F. Ross Peterson, 18 August 1992, USUSC.

A CULTURAL SURVEY OF THE COUNTY: ARTS, ACTIVITIES, AND ATHLETICS

The great football game has been played. The Agricultural College boys met the University students and the latter are the former's. . . . The score stood twelve for the Agriculturalists and nothing for anybody else.

—*HERALD JOURNAL*, 16 NOVEMBER 1892

Education has always been important to the people of Cache County. By 1900 the county boasted two colleges, six public and one private high school, and primary schools in every town. Nearly one hundred years later, education is still one of the most important economic and cultural components of the county. With a university of nearly 20,000 students and 5,000 employees and two fairly large school districts that educate nearly 10,000 children a year and have 1,000 employees, these educational institutions have also provided a tremendous social and cultural boost to the county. Utah State University has always played the role of community cultural, social, and recreational leader. Through its music, art, theater, and athletic departments, Utah State provides a significant resource for those seeking culture, the arts, and entertainment. Cache County youth

constitute more students at Utah State than those from any other county, and the university prides itself in being an avenue for learning and life.

Culture is more than what one does with his or her leisure time; but how people recreate in a frontier society is very important. People often do not have much spare time, and it is valuable when a community can come together to enjoy each others talents. In earlier times, many county people played instruments and music was central to dancing, singing, theater, and life. Long before the establishment of the colleges, there was a foundation of culture and art in Cache County.

Dancing seemed the most universally popular recreational activity of the early pioneers. The LDS church wards featured dances, even if the early buildings were too small. Charles Bailey, a Wellsville pioneer of 1859, wrote that the Christmas and New Year's holidays were filled with dancing.

Our meeting house was very small 14 x 16 and our music was very scarce only one violin and there was to many for the house so we divided up and one part went to Brother John Maughan's house but when we got there we had no music so I was called to make music for the dance being a good whistler. I had to do my best John Maughan and Frank Gunnell did the calling we had a good time all the same but in those days I could make as good music as a flute or a pickalo.¹

Six months after the first settlers arrived in Logan, Henry Ballard recorded that "I joined for the first time in the dance with Seventies [a Mormon priesthood group] at our party."² Large cultural halls became a fixture of Mormon chapels in the twentieth century when the church could afford to build them.

For the most part, the dances were square dances, which is why the caller was so important. The Virginia Reel also was popular, as were a variety of polkas, especially in Providence, where German and Swiss converts congregated; but waltzes and two steps were considered by many a little too suggestive. Some wards limited waltzes to two a night while others forbade them all together. Many times people brought a box lunch because they simply refused to miss a



Billiards and other individual games popular at turn of century. Club Billiards, 117 North Main, Logan, 1910s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

dance. The weekly ward dances were opened and closed with prayer. Usually, the dances ended near midnight with a final refreshment of pie or sandwiches. Dances were the premier social events of the valley. Initially a fiddle provided most of the dance accompaniment. Accordions and harmonicas also provided music. Because of their size and expense pianos came later and were more often used for children's dances. Although dancing has changed, square dancing has remained an active form of recreation and entertainment. However, although the caller maintains considerable importance, most current square dancing relies on recorded music.

Every holiday, as well as most weekends, saw a dance in nearly every county community. During the late nineteenth century, round dancing became very popular although, as mentioned earlier, the LDS church young women's organization asked girls to pledge not to round dance. The churches of most faiths sponsored dances and various communities supported private dance halls. From the 1930s until the 1960s, numerous dance bands existed in the county. Groups led by Dick Beecher, Larry Smith, and Cal Jacobsen joined the Mendon Band among the many groups that entertained and accom-



May Day celebration, Petersboro, 1920s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

panied dancing. Logan featured the Palador as a favorite dance hall; it was replaced by the Dansante. During the years before World War II, the classiest place for a formal dance was the mezzanine floor of the Hotel Eccles (now a First Security Bank). The increased use of automobiles made all of these facilities very accessible. The last of the private dance halls in the county is the Elite Hall in Hyrum, which features a spring-based floor. After the conversion of the Eccles Hotel to a bank, the university's Student Center ballroom became the center for large dances.³ Traditionally, Utah State had numerous annual events such as the Military Ball, the various Greek formals, the Preference Ball, and many others. During the 1960s, formal dancing nearly disappeared. The Greek campus organizations still had formals, but they often held them in Jackson Hole, Sun Valley, or Park City.

Another casualty of the 1960s were the LDS ward and stake Gold and Green balls as well as huge church-sponsored regional dance festivals. These activities involved a formal dance in the numerous ward or stake cultural halls. Nearly all church buildings finished after the 1930s included a gymnasium or cultural hall. At the midpoint of the dance, young people presented a floor show which consisted of a grand promenade into the hall followed by a series of dances by each

age group. After the various wards completed their respective balls, the stake dance director brought everyone together for an evening of dancing featuring the youth floor shows. When the number of wards and stakes are calculated, the number of church dances in the county was great. During the summers many young people practiced extensively and participated in numerous regional and even an all-church dance festival held in large university football stadiums. Romney Stadium in Logan frequently hosted these events. It might have been the advent of television and the increased availability of nationally popular music, but something caused Cache County's youngsters to lose interest in those activities and stop participating. Traditional dance greatly declined. Dances are still held at the schools and on Utah State's campus, but rarely are they held in Mormon church cultural halls.⁴

Adults have always debated with youth about what dances were acceptable and proper. Parents who opposed the Charleston and fox-trot of the 1920s were the same people who wanted to waltz a generation earlier when their parents restricted that particular dance. Those who loved the jitterbugging and flaring skirts of the 1950s looked aghast as the children a decade later did the twist. Of course, the analogy continues to the present, but the reality is that dancing is no longer as central to the culture.

There were other forms of communal activity that also revealed the growth and development of society. Families and friends gathered to share their efforts at harvest time. Corn husking, apple paring, quilting, threshing, and candy making all brought people together to visit and enjoy their communal task. In Lewiston an annual candy-pulling contest brought the entire community's children together. Sugar cane grown in the area was taken to a molasses mill to extract the juice, the syrupy mass becoming the substance from which the candy was made. Each child received an arm's length of the substance and then pulled and tugged and twisted until the color evolved from dark brown to a light brown. Each child then chose to cut or shape the individual pieces as it fit his or her creative genius. Everyone was happy because they were allowed to take the candy they had made to their homes.

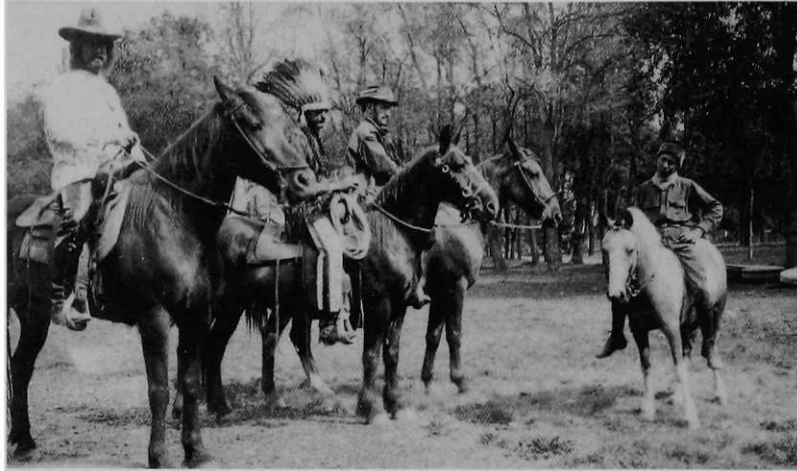
Another aspect of communal celebration was the various holi-



Wellsville baseball team, 1908. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

days that each town chose to emphasize. National holidays are certainly given a local flavor by the interpretations of the particular community. For instance, both Hyrum and Lewiston use July Fourth, national Independence Day, as a day for parades, picnics, rodeos, races, and family gathering. The communities sponsor patriotic speeches, honor the elderly, and generally create a spirit of nostalgia. The two towns cooperate with each other to the degree that they alter the times of their parades so the community and commercial floats can race the twenty-five miles from one end of the county to the other to be in both. Logan enters the patriotic celebration by sponsoring a night of entertainment and fireworks which usually fills Romney Stadium with spectators.

Wellsville utilizes Labor Day as its Founder's Day and takes full advantage of softball tournaments, races, a sham battle between settlers and Native Americans, a parade, a chuck-wagon breakfast, crafts fair, and numerous other activities. A few miles away, Mendon has chosen to emphasize May Day as its time of celebration and remem-



Jim Bridger Centennial, Logan, 1924. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

brance. The Maypole tradition persists and there are dinners, crafts booths, and other events. Richmond also has long had its “Black and White” days, also held in May. This has evolved into a miniature county fair that emphasizes Holstein cattle as well as other animals, and features horse-pulling contests, ball games, and at various times rodeos, races, and craft booths. Smithfield also has a spring festival called Health Days which offers a parade and numerous contests, dances, and other activities. These traditional celebrations have become traditions and serve also as a time for community and family reunions.

One tradition which had a definite ethnic twist was the “sauerkraut dinners” in Providence. Providence had numerous Swiss and German immigrants, who found that cabbage prospered in Cache County. Consequently, crocks of brewing cabbage leaves were found in most basements, even among many of non-German heritage. The ethnic celebration evolved into a system where each ward used the dinner as a means to raise money for its budget. A successful and well-advertised traditional dinner, some of which ran to two or three nights, could nearly cover the annual operating budget. With turkey, mashed potatoes, corn, and pie, the non-sauerkraut devotees also had plenty to eat. When the LDS church changed its policy so that local

units no longer provided their own budgets and newly created wards of newcomers showed little interest, the dinners faded into memory.⁵

Ironically, the 24 July celebration has never had a consistent program in the county. Some consider it a Salt Lake Valley holiday, since it celebrates the coming of pioneers there, although Ogden and other Utah communities also sponsor major celebrations on the date. At various times communities have tried to hold parades or other activities, in part because it is a state holiday. Logan has a crafts fair, speakers, and various booths at the fairgrounds; but the annual Summerfest on Tabernacle Square held in June and the Cache County Fair and Rodeo in August are the major annual celebrations held in Logan City. The county fair reveals the changing character of rural America. In recent years the fair features more equipment and promotional booths than it does animal or produce exhibits. The steer and sheep sales featuring 4-H or Future Farmers of America programs are a remaining feature of earlier fairs. The Utah State University Homecoming celebration features what is probably the largest parade in the county.

Another community event which has developed a large regional following is the Clarkston musical pageant *The Man Who Knew*, based on the life of Martin Harris, an early convert to Mormonism and one of the witnesses to the Book of Mormon, who moved to Cache County and is buried in Clarkston. The annual late-August event is performed at an outdoor amphitheater near the cemetery where Harris is buried. Thousands come to view the performance, which was written by Rhett James, a Logan teacher and writer.

A more recent summer cultural event is the university-sponsored Festival of the American West. The festival includes a parade in late July that opens the week-long event. It also includes a nightly pageant held in the Spectrum, numerous folk art and craft booths, a dutch-oven cooking contest, a variety of entertainers, and thousands of guests. For over twenty years the festival has been one of the county's premier celebrations and attracts tourists from throughout the country. The county communities also are involved in some of the festival's activities.⁶

The university-administered Jensen Historical Farm has also become part of the valley's celebratory history. An annual threshing



Leora Thatcher, stage, radio, and TV actress, appeared in 3,180 performances as Ada Lester in "Tobacco Road." Studied at Utah State University under W. O. Robinson & Sara Huntsman. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

bee at which antique steam engines are fired up is a primary focus of the event, and hundreds of people watch the grain removed from the straw. It appeals to farmers and those who appreciate agricultural history. The farm then delivers the product in a grain wagon pulled by a team of horses to a feed store in Logan where it is processed into feed for farm animals. The farm reenacts World War I period activities, so the various sleigh rides, weddings, gardening, and harvesting activities reflect that period.

Most of the county's celebrations reflect a desire to remember the county's history and traditions. They serve as a line of continuity that ties generations together and also as a method of recalling the material culture of the past. A pioneer heritage based on agriculture and a variety of religions is preserved through these annual events that define the county, past and present.

Cultural events came quickly to the university campus. Old Main auditorium quickly became a community center as the location for plays, operas, concerts, and lectures. With its beautiful balcony supported by carved columns, the auditorium could seat more than 800 people. It was used extensively until the Fine Arts Center was completed in the mid-1960s. Utah State has always tried to maintain a presence in the greater community. The shared use at an early date of the Thatcher Opera House epitomized an important relationship that came to exist. When the beautiful theater burned in 1912, it was showing the college production of *The Mikado*. Utah State's acquisition of the Lyric Theater in 1959 and direct involvement in the renovation of the Ellen Eccles Theater indicates the university's continual commitment to the cultural success of the community. Utah State's students and faculty have long sponsored nationally known lecturers as well as numerous performing artists in Logan.

Utah State's relationship to the community has not always been perfect. A 1995 argument over who should provide electrical power for Utah State and an earlier debate over water usage document that fact. The transition of arts and culture from community to university back to community is a very interesting story. Brigham Young, as he did in so many areas, set the stage for theatrical existence in Utah when he advocated the construction of the Salt Lake Theater. He waxed eloquent when the theater opened: "It is our privilege and our

duty to search all things upon the face of the earth, and learn what there is for men to enjoy, what God has ordained for the benefit and happenings of mankind, and then make use of it without sinning against Him.”⁷

Shortly after communities were settled, theatrical groups were formed first in Mendon, then Logan, Smithfield, Providence, and Clarkston. Many of the performances were melodramas such as *Ten Nights in a Bar Room*, *Ben Bolt*, *Rough Diamond*, and *Black-eyed Susan*. Dramatic associations existed in most of the communities. The Calico Troupe, organized by Joseph Humphries and his wife, existed in Millville, and in 1884 the people of Lewiston built their own opera house, which became the center of community activities. Before it burned in 1929, it had been the location of motion pictures, dances, dramatic productions, basketball games, and roller skating.

In Logan, the first plays were held in the Logan Hall at First West and then were moved to David Reese’s hall on Center Street. Reese had a theater upstairs and a livery stable and later a roller-skating rink downstairs. In 1890, George W. Thatcher, who had managed the Salt Lake Theater Company, decided to build an opera house in Logan. The Thatcher family had also decided to build a new bank building, so George Thatcher thought a theater on the top two floors, above the bank, would add to the significance of the building. The 50-by-100-foot building was constructed of red brick with white flagstone decorating the windows and dividing the floors. The theater’s capacity was nearly 800 people. This structure was modern for its time, featuring steam heat, indoor plumbing, and electricity. The opening was delayed until September because the power plant in Logan Canyon had not been completed, yet the postponement seemed worth the wait. The very elegant theater had horsehair-covered seats, a balcony in the rear which extended down the sides, and box seats. With the electrically lighted entryway and the beautiful carpeted stairway, the Thatcher Opera House began a cultural reign of nearly twenty-two years. The opera house had a band and orchestra that utilized the facility for all the years of its existence. The band also gave concerts throughout the valley and their outdoor presentations on Tabernacle Square were well attended. The Thatcher Minstrels, the Thatcher Vocal Quartette, the Mendelssohn Quartette, and the Harris

Brothers Company all entertained in the opera house. Encouraging local talent, the theater offered to many the opportunity to perform and develop their skills on stage in front of large groups.⁸

Ray Somers compiled a list of every event staged at the theater. In 1906 sixty-six different programs appeared in the opera house. The Utah State Opera Company produced *The Pirates of Penzance*, *The Mikado*, and *Pinafore*. Various minstrel shows appeared as well as numerous other traveling troupes which presented plays. A royal Hawaiian band, The Tivoli Opera Company of San Francisco, and "Albine and Princess Algo: Telepathy and Character Reading" also appeared that year. That small sampling gives an indication of the breadth of entertainment.⁹ The Thatchers brought J.R. Edwards, a saloon owner whom some considered a Mormon apostate, to manage the opera house. Edwards both could risk and subsequently accept blame if something of a more sensational nature did not work. He brought profits to the Thatchers during his six years of management. Edwards utilized the opera house for boxing, movies, and demonstrations by "Chief Washakie's Indians," as well as other activities.

The opera house generally closed for nearly two months during the summers. Many Salt Lake City plays and acting groups came to Logan, and lectures from famous politicians such as suffragette Charlotte Kirby, who was Brigham Young's granddaughter, and South Carolina's agrarian populist Senator Ben Tillman, who appeared on the stage in 1907. New theatrical devices were experimented with at the theater. Thomas A. Edison's invention of the "triograph," which cast animated pictures onto a screen, was introduced in 1897. It astounded the audience; a reporter claimed the pictures were "so real that it is almost impossible to believe that they are pictures at all."¹⁰

Moving pictures soon challenged the Opera House as a form of entertainment. Small theaters were established throughout the county and drastically cut into the Thatcher Opera House's attendance. Management believed the time had come for reduced fares and perhaps some remodeling. Both Brigham Young College and Utah State Agricultural College had auditoriums of some size and, although they brought some of their shows to the opera house, they kept most productions on campus. Finally, in March 1912, the man-



Remains from the devastating fire of the Thatcher Opera House, 1912, (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

agement announced that movies would become the major part of the offering at the Thatcher Opera House.

On the afternoon of 17 April 1912, only hours before the sold-out Utah State production of *The Mikado* started, the grand opera house caught fire. It is assumed that the fire began in the basement of an adjacent store because all of its storage area was totally destroyed, as was the splendid opera house. A breeze swept the flames through the structure and totally overwhelmed the Logan Fire Department, which called for help from the college and Ogden fire departments.¹¹ Ogden city officials loaded their equipment on Union Pacific cars and were ready to travel when the call came that the disastrous fire was under control. The devastation to the opera house was total, but the fire did not spread to many adjacent structures. The estimated damages to the building and its contents exceeded \$60,000—which would easily be many times that figure now. The loss of the Thatcher Opera House was devastating. The next day bold headlines proclaimed “WORST FIRE IN CACHE VALLEY HISTORY”; in smaller headlines to the right was the story of the sinking of the luxury liner *Titanic* with over a thousand deaths.

George Thatcher’s intent when building the opera house was not

only to make money but also to provide a cultural gift to the county. Although early managers accepted food and produce for tickets, the opera house rarely made a profit. Built to showcase the talent of the world as well as the valley, it brought Cache County and the outside world into closer proximity. Trains through the county made access easy for traveling operas, concerts, plays, vaudeville shows, and movies. Consequently, some observers called Logan the “Athens of the West.” Patience Thatcher later wrote:

There are those who speak of the place with affection; they enjoy telling of the nights of wonder and delight which they spent there; of the scenes of joy and sorrow, laughter and tears that they witnessed there. In their minds it grew larger and more beautiful after it was destroyed, and some were surprised, recently, when they were made to realize how small it really was.¹²

That is true. The place could barely hold 800 customers; but in the memories of those who experienced the stage and witnessed the productions, the Thatcher Opera House provided a wonderful venue for cultural activities.

There were other outlets and locations for cultural events after the opera house burned down. The Thatchers had also built a small theater called the Lyric which was used for vaudeville and other activities. They eventually located it at its present site and spent a considerable amount of money decorating the interior, including using hand-carved columns. Later a balcony was constructed. For years the Lyric was used for motion pictures and live plays. Gradually, it became exclusively a movie house. It eventually closed, and in 1959 the Thatcher heirs donated the Lyric to Utah State University.¹³

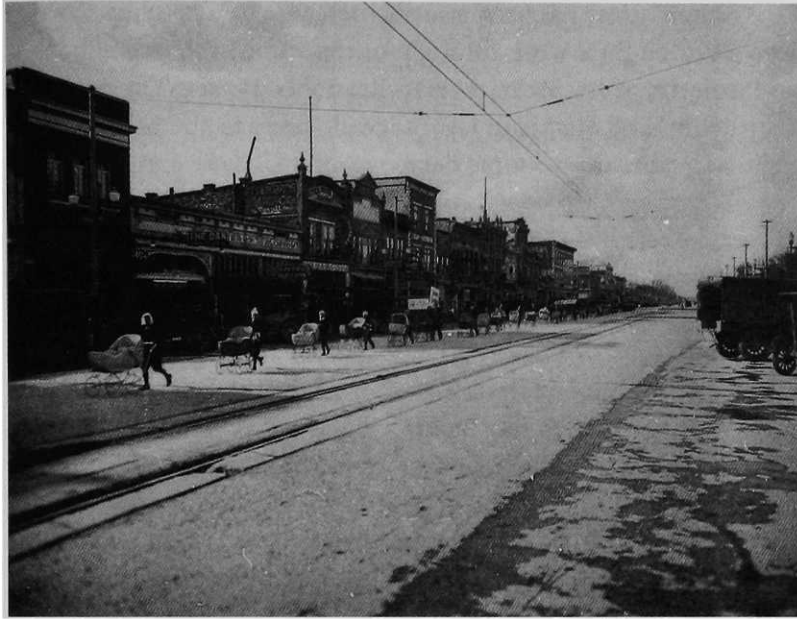
In 1967 the Lyric began a nearly thirty-year run housing the Lyric Repertory Company, which produces summer plays and on occasion a winter production. Under university direction and management, the Lyric provides feature attractions during summers in Cache County. Rotating four plays as fare, the Theater Arts Department brings exceptionally talented actors to perform with its own students, faculty, and technicians. Funded by grants and donations, the Lyric is currently (1996) in the process of a second major physical renovation.

The Thatchers, committed to culture and the stage, decided to replace the opera house with a very large theater in 1921. The result of their efforts was the elegant Capitol Theater on South Main Street. Their intent was to out-do the Capitol Theater in Salt Lake City. The Logan building had a long gradual entrance from the street because only a small tiny storefront was available for purchase. The visitor then goes to a large foyer before entering the spectacular interior of the theater. It seats 900 on the main floor, 400 in the balcony, and another 150 in the boxes and loges. The elegantly designed wood-work, panels, and walls are spectacular with their elaborate detail. With a large orchestra and organ pit in front, the huge stage alone was nearly half as large as the entire original opera house. The seventy-foot-wide stage is thirty-six feet deep and sixty-five feet high. It is a tremendous resource for a community the size of Logan.

For nearly fifty years the facility's primary function was as a movie theater. There also were occasional concerts and the university-sponsored Robins Awards, which brought VIPs of all sorts, including Duke Ellington, Count Basie, Ted Williams, and Jackie Kennedy Onassis. But primarily people went there to watch a movie. The ornamental decorations became lost in the dark lights and institutional paint soon covered them. Unfortunately, a theater of that size does not lend itself to modern movies and in the mid-1970s the owners decided to close the theater.

Eugene Needham, a primary stockholder in the Capitol Theater facility, negotiated a trade with a nonprofit group called the Capitol Arts Alliance, led by Jonathan Bullen, and from this agreement a mammoth restoration project began which cost millions of dollars, survived a near-catastrophic fire, and emerged with a wonderfully restored Ellen Eccles Theater as well as the Bullen Center for the Arts. Michael Ballam, a Cache Valley native and professor of voice at Utah State with considerable opera performing experience, created the Utah Festival Opera Company program that has offered citizens a varied selection of operas to complement the fare at the Lyric and the Festival of the American West.¹⁴

Of course, the three county high schools and university as well as the Valley Players and the Stagestop Theater also currently produce musicals and plays. When Utah State's Morgan Theater, the Kent



Baby carriage race sponsored by Edwards Furniture Company held on Main Street, Logan, 1920s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

Concert Hall, and the large high school auditoriums are added to the Ellen Eccles Theater and the Lyric Theater, Cache County has facilities that are perhaps unparalleled on a per capita basis. The variety of productions compares very favorably with those that appeared at the old Thatcher Opera House. The valley also sponsors a Civic Ballet, housed in the Bullen Center, which affords numerous youngsters the opportunity to learn and perform ballet.

The Bullen Arts Center also serves as a home for local artists. Potters, painters, sculptors, and dancers are able to teach and develop in a community education atmosphere. Cache County has a rich tradition in the visual as well as the performing arts. Utah State set the pattern for this development shortly after its founding when the college invested in European-trained artists like Calvin Fletcher, who served over three decades as Utah State's Art Department head. The university provided a vital role in not only training younger visual artists but also creating a base and facilities for practicing art professors.¹⁵

Cache County has been visually presented by a number of artists who have left their work throughout the schools, churches, homes, and galleries of the West. Reuben Reynolds, Everett Thorpe, Gaell Lindstrom, and Harrison Groutage all came to the college while Calvin Fletcher was to some degree involved. These and other individuals created numerous landscapes of their adopted county. Later photographers like Craig Law and R.T. Clark added their talents to the preservation of the valley on film. One of the most talented and intriguing university artists was Moishe Smith, a printmaker whose prints of Cache County and Utah capture the beauty of the area. Smith, like sculptor Larry Elsner, died prematurely but left a visual monument to the spectacular beauty of Cache County.¹⁶ Contemporary artists such as Kent Wallis and Russell Case provide a continuing legacy for the art community.

Cache County has become a focal point for literature as well, and no one has succeeded on a national level more than May Swenson, a winner of the coveted MacArthur Prize for her poetry. Swenson, a product of Logan schools and Utah State, has received critical acclaim for her poetry, which often reflects Cache County themes and, to a degree, tensions.¹⁷ The university has produced and employed numerous writers and scholars who have shaped views of Cache County. Professional journals featuring western themes are edited on campus, so it is no surprise that nature writer Thomas J. Lyon, folklorist Barre Toelken, poet Ken Brewer, and a number of historians including Joel Ricks, George Ellsworth, Leonard Arrington, Charles Peterson, and Clyde Milner have written extensively on the region from their campus offices.

Music is also a great Cache County tradition. County bands and symphony orchestras have always been an essential ingredient of theaters and the university. Music training is necessary to provide accompaniment for the local operas, musicals, and other productions. Utah State has maintained very active symphony and band programs that enable both music majors and performers to hone their talents. Utah State professors and piano teachers like Irving Wassermen and Gary Amano have taught numerous pianists. The same can be said for the orchestra, band, and vocal components of that program. Dance bands have been replaced by recorded music

systems, yet the public schools still teach musical instruments and provide an avenue for further training.

In Cache County two musical developments have seen high schools receive tremendous recognition. Although it is difficult to establish the exact beginnings, marching bands became a trademark for Sky View High School and, when the school was divided in 1983, Mountain Crest High School also became noted when Sherry Manning, the band director moved to the new school. Under the direction of Manning and her successors at both schools, the schools' bands achieved state, regional, and national recognition. Distinguished by their precision and creativity, the bands have competed in national events such as college football bowl parades.

Dancing also has a long history in Cache Valley. Private dance instructors began giving group lessons to very young students at an early date, and through recitals, performances, and competition young women have learned discipline as well as modern dance. Area high schools sponsor drill teams and the state has numerous dance contests. One group that helped create interest in dance was the Utah State Aggiettes, which began in the 1950s as a precision drill team but evolved into one of the premier university performance dance teams in America. These newer developments complement the traditional symphonies, ballet, opera, and musicals that are part of a rich Cache County heritage and demonstrate that music, drama, and art are an integral part of Cache County at all levels of society.

The same can be said for athletics. Ever since that first recorded Utah State Aggie football victory over the University of Utah Utes in 1892, sports have played a major role in the cultural life of the valley. Colleges and high schools evolved from intramural sports to intrascholastic and intercollegiate competition that has grown to an amazing extent. With numerous arenas and stadiums, institutions have come to focus on sports as an identifying feature of educational value within contemporary society. The wisdom of this philosophy can be debated, but state-supported athletic competition is as significant to many young people as are required academic subjects. Cache County always had an interest in athletics, but it took a long time to get to the situation that exists today. Due to federal law, Utah State University and the public schools are required to provide equal



Women of Mendon playing a basketball game at May Day celebration, circa. 1903. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

opportunity for women as well as men. Consequently, in recent years the demand for facilities has nearly doubled, as has the number of participants. Youth soccer, a phenomena of the past twenty years, involves the entire valley and thousands of children participate annually. Hundreds of young men and women join Junior Jazz, Mustang, or Bobcat basketball programs each winter. The Little League, Pony League, Colt League, and American Legion baseball programs as well as new young women's fastpitch softball leagues also keep many people involved in organized sports.

Utah State University and local high schools offer a variety of sports camps for aspiring stars. Organized leagues and camps are administered by professional coaches and volunteer boards and usually require a participation fee. Television has helped elevate athletics to a position of cultural prominence in American life and in Cache County. However, Cache County has a very significant athletic history dating back to the nineteenth century.¹⁸

One sport that has a consistent history in the valley is baseball and its derivation softball. As early as the 1890s, baseball was played by town teams throughout the valley. Some individuals of English heritage still tried to play cricket, but baseball became America's game. Participants only needed a fairly level field upon which to play and minimal equipment—a stick and a ball. Originally town teams played either on Saturday or Sunday afternoons. Since lighted fields did not exist, the games were played in the day; and, since nearly everyone was involved in agriculture, games could not be played on weekdays. Both Brigham Young College and Utah State fielded teams, and often those same players stayed together for summer ball. During the World War I years and the 1920s, Cache Valley seemed preoccupied by the game of baseball. The box scores in the *Logan Journal* indicate that attendance was high, brawls frequent, and competition keen. At one time or another, most of the Cache County communities boasted teams, which meant that most towns also had a chicken-wire backstop with a baseball diamond in front of a covered grandstand. Only Richmond's grandstand remains as a reminder of these once wonderful community-sponsored teams which afforded townspeople an opportunity to play.

One baseball supporter was John L. Coburn, a Wellsville native who played every major sport at Utah State. After graduating, he worked for Utah State for twenty-one years and helped make athletics an integral part of the college experience. Coburn for years helped coach the Aggies baseball team, which in the summer was called the Collegians when it played in the Cache Valley League. The biggest controversies usually surrounded the use of paid "ringers" who came into the valley on the weekends, played, and then left. According to league rules, each team was allowed two such players, but the Collegians could call on any student who had, did, or might attend Utah State. The alleged abuse of this rule led to protests accompanying many games. Some of the better outside players received as much as \$350 a month to exhibit their talent. The papers often referred to this league as semi-professional because some players received compensation.¹⁹

Coburn helped develop the first and last professional league in which Cache teams ever played. The Utah-Idaho League became the

predecessor of the original Pioneer League. This was before major league teams had extensive farm systems that received financial support from the major league franchise. Coburn became the owner, manager, trainer, and scout for the Logan Collegians, which lasted two years in the league that included Salt Lake City, Ogden, Pocatello, Idaho Falls, Twin Falls, and Boise teams. The Utah-Idaho Interurban Railroad provided the opportunity for many fans to travel to away games and the valley adopted the team.

The most noted player Coburn signed was Adolph Camilli, who later played thirteen years in the major leagues, primarily with the Chicago Cubs and Brooklyn Dodgers. Years later two of Camilli's sons came from California and played football and baseball for Utah State. The Collegians also played exhibition games against the local town teams. They finished in the middle of the pennant race both years. After the club folded, Coburn spent the rest of his baseball career as an umpire in the Cache Valley League.

During the 1930s baseball continued to occupy the interest of many in Cache County. Through radio, local fans could support the major leagues, even though all teams were all east of the Mississippi and north of St. Louis. However, a new type of ball began to sweep Cache County. In part because the game is faster and the diamond smaller and also because the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints needed a program to capture the interest of its youth, fastpitch softball became a popular local sport. The game caught on quickly. Softball diamonds were often constructed adjacent to church warehouses and, by the end of the decade, lights existed at many diamonds. Church leaders had long been uncomfortable with Sunday baseball, so lighted town or church diamonds made nighttime softball a reality. The church leagues in Cache Valley actually pioneered the churchwide program, and soon the entire church was involved in softball and, later, basketball.

The sport of softball grew rapidly and eventually commercial and other teams, playing on diamonds at Worthington Park or Wellsville, augmented the church leagues. Cache teams regularly dominated the early all-church tournaments held in Salt Lake City as well as the state tournaments for the commercial teams. Often a particular ward team might become a commercial team and play three or four games a

week. While baseball seemed more popular and enduring in the north end of the valley, softball became dominant in the communities of the southern part of the county. In the late 1940s Richmond's Jay Van Noy became one of the first valley residents to play baseball professionally; but Wellsville became the center of softball dominance. Wellsville residents Don Darley, Steve Leishman, and Mark Baldwin competed at national levels. Ralph Maughan and Lex Baer, from Hyrum and Providence respectively, were dominant pitchers whose achievements are recognized by the Utah Softball Hall of Fame. College Ward's Marvin and Milton Abrams were an exceptionally talented battery, and their sister Wilma became one of the nation's best pitchers for years as a member of the Utah Shamrocks.²⁰ The direct impact of these youth programs was that many young people played much more softball than baseball and the town baseball teams gradually disappeared during the World War II years. The high schools and colleges maintained their baseball teams, but summer ball remained primarily fastpitch softball. Even Utah State University, citing poor early season weather and excessive expense, abandoned the sport of baseball in 1970.

Smithfield's baseball team, the Blue Sox, weathered the move away from baseball. Church and commercial fastpitch softball leagues began to be replaced by softball slowpitch teams during the 1970s. In slowpitch the pitchers could not as totally dominate. Smithfield, mostly because of the extreme dedication of Richard Hansen, kept playing baseball through the changes. Utilizing local talent from the high schools and colleges throughout the region, Smithfield became a dominant team in the Northern Utah League and the Beehive League. Eventually Hyrum, Logan, and Providence also fielded teams, and lighted baseball diamonds were constructed in each of these communities. Numerous softball leagues continue at present, with a variety of leagues and varied rules depending on the league or the tournament or the gender composition of the teams.

Simultaneous with the rise of slowpitch softball came a rebirth of interest in summer baseball at all levels. In the mid-1970s local communities moved away from town-sponsored little leagues (for ages 8–12) to an eventual affiliation with the Western Boys Baseball Association. For more than twenty years now there have been leagues

throughout the valley that involve thousands of youngsters in t-ball and other league programs. The teams from Providence and Logan have won WBBA national crowns and those communities also have hosted the final tournaments. The WBBA success has led to a relationship with national Pony, Colt, and American Legion league associations for those from thirteen to nineteen years old. From this experience five Cache County natives—Dave Jensen, Jed Murray, Bart Peterson, Blair Hodson, and Aaron Thatcher—have all played professionally and twenty county natives have received college athletic scholarships in the past ten years.

Although church-sponsored softball has nearly died, there are still very active slowpitch leagues throughout the valley. The most recent variant is a rebirth of fastpitch softball for women, with numerous organized leagues to produce players. Since both Utah State and local high schools compete, youth leagues have been organized for many young women. The Aggies have had nationally competitive teams, and now can draw upon some home-grown talent, which increases interest dramatically.

Football has been an important part of Utah State history since that 12–0 victory over Utah in 1892. Football, because of required equipment and constantly evolving rules, has often been sponsored and controlled by academic institutions. The Aggies played on the quad, then moved to Adams Park, and later to the first Romney Stadium in 1927. The original stadium was located where the Health, Physical Education, and Recreation Building is now.

The nature of intercollegiate athletics has changed dramatically. Until 1901, faculty, townspeople and other non-students could play in the games.²¹ However, as interest grew, so did conferences and rules. At that time most sports existed for male students. Football and basketball flourished, but the college needed facilities. A small gymnasium was built on the third floor of the north wing of Old Main and track, tennis, and baseball were played on the quad. The university's nickname evolved from the Agriculturalists to the Farmers, to Big Blue in 1916, and eventually back to the Aggies. The facilities at Old Main in time proved inadequate, and the dressing rooms in the basement of the south wing created a regular parade of semi-clad athletes. Charlotte Kyle, a teacher of English, complained about this

to President John A. Widstoe.²² Widstoe asked her to help raise money for a proper facility and she then obtained a \$10,000 gift from Thomas Smart. Smart Gymnasium was built in 1913, the same year all outdoor athletics were shifted to Adams Park. In 1918 President E.G. Peterson hired E.L. "Dick" Romney to be coach and athletic director. Romney served the college as long as did Peterson and presided over the construction of a stadium as well as the building of Nelson Fieldhouse in 1938. All athletic events were now held on campus and their appeal was regionwide.

Utah State depended on the talent of local athletes for a number of reasons. These were the days before athletic scholarships of much substance, so recruiting was much different. Local youths provided most of the talent. The Aggies were very successful at intercollegiate sports during the 1930s and boasted all-Americans Elmer "Bear" Ward and Kent Ryan. The Rocky Mountain Athletic Conference and then the Mountain States Athletic Conference, organized in 1946, gave the Aggies natural rivalries with universities including Utah, Wyoming, BYU, Colorado State, Montana, and other regional schools. Many local athletes from county high schools aspired to become Aggies. Romney Stadium held nearly 13,000 people and the fieldhouse seated 6,500, and they were often filled with loyal fans. In 1961 the Mountain States (Skyline) Conference disbanded and the Aggies became independent until 1977 when the school joined the Pacific Coast Athletic Conference, which eventually became the Big West Conference.

Many of the Aggie football players who became professionals were home grown. Ward, Ryan, Ralph Maughan, Merlin and Phil Olsen, Steve Maughan, and Hal Garner were Aggies with strong Cache County ties. Numerous other team members played a positive role in community relations and demonstrated a commitment to the college and the county.²³

A very significant aspect of Aggie athletics is that the involvement of the university helped society in Cache Valley prepare for a dramatic change in civil rights happening throughout America. In the early 1950s Utah State coaches Cecil Baker in basketball and John Roning in football began to recruit African-American athletes. Overton Curtis, Zeke Smith, and Lou Jones became football stand-

outs while Harold Theus and Sam Hajerty inspired Aggie hoop fans. Although Utah still had segregated housing, public facilities, and marriage laws, black athletes helped create a more cosmopolitan and culturally diverse campus. These athletes came at the same time that Utah State increased its numbers of foreign students. Many who came as students during the 1950s and 1960s had long and illustrative athletic careers accompanying their academic degrees. The 1960s were a high point for Utah State's football program and the 1970s were also significantly successful. This prompted the university to build a new Romney Stadium in 1970 and a new basketball facility, the Dee Glen Smith Spectrum, in the same year. Those venues seat 30,000 and 10,200 respectively and serve the community in many other areas as well.²⁴ At the university and at area high schools, athletics have expanded to include track and field, gymnastics, volleyball, soccer, golf, and tennis.

Basketball also has played a role in Cache County history. As mentioned earlier, the LDS church early in the century began constructing gymnasiums in churches as a common practice. Full-size gyms with scoreboards can be seen as an interesting feature of modern Mormonism. Cache Valley also has school and community recreational facilities, and basketball is very popular. Numerous community recreation and university intramural leagues augment the high school and college programs. Local teams have fared very well in the Mormon all-church tournaments, and the victory of a USU ward in 1965 led to the creation of a separate college division at the annual tournament. That team featured former Aggie Phil Johnson, a current Utah Jazz assistant coach, and All-American and All-Pro football tackle Merlin Olsen.

Utah State has had many good teams and made numerous trips to post-season tournaments. The 1960 to 1970 period may have been the program's most successful. The 1960 team had a 24–5 record and a top ten ranking, and the 1970 season saw the Aggies come within one game of NCAA basketball's Final Four before they lost to eventual champion UCLA. The success has been based on a good mixture of local talent and recruits. Aggie basketball also features one of the nation's most tragic athletic stories when All-American Wayne Estes was electrocuted in Logan following a game during his senior year in

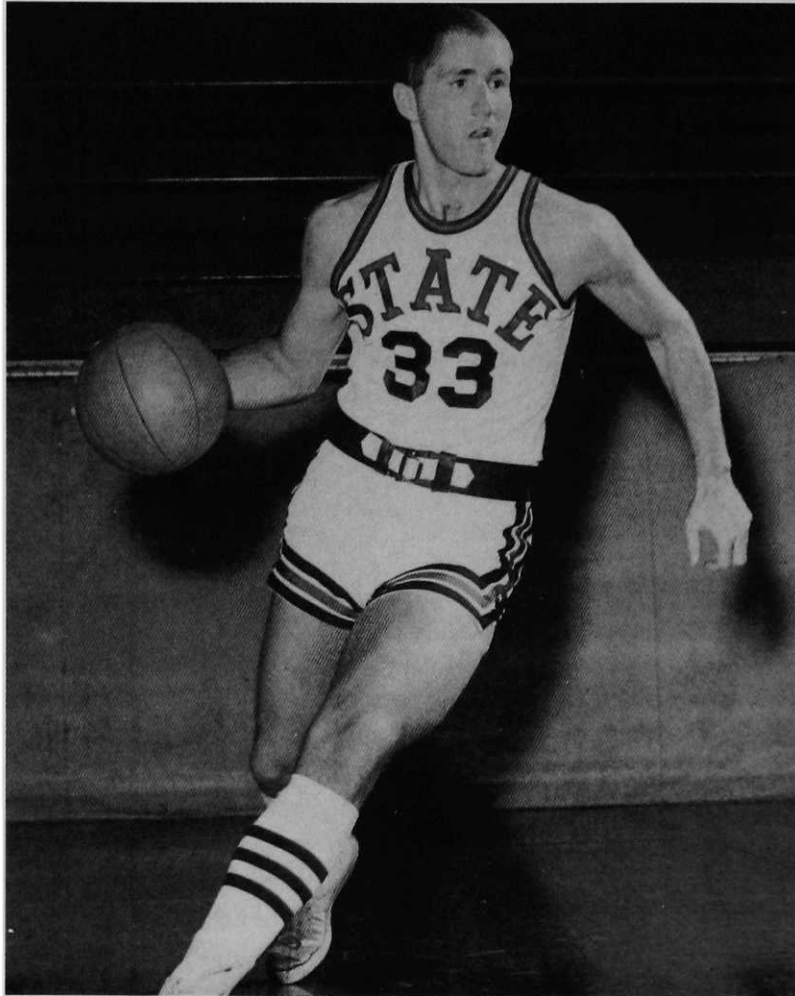


Merlin Olsen, outstanding football player for Utah State University in 1960s. Later played in the National Football League. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

1965.²⁵ Estes had just scored 48 points in a game and pushed his career totals to over 2,000 points.

There are many other sports that contribute to the cultural scene of the valley and the university. Tennis has a large following and is served by numerous public courts as well as a new indoor-outdoor sports academy. Track and field athletes have had national success and some have made Olympic teams. Volleyball is a very popular women's sport and Utah State boasts participation in national championship tournaments in 1978 and 1979.

Area high schools also have created considerable interest in sports. Since the inception of state tournaments and championships, Cache County schools have won a number of them. Since the mid-1970s, due to federal legislation, women's high school sports have existed on a equal footing with men's sports. Although this can stretch the local physical facilities, it allows more youngsters to participate in sports of their choice. Each sport has some type of state



Wayne Vernon Estes, after scoring 48 points against Denver University, died tragically from a fallen electrical wire. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU.)

tournament and all three present county high schools—Logan, Mountain Crest in Hyrum, and Sky View in Smithfield—regularly compete. State championships have been quite elusive, but there are numerous competing schools throughout the state. In football, Logan has three championships—1978, 1988, and 1989—and Mountain Crest won in 1987. Sky View won the 1994 men's basketball crown,

while Logan achieved that goal in 1920 and 1921. Logan's women won the cross-country title in 1991 and the state track and field championship in 1995. Mountain Crest's women won the cross-country championship in 1990 and 1992 and the school's men did the same in 1996, as well as in volleyball in 1986, while Logan won that title in 1991. Interestingly, the most state titles for local schools are in men's golf, where Logan has victories in 1958, 1979, and 1995 and Mountain Crest in 1993 and 1994. Logan won the state swimming title in 1951, and thus far is the only county team to achieve that honor. Ironically, the high school baseball teams have never won a state tournament although the summer teams usually do very well in statewide competition. Some people blame that on the Cache County spring weather which doesn't allow as much practice time as other teams may get.²⁶

Cache County is a cultural center for the state. Lifetime participation and enjoyment in recreational and cultural activities is a genuine reality for most Cache citizens. Four golf courses are found in the valley, which has become a destination for winter recreation as well. Skiers have the locally owned Beaver Mountain Ski Resort and winter enthusiasts have miles of recreational area to explore on skis, snowshoes, or snowmobiles. The rich tradition established in the early days of the pioneer experience has been enhanced and the area continues to be a source of enjoyment for the county's citizens.

ENDNOTES

1. Charles R. Bailey, Journal, USUSC.
2. Henry Ballard, Journal, USUSC.
3. Eugene E. Campbell, "Social, Cultural, and Recreational Life," in *The History of a Valley*, ed. Joel E. Ricks (Logan: Cache Valley Centennial Commission, 1956), 416.
4. Infrequently, the LDS church will try to reinstitute some type of church dance like the traditional Gold and Green balls, but they have not been a regular part of the youth program for at least twenty-five years.
5. See Doran J. Baker and Clyde Bragger, eds., *Providence and Her People* (Logan: K.W. Watkins and Sons, 1974).
6. During the 1970s Logan City tried a July 24th festival at Merlin Olsen Central Park. As the event grew, it was moved to the Cache County

Fairgrounds. The Austin and Alta Fife Folklore Collection at USU has numerous papers that explain the various community programs and festivals.

7. Leonard J. Arrington, *American Moses: The Life of Brigham Young* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), 332.

8. Phillip M. Flammer, "The Thatcher Opera House," in S. George Ellsworth Collection, USUSC.

9. Ray Somers, *History of Logan* (Logan: Somers Historic Press, 1993), 133–39.

10. *Logan Journal*, 9 March 1897.

11. *Ibid.*, 13 April 1912.

12. Somers, *History of Logan*, 142.

13. The Lyric has become a Cache County landmark and is currently being restored to its original splendor.

14. Somers, *History of Logan*, 144–47.

15. See Vern G. Swenson, *Utah Art* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1991).

16. *Ibid.*

17. May Swenson Collection, USUSC. Swenson's primary collection is at Washington University in St. Louis; however, USU's collection has grown since Utah State University Press published some of her poetry.

18. Utah State University has chronicled its athletic history very well, but all other area institutions depend on reporting by the local newspapers or Salt Lake City papers.

19. A.J. Simmonds, "Looking Back," *Herald Journal*, 14 August 1989.

20. Milton C. Abrams, interview with F. Ross Peterson, 17 July 1994, USUSC.

21. A.J. Simmonds, *Pictures Past: A Centennial Celebration of Utah State University* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1988), 69–74.

22. *Ibid.*

23. "Football Media Guide," USU Athletic Department, 1995, USUSC.

24. The facilities are used for July Fourth celebrations, band contests, church events, and graduation ceremonies.

25. This episode in USU's athletic history has probably been the most publicized of any. See, for example, A.J. Simmonds, *Pictures Past*, and Eleanor Olsen, *Wayne Estes: A Hero's Legacy* (Salt Lake City: Olsen, 1991).

26. *Utah State Activities Association Guide* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Board of Education, 1995).

WAR, DEPRESSION, AND MORE WAR

It just happened. Cars, phones, lights, sewers, and regular pay checks. No more horses, hay, barns, chickens, and cows in the towns. It happened overnight.

—ADA WILSON

Roosevelt inauguration today. We got our checks but for what purpose? Banks are closed.

—VIRGINIA HANSEN

The period from 1914 to 1945 is one of the most dramatic in United States and Utah history. The changes brought to the American experience during those thirty years altered the nation, the state, and Cache County. War and depression and how these catastrophic events influenced people's lives are the major themes of this entire period. While World War I saw a fantastic boost in the need for agricultural goods, the post-war years saw Cache County and the nation plunge into an agricultural depression that lasted for nearly two decades. The federal response to the economic Great Depression of the 1930s had a gigantic impact on the valley. Simultaneously, the



Troops stand at attention at their bunks in Old Main auditorium, 1918. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

advent of the radio and increased use of the automobile and the telephone meant that communication and transportation changed significantly. Those anxious times altered many Cache County residents' secure view of their specific corner of the world.

Hundreds of young Cache County citizens either joined or were drafted into the United States armed services and left the security of their high valley homes. During World War I many troops trained for two months stateside, traveled by train across country, and boarded a ship for France. Often the young soldiers fought side by side with men they had known all of their lives, especially if an entire national guard unit served. Although each person who served is significant and many died, one man's story may stand for the experience of others serving the nation during that war.

Hyrum Olsen, Jr., the son of Hyrum and Marie Jensen Olsen of College Ward, entered the military on 25 June 1918 at age twenty-two. His letters home and his parent's letters to him tell much about

the war and life in the county during that time. The letters are filled with news about others serving in the military. His folks wrote in August that “the government is cleaning our little place pretty well Harvey and Newel are joining next Thursday.” Another time they wrote that “Joe enlisted in the Marines. . . . Uncle Jim thinks Newells on his way to France. Harvey is in Virginia.” A month later they added, “Well, Hyrum and most all of the boys have left here now for the training camps. . . . George Speth and Ly Anderson went through all right.” Then his parents concluded, “There was 32 registered in our little place and 8 of them were Olsens so you see we are doing our best at home . . . which is all right, you boys want to give the best you have over there and we at home will do the same and between us we will surely win this war for the right.”

Young Hyrum also wrote about his colleagues from Cache County. “There is two boys with me from home . . . one is from Hyde Park and the other is from Smithfield. The one from Smithfield captured five Germans alone.” In a later letter he said, “I haven’t seen Lyman . . . for a long time as he was moved in to the machine guns. Rodger has been right with me all the time and he seems to be doing all right.”

The letter exchanges, which usually took two weeks to a month, are filled with news about the farm, the beet crop, prices, and family happenings. Young Hyrum’s letters could not reveal locations or talk about specifics, so he asked a lot of questions about the farm, neighbors, and family. The father’s letter of 11 November 1918, Armistice Day, mentions nothing of peace but says, “The schools and meetings and picture shows and all other gatherings have been closed for a long time on account of the influenza. It sure has caused lots of deaths everywhere so far we have been lucky not to get it.”

In France on 1 November Hyrum wrote that “he had been over the top for a second time.” This usually meant that the soldiers charged from mud-filled trenches through barbed wire. But peace was at hand. His father and mother repeatedly admonished him to keep himself “clean and pure so when you come home you will be a man and not a thing.” The last letter was written on Christmas Eve 1918, and father Olsen discusses ways he can get his eldest son home to help in the fields the next year. He did not realize that his eldest



145th Field Artillery perform military exercises on Main Street, February 1919. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

son and namesake had died of typhoid fever in France a week earlier. This set of letters documents the fact that war touched and influenced lives in a most personal way.¹ A general history of a county cannot ignore that very individual human dramas are played out in private homes and small communities

After the First World War ended, the federal government stopped financing the sale of American farm products to war-torn Europe. As overseas agricultural production increased, the demand for American goods diminished. The United States government also pursued a policy throughout the 1920s of raising tariff barriers, which caused other nations to reciprocate. Consequently, agricultural prices in the United States plummeted, and Cache Valley farmers were caught in the downward spiral. Many of them, enjoying the high prices and lush economic times of the war, had gone in debt for machinery, equipment, and land. The increased production created a glut on the market and prices went down. Cache County farm income declined from nearly \$6.5 million in 1920 to less than \$4 million a year later. Wheat, which earlier topped out at over \$3.00 per bushel, was \$1.95 in the early fall of 1920; twelve months later it bottomed out at a disastrous sixty-five cents a bushel. No Cache farmer could raise three times as much wheat as formerly in order to meet his debt payments. During



The “Island” in Logan, looking south from College Hill towards River Heights Bench, 1917. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

the same period, sugar beet prices dropped from over \$12.00 a ton to \$5.50. This was the lowest price farmers received between 1914 and 1932. By late 1921 the price of barley, wool, wheat, and mutton had all declined to their 1913 levels and cattle prices went even lower than that. Some farmers who owned their own storage facilities and had limited debt chose to keep their corn and wheat in silos and put fruit, cheese, eggs, and meat in cold storage.²

A major indicator of this agricultural depression was that by 1922 the Cache County Assessor reported 1,440 separate pieces of property had delinquent taxes compared to only 252 in 1919. With low tax receipts, local government had trouble meeting its own payrolls and could not promote public works programs. Unemployment rose to a high level. Nationally, one out of every four farms fell victim to foreclosure. The Cache County records indicate that selling to meet debt occurred quite often, although actual foreclosures did not approach national levels. However, many area farms still were lost and sold as markets declined, savings decreased, and debt and inter-

est rose to perilous levels. The federal government's taxing policies certainly aided the wealthy, and many farmers looked to cooperatives as a way to compete. Once again Cache Valley dairy farmers developed co-ops as a method of sharing markets and production. Gradually, sugar beet and cattle prices began to slowly rise and the county moved toward a stable price structure. Still, with the advent of the Great Depression in 1929, most agriculture remained depressed in its real buying power until the outbreak of World War II.

The 1920s illustrate another interesting fact: the decade from 1920 to 1930 saw the slowest growth of population in Cache County history. There were only 432 more county residents in 1930 than in 1920. The county had grown by 3,900 from 1910 to 1920, and even during the 1930s it increased by 2,300. The agricultural depression caused numerous people to move elsewhere and try their luck in a different environment. For most Cache citizens, especially farmers, the 1920s provided a long economic headache, and towns such as Wellsville, Millville, Benson, Avon, and Smithfield all lost population.

Socially and culturally, the 1920s in the county also mirrored national trends to a large degree. A very difficult problem concerned the passage and implementation of the Constitution's Eighteenth Amendment, which prohibited the manufacture and distribution of alcohol. Utah had actually passed a prohibition bill three years before the Volstead Act became a national law in 1920. During World War I it was considered part of the war effort to sacrifice, and limiting the use of grains for alcoholic beverages seemed logical. However, once the national law that prohibited the manufacture, consumption, and distribution of alcohol went into effect, enforcement became a huge national problem. Utah and Cache County were not immune from the national move of many to creatively circumvent the law.

Bootlegging, bringing alcohol from other locations and selling it, became a very common byproduct of prohibition, as did also private stills manufacturing alcohol. The local newspapers are filled with a variety of reports of arrests and prosecutions for violations of the law. One high-speed automobile chase through Nibley led to an overturned vehicle and the confiscation of all the illegal contents. One of the reasons that imported alcohol became so accessible was the

increased use of automobiles and the construction of more paved roads. Huge profits made the illegal liquor trade virtually impossible to control, and federal officials became angry as local enforcement officers often turned the other way and relaxed prosecutions. According to federal records, agents seized more than 448 Utah distilleries between 1925 and 1932. They also seized over 300,000 gallons of homemade beer as well as considerable whiskey, wine, and malt liquor. Even though the LDS church advocated compliance with the law and most citizens supported the concept, the reality was that Cache citizens often bought bootleg alcohol—allegedly from Nevada, Wyoming, or Burch Creek in Weber County—and numerous stills constructed in the valley provided local variations. The numerous dance establishments often had difficulty because of drunken patrons.³

The number of automobiles and trucks in Cache Valley more than quadrupled during the 1920s and the miles of paved roads in the county also increased. Improved roads also brought the opportunity to travel and market to many Cache citizens. The road from Logan through College Ward to Wellsville was completed in preparation for the change from Sardine Canyon to Wellsville Canyon of U.S. highways 89 and 91. The road still went to the east of Dry Lake in the canyon until 1950. Most importantly, Logan Canyon was finally made passable for automobiles during the 1920s. The narrow road featured numerous bridges and tight turns, but for the first time it replaced Blacksmith Fork Canyon as the best route to Bear Lake. This opened Bear Lake to many Cache residents, who purchased property along the lake and later built summer homes. It also made the dance halls at Fish Haven, Lakota, and Ideal Beach within distance of Cache youngsters. The Paladan and Dashaute dance halls in Logan also caused law enforcement officers considerable problems. Bootleg whiskey often became part of the fare at dances, and many brawls resulted from the mixing of youth and alcohol. Some dispensers of local bootleg alcohol watered down the mash in order to sell more. One local recalled that a person could always get a drink at a local service station by going to the back, pounding on the wall, and then putting a coin on a board near the eaves. A hand would retrieve the coin and, depending on its value, a pint, quart, or gallon of alco-



Budge Memorial Hospital, First West between Center and First North, Logan, 1920s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

hol would be placed on the ledge. This practice continued long after prohibition ended. New roads made bootlegging from Wyoming much easier, but the canyon also could be blocked. Old-timers claim most bootleg whiskey came into the valley through Blacksmith Fork on the dirt and gravel roads.⁴ In 1933 Utah became the thirty-sixth state to ratify the Twenty-first Amendment, which repealed the Eighteenth, ending prohibition.

Just as the 1920s saw some consolidated banking come to the area because of the growth of First Security Bank, so too did this period see the county assume a greater role in regional health care. There were two private hospitals, the Budge facility on First East and the Cache Valley hospital. Although the competition eventually ceased and the LDS church operated the major hospital on Second North and Third East, many qualified native sons returned to Cache County to practice medicine. There were no women doctors at this time in the county. The concept of regional health care grew as many people traveled to Logan for treatment of serious injuries or illnesses.

This trend continued as the agricultural depression deepened; but the capacity to pay diminished.

The stock market crash of 1929 precipitated an even greater crisis for Cache County agriculture. The Great Depression devastated numerous farmers because of its horrendous effect on prices and employment. By 1933 wheat had fallen to thirty cents a bushel and potatoes were only ten cents for a hundred pounds. Similar price drops hit cattle, dairy, sugar, and beets. Once again farm foreclosures occurred frequently and, although families did all they could, many small farms were lost. Unemployment reached nearly 1,500 in the valley, and although this was much lower than the national average, it still exceeded 15 percent. When the Smithfield cannery decided to reopen in 1932, there were in excess of 2,000 applications for fewer than 200 jobs.⁵

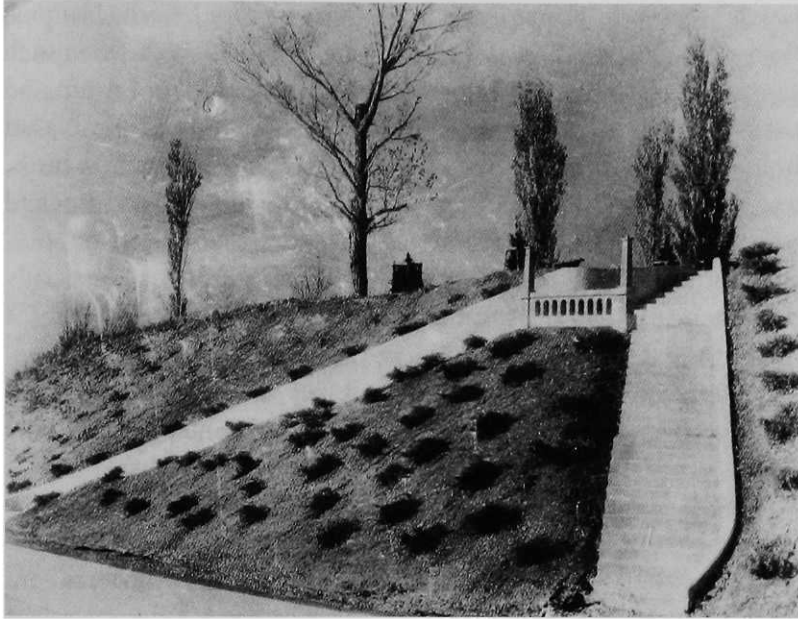
Cache County's citizens responded in the first years of the Depression by trying to create an atmosphere of cooperation and caring. There was a strong mixing of church and state as local town officials collaborated with LDS bishops and Relief Society presidents to identify families in need. Vacant lots became garden plots for the poor and dispossessed. Boy Scouts, schoolchildren, and others collected food and clothing to create an inventory at church storehouses and community distribution centers. Many unemployed people received temporary work at the storehouses and were paid in kind for their labor. The Logan storehouse accumulated flour, potatoes, apples, canned fruit, some groceries, and a variety of clothes. According to the *Herald Journal*, there was a "large assortment of overcoats, suits, and coats, and trousers, women's and children's coats, dresses, and other clothing."⁶ Several hundred people received aid from these storehouses, yet the result provided only a remedy, not a cure.

To make matters worse, a drought also hit the valley. In the fall of 1931 the federal government sent 48,000 sacks of flour for human consumption and nearly a thousand tons of crushed wheat to livestock owners. As the Depression deepened, the Red Cross also became very active in distributing goods to Cache citizens. The amount of clothing and food parceled to local residents indicates that the valley's economy was in great disarray.⁷

During the administration of President Herbert Hoover federal and state governments' response to the Depression was late and of little significance in Cache County. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation made loans to banks, which, in turn, reissued funds to various businesses. Government funds became available to the Banker's Livestock Loan Company of Utah, which also redistributed money to cattle growers in Cache County. In reality, there was simply too little money for local needs, and conservative Utah bankers refused to extend much credit and expand debt. Unemployment remained so high that the Logan Chamber of Commerce created an employment program that taxed business and municipal employees 2 percent of their income. The collected money was placed in an account designed to provide work for the unemployed. The county commission augmented the fund by taxing admission charges to local entertainment provided by a number of valley theatrical and singing groups. This fund continued well into the 1930s and through it more than 200 men found employment on a variety of community projects. Sidewalks, curbs and gutters, school playgrounds, and roads were built throughout the county, and most elementary schools benefited by these efforts.

In cooperation with the U.S. Forest Service, the county established a community timber camp at Beaver Meadows in Logan Canyon. Over a hundred men worked at the facility cutting timber for sale and also preparing lumber for their own use. Depending on how many days a person worked, he received an apportioned amount of finished boards. Utilizing donated equipment, the workers had the option of either keeping the lumber for themselves or bringing it back to the valley for sale.

Women played a significant role in the Cache County workforce, especially in Logan. The 1931 *Cache County Directory* listed 743 women in Logan working for pay. Of those workers, 271 served as sales clerks, secretaries, bookkeepers, or stenographers. There were 227 women professionals employed as teachers and nurses, and 161 found employment as service workers. Twelve managed or owned their own establishments and another seventy-two were listed as partners with their husbands. According to the directory, 24 percent



Works Projects Administration steps, College Hill, 1930s. Steps torn down 1992. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

of the Logan women worked out of their homes and many of them supplemented their wages with their home industry.⁸

However, the economic situation still grew worse. Local action and community taxes simply could not alter the course. As an example, Sadie Sorenson, a teacher, received \$720 in 1929, her first year of teaching in Cornish. The next year she earned \$765; in 1931, \$680; in 1932, \$612; and in 1933 her nine-month teaching contract offered compensation of \$552. By 1934 the county school district, mired in the Depression, offered Sorensen only \$69 a month for as long as the money lasted. The school district did supplement the meager wages by issuing warrants that could be spent at local businesses.⁹

With the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt to the presidency in 1932 and the advent of his New Deal economic program, Cache County economic life improved. In the first hundred days Roosevelt got Congress to pass a number of relief bills including the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) bill. The concept of this legislation was to place young unemployed men in camps where they could do pub-

lic works projects, primarily on federally owned land. Cache National Forest, established three decades earlier, benefited from three such camps. The men received \$1.00 per day plus board and room and they signed over a percentage of their income to their families at home. In the case of Cache County, they built forest camps, trails, and roads as well as participated in considerable reforestation and some flood-control efforts. Many of the young men came from outside of the area, which caused some local consternation, especially with their weekend trips from the mountains to the valley; but for the most part the CCC was both popular and successful.¹⁰

Numerous other New Deal agencies also had an affect on employment in the county. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) sent funds to the state for special projects and Utah State University benefited by the construction of the George Nelson Fieldhouse and the amphitheater on Old Main hill which resulted directly from this cooperation. The government appropriated hundreds of thousands of dollars to hire local workers for these construction projects. The National Youth Administration also spent over \$100,000 hiring students for a variety of summer tasks.¹¹ President Roosevelt's philosophy of spending federal dollars to enhance the pocketbooks of local citizens worked well in the county although some local residents philosophically disagreed with the idea of deficit spending. New Deal administrators countered their critics by preaching the philosophy of balancing the human budget. The county responded by repeatedly voting for Roosevelt and his party.

An agency which had a tremendous influence on the entire valley as well as the county, state, and nation was the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Harry Hopkins, the federal FERA administrator, liked the idea of federal-state cooperation and Roosevelt selected him to lead the national WPA. This 1935 program worked through its state equivalent, the Utah Works Progress Administration. A cooperative funding agreement called for two-thirds federal dollars and one-third state or local funds being spent on authorized projects. The WPA-UPA county projects varied from improvements on South Cache High School to the construction of the Family Life Building on Utah State University's campus. This coalition estab-

lished culinary water systems in North Logan and Amalga and funded a countywide mosquito abatement program. A fish hatchery west of Logan and new tennis courts in Hyrum were among the WPA-approved developments. Between 1935 and 1939 the WPA spent nearly two million dollars in the county. Utah State University also received special funding for artists, actors, and students to assist in supporting cultural activities. Another temporary New Deal agency, the Civil Works Administration, hired nearly 1,200 Cache citizens during the winter of 1933–34.

During the New Deal, federal dollars also provided for the construction of the Hyrum Dam, which ultimately cost nearly a million dollars. This multipurpose dam was built on the Little Bear River south and west of Hyrum City. Providing additional irrigation water to Wellsville and Mendon through twenty miles of canals, the reservoir also created new recreational opportunities for boating, fishing, and swimming. The reservoir surface covered 480 acres and helped bring water to more than 8,000 acres of farmland. The WPA and Bureau of Reclamation combined resources to increase the size and capacity of the Newton Dam on Clarkston Creek north of Newton. These facilities helped Cache County farmers produce more crops and also enhanced recreational facilities in the valley's northern end.

Since agriculture played such an important role in the county, there is no doubt that the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), also passed in the first hundred days of the Roosevelt administration, influenced the valley in two significant ways. One provision of the act allowed farmers to borrow money directly from the government to pay on their bank mortgages in order to save their farms. The Domestic Allotment Plan, designed to create artificial scarcity by reducing crop and animal production, also influenced the county. Obviously, there was some inconsistency between some WPA and AAA programs. On the one hand, dams are built to create more irrigated farm land in order to produce more, but, on the other hand, farmers were paid by the AAA to grow less. Numerous subsequent federal programs failed to bring these conflicting realities together. The Supreme Court later declared the AAA unconstitutional because of its taxing provisions. A second bill, passed in 1935, maintained the domestic allotment provision.¹²

Another area of New Deal assistance that proved beneficial was banking legislation. When Marriner Eccles moved to Washington, D.C., as a member (and later chairman) of the Federal Reserve Board, he helped initiate measures to protect patrons from mismanaged banks. Cache County banks proved to be quite resilient to the wave of closures throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Many small banks were absorbed, but none failed. Fortunately, this did not follow the national trend, where over 6,000 banks closed their doors. Both First Security Bank and Cache Valley Bank consolidated their holdings and purchased other small community banks in Hyrum and Smithfield; but the total effect on the county was very positive. When President Roosevelt declared a week-long banking holiday following his inauguration, Utah governor Henry Blood extended the closure for a few extra days. Congress then passed the Emergency Banking Act and a few days later created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, which solidified Cache banks and insured the deposits of local patrons.¹³

In part because of the efforts of Democratic senator Elbert Thomas and Utah governors George Dern and Henry Blood, Utah received a great amount of federal aid during the New Deal. Congressman Abe Murdock was also a loyal Roosevelt supporter. Dern became Roosevelt's Secretary of War, and, with Eccles, Esther Peterson, Robert Hinckley, and Franklin Richards at various federal agencies, Utahns had a major influence on New Deal legislation. On a per capita basis, the western states, with considerable federal ownership of land, received more than any other region. Cache County shared in this political and economic reality. The only time that Utah and Cache County elected a majority of Democrats was during the New Deal period. The economic situation, buttressed by programs that provided jobs, saved farms, and built buildings, created considerable political support for the Democratic party. The politics of the time favored areas like Cache County because New Deal legislative spending favored education, agricultural interests, and publicly owned national forest lands. An important fact of these action-packed years is the effect they had on individuals and their attitudes about the nation, state, and county. How did government help them survive? Did Cache Citizens find an inner strength that enabled them



Marriner S. Eccles, financial pioneer of Cache County, 1930s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

to persevere? A few examples illustrate how some individuals responded to the Depression.

Beth Nelson, married in 1934, reluctantly went to the government relief offices on the first floor of the Cache Knitting Works on South Main. Her husband could not find steady work, but Nelson was too proud and embarrassed to seek government help. She quietly left the offices and sought employment one more time. She

finally secured a job at the Cache Knitting Works in 1937 and her husband eventually found employment at the Eccles Hotel. Beth Nelson operated a hemming machine at the knitting company for twenty-seven years—six days a week and eight hours a day. Until the government passed minimum wage legislation, she received only 18 cents an hour, or \$8.64 per week. By 1942 the federal minimum wage increased to 50 cents an hour, but increased war demands and restrictions meant that Nelson still worked a forty-eight-hour week for \$24.00.¹⁴

Mildred Younker moved to Cache County from Michigan during the 1920s determined to gain a job as a teacher. The Depression interrupted her studies at Utah State, but Ethylean Greaves, the Utah director of the county home demonstration agents' courses, hired Younker to direct the WPA-funded school hot-lunch program. Going against the advice of a local banker friend who warned her not to work for the federal government, she organized the school workers, who prepared the food in their homes and took the meals to school. The school hot-lunch concept gained so much acceptance that many schools built kitchens with refrigerators and dishwashers. Prior to the construction of the kitchens, the local Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) members provided clean utensils, dishes, and tablecloths. Younker also noted that Greaves taught women how to cook with government relief provisions such as powdered eggs, powdered milk, and rice.¹⁵ Dora Hodges, who also found employment as a school-lunch worker, made about forty-five dollars a month and was allowed to take home leftover food.¹⁶

A number of stores like the Piggly Wiggly on Logan's Center Street allowed barter or exchange as a means of payment. As the cash flow slowed to a trickle, families returned to the traditional ways of their forebears. They revived expanded home gardening and canning, as well as raising chickens for eggs and meat. Indeed, the latter provided a very important element of the 1930s economy. Cache County produced nearly two million eggs a year during the Depression and farmers sold or traded over 80 percent of them. Women and children often traded eggs for other groceries at various stores throughout the valley. Neighbors also exchanged eggs, butter, and other produce depending on who grew or raised what.¹⁷

Farmers needed cash and many utilized government-funded projects to supplement their incomes. Utah State extension agronomist LeMoyne Wilson believed that many farmers and their families survived because they diversified their work and because the women made substantial contributions. Many federal programs were designed exclusively for the employment of men; however, Wilson claimed that the female contribution to the workforce, especially the domestic economy, of the 1930s altered Cache County. When husbands and sons found federally funded jobs, women accepted a greater role on the farm and within the home.

Utah State University also made major contributions to the local effort to combat unemployment. A receipt of numerous governmental program funds, the college provided employment for an increasing student body throughout the 1930s. President E.G. Peterson's files are filled with records of his personal loans to students in order to cover registration fees.¹⁸ The Utah State Experiment Station and Extension Service provided counsel to the entire state through their county and home-demonstration agents. The latest techniques in food preservation, gardening, recycling, and food processing were quickly spread throughout the state's twenty-nine counties.

There is no doubt that the Great Depression had a devastating effect on many Utahns, but the state relied on federal money, creative initiative, and patience to solve the crisis. Utah ranked ninth among the forty-eight states in per capita New Deal spending and Cache County ranked very high in Utah. The 1930s provided citizens a deep and thorough look into their souls and measured their willingness to adjust, push forward, and succeed. While the Depression caused many dislocations and heartaches, it also provided numerous opportunities. In 1935, KVNU radio under Reed Bullen's leadership began broadcasting on a daily basis. The communications and transportation improvements of the 1930s made access to the outside world more of a reality. The events in Europe and Asia which led to the massive involvement of America in a titanic war ultimately solved the unemployment crisis and simultaneously thrust Cache County citizens onto the world stage.¹⁹

A walk through the grounds of the Cache County Courthouse

and a glance at the eternal flame on top of the monument at the northeast corner of the block provides a reminder of those Cache citizens who gave the ultimate sacrifice in America's twentieth-century wars. World War II entailed a concerted effort, and the draft eventually involved almost all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. Many youngsters volunteered in order to have a choice of which branch of the armed forces in which to serve. No other war since the Civil War called for such a complete and total commitment by all elements of society.

From 1940 until 1945 Cache County, like the rest of the nation, was enmeshed in the gigantic struggle. Hundreds of people served in the military, and by war's end over 800 people were traveling each day to work at either Hill Air Force Base, the Ogden Defense Depot, or the Naval Depot at Clearfield. This labor, which brought close to four million dollars annually into the economy, assisted both the national war effort and the local financial situation. With an all-out war effort, the need for laborers at bases and plants caused many farmers as well as women to commute to war-related work for a reliable paycheck.

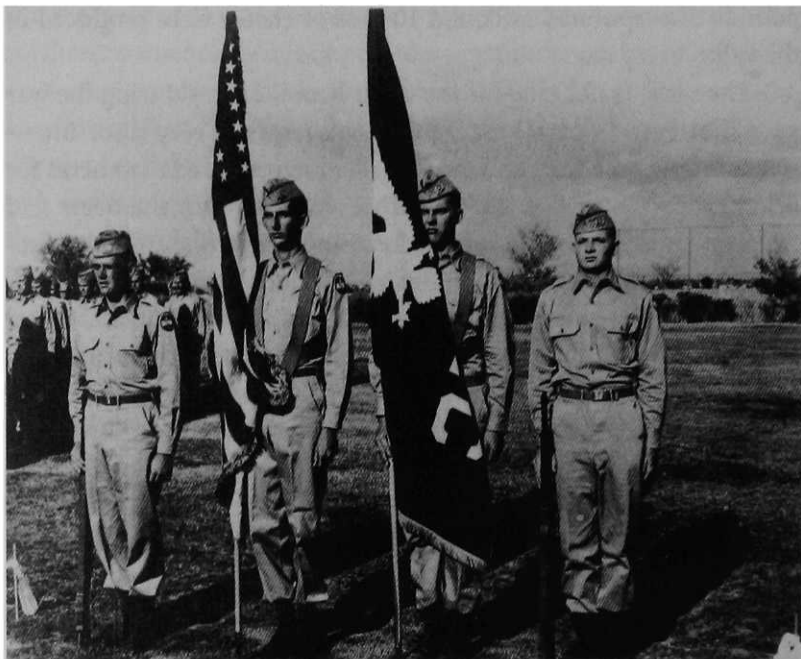
Cache County agriculture benefited considerably from the war because once again the United States not only had to feed itself but all of its allies. Supplies were sent to Europe, the Soviet Union, China, and the South Pacific. Some Cache farmers decided on intensive agriculture such as poultry raising, trying both chickens and turkeys. The dairy and beef-packing industries both grew considerably as the market demanded increased production of their commodities. During the war, many farmers increased their dairy herds and used milk production to supplement their income. Nearly half the area farms reported that cows were being milked. The Cache Valley Dairy Association contracted with cheesemaker Edwin Gossner to establish a cheese plant, and by war's end the production of Swiss cheese had become a major part of the Cache economy.

Prices for products remained high and there was little risk involved in growing or producing agricultural products throughout the war. The local evaporated milk and condensed milk facilities, Sego and Morning, prospered. From Wellsville to Amalga and Lewiston, the dairy products processing plants produced new high outputs of milk, cheese, and butter. By war's end, nearly 80 million

pounds of evaporated milk and 10 tons of cheese were produced in the valley every day.

The same is not true for the sugar beet industry during the war years, however. In part, because the beets required very labor-intensive thinning, weeding, and topping, landowners used their acres for other crops. There was not a reliable workforce for the beets and Amalgamated Sugar only kept its Lewiston and Whitney, Idaho, factories open. This heralded a subsequent change in local agriculture. Labor-intensive row crops such as peas, beans, carrots, and sugar beets were soon to be replaced by alfalfa, corn, and grains. New machinery that could assist with the intensive row crops could not be purchased because of the demand for war goods. Consequently, farmers began the shift away from row crops. Although California packing companies contracted with farmers for so many acres of beans, peas, and carrots, many families whose members also worked a job and milked a few cows did not have time to thin and weed vegetables and sugar beets. Gasoline rationing also made conditions difficult; but gradually the government relaxed some of its rules regarding agricultural rationing. Agricultural products in Utah doubled in value between 1939 and 1942. Farmers even agreed that government price controls provided a very stable atmosphere in which to produce. The number of county farms and the size of the acreage in production increased during the war as well. Consequently, the international demand for food was met. Since Cache County did not receive any of the state's major government defense installations or the war-related Geneva Steel and Utah Oil Refinery industries, agricultural land remained at a premium in the county. Farmers responded by producing more than ever before.

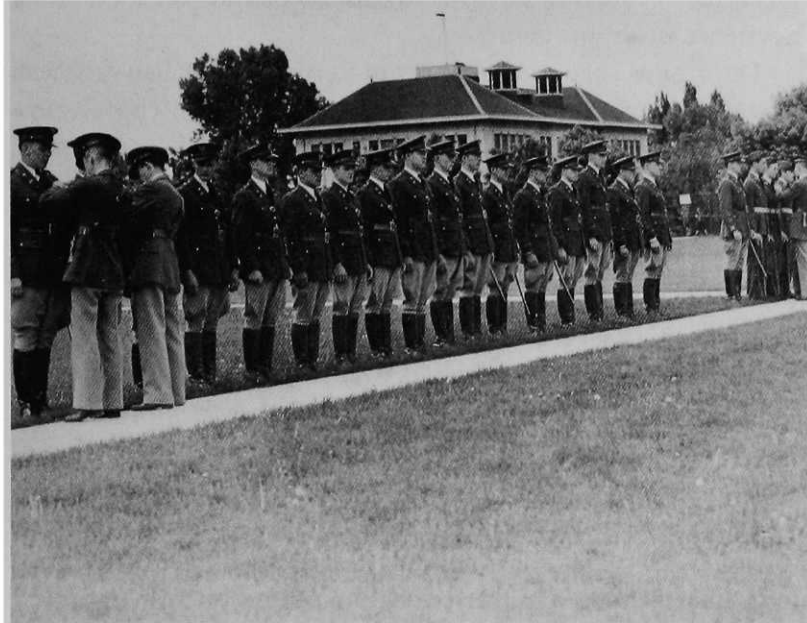
Utah State University Extension Service workers also helped create a larger food supply. They taught effective gardening techniques and how to increase crop productivity by utilizing new and more effective fertilizers. The campus researchers used willing citizens' land as experimental plots for the concepts and ideas. They also planted experimental crops on the acreage owned by the college. The government financed much of the research, and, through sacrifice, rationing, and service, the domestic effort to combat hunger and tyranny succeeded.²⁰



ROTC students drilling on field north of old Romney Stadium, 1943. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

Utah and Cache County definitely benefited from the war-time economy. Per capita income in Utah was 81.8 percent of the national average in 1940; but by the end of the war it rose to 102.7 percent of the average. That statistic illustrates that the war ended the depression locally. Unfortunately, the war also brought tragedies.²¹

The agricultural college suffered from a drastic enrollment loss during the war. There were no student draft deferments and the enrollment plummeted to less than 1,000 after reaching nearly 4,000 on the eve of the war. Ever since World War I, Utah State had developed a very strong Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) program as well as a popular women's corps of cadets program. As a land-grant college, all men were required to take at least two years of military training, and many remained in the program until they were commissioned. When the war began, the ROTC program was accelerated and the third-year cadets left for final training at other locations prior to graduation. From 1942 on, there was intense military



Army and Navy personnel in front of Widtsoe Hall, 1942. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

activity on the campus as army, navy, air corps, and marine detachments received training on campus. The military monopolized the Nelson Fieldhouse and the Mechanical Arts Building, using them for advanced communications training. Techniques in radio transmission were developed at the college and then taught to the military. The university allowed the stadium, the quad, and Old Main to accommodate the trainees. The school also unofficially allowed smoking in some facilities in order to accommodate the “outsiders.” Many of the specific units’ activities are not well known because tight security existed and a fear of espionage always persisted.²²

One unusual aspect of the training on campus was the navy air division that practiced take-offs and landings from a bench northeast of campus as a carrier deck simulator. Also utilizing the local airport in the valley, student pilots received valuable training. Young residents of North Logan imagined being under attack as the planes soared over the village. Since aircraft carriers played an important

role in the Pacific theater, the contribution of Utah State's training experience was important.

During the war a small number of German and Italian prisoners of war were confined on and near the campus. The Geneva Convention specified that prisoners should be housed in geographic areas similar to those at which they were stationed at the time of their capture. The POWs in Logan had primarily served in North Africa, so that they came to Cache County instead of a desert was perhaps a stroke of luck for them. In labor-short agricultural Cache County, these prisoners served as supervised farm workers. According to interviews with some ex-prisoners who remained in Utah after the war, Cache County provided a pleasant environment in which to be incarcerated.

Utah State's College of Education sent teachers and support personnel to the Japanese American Relocation Center at Topaz in Millard County. This effort not only helped the numerous children unfortunately housed in these detention centers but also improved the quality of life for all prisoners due to the college's commitment to adult education. This effort expanded as the war progressed and a gradual feeling of guilt swept the nation as citizens began to realize that the Japanese-American relocation was of questionable legality and extremely dubious morality.

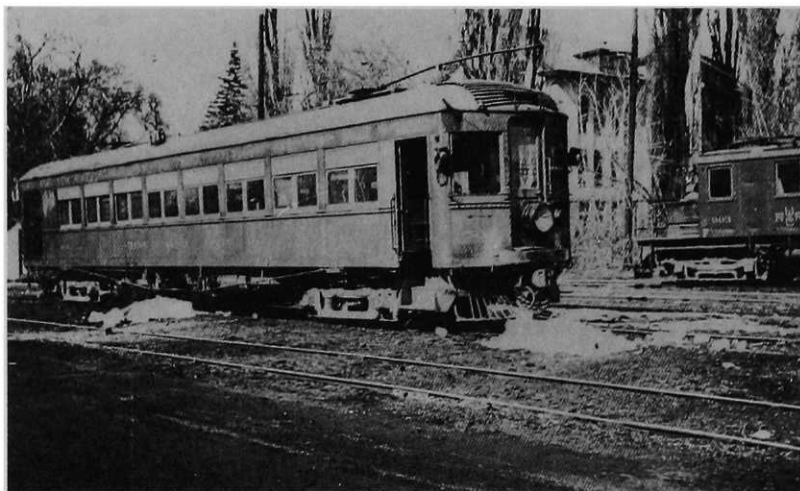
The story of every veteran cannot be told. Cache soldiers, sailors, army air corpsmen, and marines served in every war theater from Pearl Harbor to the Philippines to North Africa to Guadalcanal. They bombed Japan, Germany, and Italy and parachuted into Normandy and fought at the Battle of the Bulge. The battles of Midway, Coral Sea, and Iwo Jima witnessed many Cache youngsters serve and die. Luck, fate, and courage determined who served where and what their assignment might be. In the total picture, all contributed to the war effort. The same is true for those in the Coast Guard, Seabees, or merchant marine. Purple Hearts and Distinguished Service commendations were received by many. To mention only one, Col. Russell Maughan, a decorated World War I fighter pilot, continued to serve the country as a bomber pilot in World War II. When one considers defense employees and those stationed at Utah State, a large part of the county population served their nation.



Pilots training at Logan airport during World War II. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

Since thousands of Cache County natives and Utah State students participated in the war, the conflict affected many personal lives. As an example, Ralph Maughan of Hyrum attended Utah State when the war began. Maughan joined the Enlisted Reserve Corps in 1942—a program which promised the students they could postpone active duty until they graduated. Maughan and his classmates received a call to active duty in June 1943, however, a year prior to graduation. By then, the two-theater war had taken its toll in casualties and replacements were needed.

Maughan left his fiancée, Byrnece Hansen, behind and, like Hyrum Olsen a generation earlier, trained in California. After two months training, Maughan received an assignment to an engineering unit headquartered at Los Angeles City College. However, once again the demand for troops superseded the promised engineering degree and he soon left for Europe. Prior to departure, he married Byrnece Hansen and went to Europe as a married soldier. Maughan arrived in France in 1944 as a bulldozer operator; but once near the front he was transferred to the infantry. His letters from France reveal the personal side to the fighting; but letters home had to pass a censor's scrutiny, so specifics about battles and movements are lacking. By the time he went to Europe, the army had stopped using whole units of soldiers from the same locale. His letters asked about friends, but he rarely saw one of his former classmates or friends. Ralph Maughan missed softball and football and lamented, "another season is lost, but it is all for a good cause." The war devastated the French countryside



Electric railroad passenger car, Logan depot, Main & First South, 1940s. (Special Collection Merrill Library, USU)

and he could not help to compare it to the Cache Valley autumn. “I miss the cool clear days following the crisp nights and the turning of the leaves.”²²³

When the Germans counterattacked during the winter of 1944–45, Maughan found himself in the middle of an intense battle. The day after Christmas 1944, while fighting in Luxembourg, Maughan’s lower leg was torn apart by bullets and, while wounded, his hands and feet suffered frostbite. A telegram with the news arrived at his parent’s home in Soda Springs, but they chose not to tell his wife because she was pregnant. A few days later she read in the *Salt Lake Tribune* that Ralph had been wounded. After recuperating in England, Maughan returned to his outfit in Czechoslovakia prior to the European war theater’s end in May 1945. He remained as part of the occupation force until December 1945. Maughan’s story is simply one example of how the war affected Cache County’s citizens. He survived, but many others did not. The all-encompassing war effort touched nearly all aspects of Cache life in every corner of the county.

The notable thing about the two wars and the Depression is how well Cache County survived. Like much of the United States, this

fairly isolated county in the midst of the Rocky Mountains suffered during traumatic times, and the emotional and economic roller-coaster ride of those twenty-five years was great. They experienced the worst depression and the largest foreign wars in American history; but, in the end, they and their nation triumphed. The nature of life in Cache County changed forever during those dynamic years. The world became a much smaller place and those who had served throughout the world brought much of their experience and knowledge back to the beautiful valley. The confused post-war world that followed also left its mark on the valley to which so many veterans returned.

ENDNOTES

1. Hyrum Olsen, Jr., letters, in the possession of Hyrum Olsen, Providence, Utah. They are included in a 1996 paper by Richard Olsen, "Somewhere in France: The War Letters of Hyrum Olsen," in the author's possession.
2. Leonard J. Arrington, "Economy in the Modern Era," in *The History of a Valley*, ed. Joel E. Ricks (Logan: Cache Valley Centennial Commission, 1956), 242.
3. See Robert Parson, "From Dance Halls to Cabarets," M.S. thesis, Utah State University, 1983.
4. Arrington, "Economy in the Modern Era," 243.
5. *Ibid.*, 244.
6. *Herald Journal*, 5 December 1931.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Cache County Directory*, 1931 (Salt Lake City: Polk Publishing, 1931).
9. Sadie Sorensen, interview with Jane Reilly, 24 January 1991, USUSC.
10. Leonard J. Arrington, "The New Deal in Cache County," unpublished paper, Leonard J. Arrington Archive, USUSC.
11. *Ibid.*, 16.
12. *Ibid.*, 18.
13. *Ibid.*, 20.
14. Beth Nelson, interview with Jane Reilly, 17 January 1991, USUSC.
15. Mildred Younker, interview with Jane Reilly, 12 January 1991, USUSC.

16. Dora Hodges, interview with Jane Reilly, 10 January 1991, USUSC.
17. Ibid.
18. LeMoynes Wilson, interview with F. Ross Peterson, 15 August 1987, typescript in author's possession.
19. Arrington, "The New Deal in Cache Valley," 21.
20. A.J. Simmonds, *Pictures Past: A Centennial Celebration of Utah State University* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1988), 80–91.
21. Arrington, "Economy in the Modern Era, 246–74."
22. Simmonds, *Pictures Past*, 80–91.
23. Ralph B. Maughan, letters, in possession of Ralph B. Maughan, River Heights, Utah.

CACHE COUNTY SINCE WORLD WAR II

It goes without saying that World War II changed American society. The type of society that existed before the war and the type that emerged afterwards were decidedly different. That difference is apparent in all regions of the United States, whether urban or rural, and is as apparent in Cache County as in other more urbanized regions of the state of Utah.

The United States had entered World War II from the worst economic depression in the nation's history. The experience of the Great Depression also contributed to the remarkable transition of American society. In response to the economic collapse, the federal government, through President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal agenda, began implementing a wide variety of programs designed to counter the economic hardships. Although historians generally concede that the New Deal was largely ineffective in ending the Depression, it nevertheless established a legacy of state, local, and federal partnership which has endured to this day. Although it was the economic stimulus of World War II which ultimately reversed the Great Depression, the government programs of the 1930s and 1940s

were also responsible for catapulting the United States from one historical period into another.

The post–World War II period also marks the point where Utah and Cache County exited one era and entered another. Following the end of the war, in June 1946 economist J.R. Mahoney wrote that “the economy of Utah quickly became one of the most dynamic war activity centers of the country.”¹ Mahoney saw a rosy future for the post-war economy in the state, particularly if Utah could capitalize on the industries constructed during the war and convert them from wartime to peacetime production. The non-agriculture employment index in Utah skyrocketed during the war. The number of persons employed in the construction industry increased from approximately 5,000 before the war to nearly 18,500 by 1945.² More importantly, however, for the post-war economy were the new military installations in Utah such as Hill Field, the Ogden Arsenal, Dugway Proving Grounds, and others. Employment at these plants and bases increased tenfold between 1941 and 1943.³

Cache Valley was largely left out of the wartime industrial expansion experienced along the Wasatch Front. Still predominantly agricultural, Cache County nonetheless experienced significant prosperity with the increased demand for food and fibre brought about by the war effort. Gross farm income in Utah rose from a low point of \$51 million in 1939 to nearly \$140 million in 1946.⁴ Agricultural prices continued to escalate following the war, peaking in 1949 and 1950.

Although farm income rose dramatically during and after the war, on-farm employment continued to dwindle. On-farm employment peaked in Utah in about 1920 and declined successively throughout the next three decades. By 1960 there were fewer on-farm employees in the state than there had been in 1860.⁵ In keeping with the statewide trend, the number of farms and ranches in Cache County also decreased during the same period. In 1935 there were more than 30,000 farms in Utah, with the average containing approximately 200 acres. The farms in Cache County, however, were significantly smaller than the state average, most containing only about 80 irrigable acres, with some additional pasture ground. By 1962 the number of farms in Utah had declined to 15,000 while the average



Wheat harvesting, Petersburg, 1970s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

farm size had increased to 700 acres. An increase in farm size was also noticeable in Cache County, where there has been a general trend towards consolidation.

The post-World War II period and the resulting widespread agricultural mechanization which it spawned made small farms impractical. Prior to the war most farm equipment was powered primarily by horses. In 1920 only slightly over 500 farms in Utah used tractors; by 1962 that figure rose to over 4,000. The advent of mechanized agriculture made it possible to farm larger acreages; it also became impractical to invest in expensive equipment and only farm a small number of acres. Economists estimated that most farms by the 1960s had between \$50,000 and \$100,000 invested in machinery.⁶ By 1993 that estimate had risen to nearly \$397,000 in Cache County alone.⁷

Mechanization sounded the proverbial death knell for many small farms in Cache Valley. Unable to make a living on the limited amount of land which most Cache County farms contained or keep pace with machinery costs, some farmers sold out to their more expansive-minded neighbors. More often, however, the family farm in Cache County became a source of secondary income, with children running the farm while one or both parents took employment in one of the many new industries created by the war effort. In cooperation with the Utah Agricultural Experiment Station in Logan, a

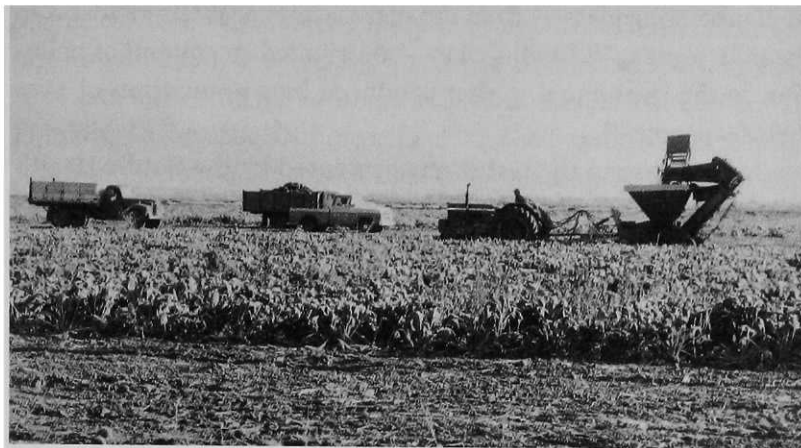
post-war planning committee noted how construction projects and industrial labor requirements affected the farm economy:

all available labor for miles around was drained from agriculture . . . [while] at the same time increased demands were made for agricultural products. . . . Not only laborers but also many farm operators were drawn from agriculture as the wages in defense industries were higher than in agriculture. . . . Not only was the farm labor supply drawn into industry but also at the same time many farm boys and men were drawn into the armed services.⁸

As a result, the planning report noted how “labor in agriculture worked longer hours and more days.” And, as happened in other wartime industries, women and children, “who normally were not so employed,” stepped forward to shoulder the plow on Utah’s farms.

With higher paying jobs still available in Utah after the war, off-farm employment continued. Historian John L. Powell, in his study of the beet-sugar industry in Cache County, estimates that after the war some 800 “Cache Valley residents commuted to work at Hill Field and the Ogden Arsenal.” Amalgamated Sugar Company president H.A. Benning, in a letter to Cache County businessman F.P. Champ, objected to the “many Cache County farmers [who] drive to the defense plants near Ogden where they are employed. These farmers would be better off if they remained at home and planted and took good care of fifty acres of sugar beets.”¹⁰

The beet-sugar industry was one of several along with vegetable canneries and milk processing plants which had developed in Cache County to manufacture agricultural products. From 1914 through the mid-1920s, during the peak of the sugar-beet frenzy, five processing plants operated in Cache Valley, including a plant at Whitney, Idaho. Only two plants, at Whitney and at Lewiston, survived into the 1950s. Keen competition existed in the Cache Valley sugar-beet industry in the 1910s and 1920s. But the Amalgamated Sugar Company, began by David Eccles in 1902, eventually dominated the field. Amalgamated was the first to venture into the beet industry in Cache Valley, and it was the last to leave. After purchasing the Whitney plant in 1960, the company finally held the monopoly on sugar production in Cache Valley which it has sought since the turn



Sugar beet harvesting, 1970. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

of the century. However, by 1960 there was little profit to be made from sugar beets in Cache Valley, the monopoly notwithstanding. The Whitney plant only operated for two more seasons before closing in 1962. The Lewiston plant persisted for another decade, finally closing down in January 1972.¹¹ In a press release dated 4 January 1972 the company noted:

The Lewiston[,] Utah, sugar factory has been permanently closed with the end of this year's sugar campaign. . . . The Lewiston plant has become the smallest in the Amalgamated system . . . it has . . . a rated daily slicing capacity of 1,900 tons of sugarbeets. Amalgamated's four larger factories in Idaho and Oregon have an average rating of nearly 7,000 tons per day.¹²

The company claimed the closure was entirely for economic reasons, stating that "the technical obsolescence inherent in a factory so old made the plant unable to continue operations efficiently or profitably." Nevertheless, other circumstances related to economics also may have contributed to the factory's closing. In 1958 the United States Health Service convened a special conference at Utah State University to study the pollution problem on the Bear River. In testimony presented at the conference, E.C. Garthe, regional engineer for the U.S. Public Health Service, rehearsed for the attendees the gravity of the situation. Industrial wastes from various area agricul-

tural processing plants—from the sugar factory at Whitney, Idaho, to the milk plant at Wellsville, Utah—contributed an amount of pollution to the river equal to that produced by a population of over 700,000 people.¹³

In response to the testimony presented by the Public Health Service, R.N. Cottrell of the Amalgamated Sugar Company threatened to close down the plants unless the demands on pollution control were lessened. Cottrell noted: “Mr. Alexander [Aleck Alexander, Public Health Service sanitary engineer] recommended that the effluent from the Lewiston sugar factory be cleaned up to the extent of 90 percent. . . . My position is that such a recommendation is totally unrealistic.”¹⁴ Cottrell used the Public Health Service report to demonstrate his point by noting that the population equivalency of the Lewiston plant’s pollution was roughly six times the population of Ogden, Utah, in 1958. Cottrell continued

if we were required to treat that effluent, we would have to establish a treating plant equivalent to one which could handle that size city. I contend that many cities of that size would have difficulty in financing such a project, and particularly in our case . . . we [are] a marginal operation and to impose on us such a cost would merely result in our closing that plant.¹⁵

In four years the company did close its plant at Whitney, Idaho, and, although attempts were made to limit the amount of pollution at the Lewiston plant over the next decade, environmental restrictions no doubt also played a role in its closure.

Other factors also contributed to the demise of agricultural processing plants in Cache Valley following World War II. The beet-sugar industry provides a good example of these changes. Industries which were constructed to process locally produced farm commodities quickly disappeared as farmers, armed with greater mechanical means and the option of working a second job at one of the state’s defense plants, began concentrating their efforts on less-demanding produce such as alfalfa and barley, turning away from labor-intensive crops such as sugar beets and vegetable row crops.

A similar fate to that of the beet-sugar industry befell the canning industry, which had existed alongside the sugar-processing

plants in Cache Valley since 1918 when Joseph and James Anderson of Morgan, Utah, constructed a plant in Smithfield. Other plants were established by the brothers at Richmond and Hyrum, and in Franklin, Idaho. The California Packing Corporation acquired the Morgan Canning Company's Cache Valley holdings in 1928 and continued to process peas, corn, green beans, and later cabbage and carrots with varying degrees of success until 1980. The Smithfield plant was converted to a can-processing plant for a number of years before completely closing in 1993. Similarly, although the Franklin plant continued for some years to process locally grown produce, it also closed following the 1994 season.¹⁶ The plants' closures were the capstone of a trend which had been progressing since the close of World War II. Vegetable production plummeted throughout the state, dropping from nearly 25,000 harvested acres in 1950 to fewer than 5,000 in 1980.¹⁷

Due in part to the closing of the processing plants, agriculture in Cache County over the last four decades has moved decisively away from diversification and towards specialization. Since the late 1960s most agricultural enterprises in the county have been geared towards the production of livestock—either dairy cattle or beef cattle.

Dairying has long been a mainstay of agriculture in the county. Creameries had been in operation since pioneer times, but following 1900 there began a proliferation of condensed-milk factories. One of the largest was that of Sego Condensed Milk Company at Richmond, discussed in an earlier chapter.¹⁸ In the 1920s local milk producers organized the Cache Valley Dairy Association, a cooperative which the farmers hoped would provide them with more clout in negotiating with the Sego Milk Company. The cooperative persisted throughout the Depression years with its attempt to increase the amount paid for butterfat, while the Sego Milk Company likewise continued to try to thwart those attempts. Having only some small successes, in 1937 the association decided it would be advantageous to begin operation of their own plant. In 1942 the cooperative purchased and retooled the old Amalgamated Sugar Plant west of Smithfield at Amalga. The plant had sat nearly idle since its closure in 1919, being used only as a storage warehouse for local tomato and onion crops. The rise in milk prices during World War II made possible the new enterprise's sur-

vival; but for the next two decades the Cache Valley Dairy Association was beset with financial troubles.¹⁹

The association hired Edwin C. Gossner to supervise the cheese-making operations at the Amalga plant. A native of Switzerland who relocated to Cache Valley during World War II, Gossner brought with him a knowledge of cheese making and soon developed a superior Swiss cheese product in Cache County. Gossner's cheese became the hallmark of the association in the years to come as well as serving as one of the county's claims to fame.

Difficulties nevertheless developed between Gossner and the cooperative board, and in the early 1960s Gossner was released from his position as manager of the Amalga plant. Gossner's dismissal touched off a series of lawsuits and counter-lawsuits, which in the end plummeted the Cache Valley Dairy Association back into financial troubles. In 1966 the association attempted to block Gossner's application for a small business loan which he sought in order to establish a competing processing plant in Cache County. In a letter to Utah Cooperative Association president W.B. Robins, Cache Valley Dairy Association board member A.W. Chambers explained the reasoning behind the attempted block. Chambers called attention to the fact that the Amalga plant and the Segó Milk Company plant at Richmond were both operating at only about 75 percent capacity. He also noted that the association had the necessary trucks to deliver the finished product to market. Drawing on the analogy of the previous demise of the sugar industry in Cache County, Chambers stated:

We have the history of having operated five sugar mills in Cache Valley years ago and now we are running one at less than capacity. We don't want a duplication of that situation in the milk business. Therefore, it would seem foolhardy to grant a small business loan . . . to permit one who is prejudiced against the established companies to establish a competitive plant which can only reduce the total income to the dairymen.²⁰

The Small Business Administration nevertheless approved Gossner's application for a \$350,000 loan. Gossner began constructing the new plant that year, and by 1969 the plant in Logan was in full operation.

With the success of the dairy industry in Cache County, agricul-

ture continued to play a major role in the county. In 1975 many of the county's major employers had ties to agriculture in one way or another. The Hesston Corporation, a manufacturer of farm machinery, located a plant in rural Nibley. Ironically, however, one of the pieces of machinery produced at the Hesston plant was a mechanical sugar-beet harvester; yet by 1975 sugar beets had all but disappeared from the fields of Cache County.

This irony is at the heart of the economic changes which occurred following World War II. Most agricultural processing industries of the earlier period were begun initially to process locally grown produce. The inability of local farms to supply sufficient produce contributed to the later closure of the plants. Although the Hesston plant did not necessarily depend on local farmers to purchase its equipment, the company nevertheless closed the Cache County plant in 1977. The Weathershield Company, a manufacturer of windows and doors, occupied the vacated plant soon afterwards and continues operation to the present day.

Other agriculture-related industries, such as the meat-packing plants of E.A. Miller and Sons, and Tri-Miller in Hyrum, also did not depend on the local supply of beef and hogs to fuel their "dis-assembly" lines, nor did they count on local consumers to buy their products. By 1993 E.A. Miller and Sons had doubled the output on its kill-floor to 750 cattle a day, far more animals than Cache Valley could provide. Most of the cattle processed at the Hyrum plant were imported. Additionally, Tri-Miller regularly imported beef carcasses from as far away as Nebraska and marketed its product nationally.²¹

As agricultural industries continued to grow and expand the boundaries of their markets, new alliances were made from outside the locality and state. Gradually, most local businesses were absorbed or consolidated with larger companies in the 1970s and 1980s. The Cache Valley Dairy Association allied itself with groups from neighboring associations in Wyoming and Colorado to become Western Dairymen Cooperative, while E.A. Miller and Sons was absorbed by national agribusiness giant ConAgra. The other Hyrum-based meat packing plant, Tri-Miller, was purchased by Thorn Apple Valley, Inc., a Michigan-based company.

The larger the conglomerate, the greater the expectation for pro-

duction. Economic reasons have been the reason most often given by company officials for the closure of most area processing plants, from sugar beet and canning factories to the closure of Tri-Miller in 1995. Thorn Apple Valley spokesman Rich Allen stated in March 1995 that Tri-Miller's "hog slaughter . . . and bacon operations were costly and losing money."²² Allen also noted that northern Utah was simply too far away from the company's major suppliers in Idaho, Colorado, and Nebraska.

The economic changes experienced in Cache County since World War II have been as dramatic as during any other period in Utah history. Only two agricultural processing industries exist in the county today—meat packing and dairy. This again points to the encroaching specialization—both manufacturing and production—within the agricultural sector in Cache County. The valley predominantly produces only three crops: grain, field corn, and alfalfa. All are used to support livestock, which in turn help sustain the county's two major industries. But E.A. Miller and Sons, even prior to their buy-out by ConAgra, has never relied on locally produced beef. The company's fleets of trucks are seen throughout the nation and Canada delivering dressed beef and returning with live cattle.

Similar fleets of trucks are seen with the familiar mouse-and-cheese symbol of Cache Valley cheese. The dairy industry has suffered for years with inadequate supplies of locally produced milk, and, although Cache Valley cheese has become known in many parts of the nation, not all cheese and milk products produced in the county come from Cache County milk. Nor could the county's farmers begin to produce enough hogs to supply the needs of the Thorn Apple Valley Company's Tri-Miller operation. Other areas offered better incentives for the agribusiness corporation and, with few allegiances to local producers, that corporation left Hyrum for "greener pastures." Hyrum is currently looking for a new tenant to occupy the Tri-Miller complex. Franklin is also looking for potential businesses to utilize the former Del Monte canning factory located there.²³

Smithfield, on the other hand, recently has found a tenant for its formerly vacant Del Monte plant, and therein lies a cameo of the historic trend of Cache Valley industry. Agricultural production is no longer tied directly to local processing plants; rather, it is tied to

national markets. Manufacturing in Cache County has long since moved away from production for local consumption, and most firms locating in the county are geared towards the production of merchandise that is hoped to be marketed nationally or globally. "Those Good Peas," the motto of the Morgan Canning Company which is still displayed at the Smithfield plant, is a reminder of Cache County's predominantly agricultural past. But in February 1996 the plant was leased to Icon Health and Fitness, Inc., a Logan-based manufacturer of exercise equipment. The plant's new tenants had no intention of taking down the old motto, and with the emphasis of health and fitness that is so much a part of the national consciousness of the 1990s, it provides an interesting juxtaposition between the past and present.²⁴

Icon entered a field of manufacturing which was earlier entered successfully by Weslo International in 1982. Weslo was the brainchild of three Utah State University graduates: Blaine W. Hancey, Gary E. Stevenson, and Scott R. Watterson. The company's line of products proved extremely marketable, and by 1989 the local company had enticed Weider, Inc., to purchase the Logan business. However, Watterson and Stevenson regained control of both Weslo and Weider and, after adding Health Rider, have created one of the largest health-equipment companies in the world. They are a major Cache County employer and support the community in numerous ways.

Since 1960, after the decline of agricultural processing plants, the county has seen a proliferation of non-agricultural industries. Although knitting mills and clothing and textile plants had been a part of Cache County's economy since the 1890s,²⁵ only three firms were still in operation by 1960: the Mode O' Day dress factory in Logan, Logan-Cache Knitting Mills, and Logan Knitting Mills. Plant obsolescence and changes from cotton and wool fabric to synthetic blends in the 1960s and 1970s generally made the knitting industry uneconomical locally. Logan-Cache Knitting Mills closed in 1965, after the death of the company's founder, E.J. Wilson. Logan Knitting Mills continued until 1980.²⁶ The Mode O' Day factory, which began operation in 1949 in the old Dansante Ballroom, continued employing about one hundred seamstresses in its dressmaking works until the late 1980s.²⁷

Heavier industry also began appearing in the county. In 1961 Thiokol Corporation, a manufacturer of solid rocket propellant, whose plant in neighboring Box Elder County also provided significant employment for people in Cache County, started manufacturing the Trackmaster in the county. Initially, the Trackmaster was seen as an implement which would aid the military in areas where deep snow hampered transportation. The vehicle was also seen as being useful on western mountains for taking snowpack measurements. Gradually, the Trackmaster came to play an important role as a slope-grooming machine and is used widely today on snowmobile trails and by ski resorts.

The Trackmaster seemed a perfect example of state, local, and national collaboration. The idea had emerged at Utah State University, had the backing of a huge national corporation based in Trenton, New Jersey, and would employ over 200 local workers. In 1979 inventor and businessman John Z. De Lorean purchased the company from Thiokol for a reported \$17.7 million. De Lorean's acquisition touched off a series of problems which eventually resulted in his declaring bankruptcy and immersed his Logan Manufacturing Company in a succession of court battles. In 1984 the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported on the beleaguered company's problems; but, after court issues were settled, Logan Manufacturing Company remained in business and continues to produce the Trackmaster today.²⁸

Cache County since the late 1960s has also attracted a number of high-technology firms to the Logan area, including Moore Business Forms in 1967 and Bournes Electronics in 1979. In 1983 Bournes moved part of its operations to its current 1000 West Street location to join Moore Business Forms and Gossner Foods, Inc., at Logan's fledgling industrial park.

An economic development program report prepared by the county in 1975 stressed the need to designate "an industrial area in the vicinity of 1000 North and 600 West." The report stated that the "area is conveniently located . . . [and] is an area traditionally associated with industrial activity."²⁹ In 1971 the Wurlitzer Corporation, a manufacturer of organs and pianos, began construction of 200,000-square-foot factory at the 600 West site. The company eventually employed 400 skilled workers before closing and moving out of the

county in July 1981. The plant was later remodeled and used to house the Bridgerland Area Vocational Center, which institution still occupies the building today.³⁰ Other firms have since located in the vicinity of 600 West and 1000 North, including Lundahl, Inc., Herff Jones, and Schreiber Foods.

In 1990 Logan City began the process of expanding the boundaries of its industrial park by providing incentives to several businesses to relocate along 1000 West Street at approximately 1500 South. Weslo International and HyClone Laboratories were two of the companies that constructed the new facilities at the location. Both Weslo, as mentioned earlier, and HyClone were “spin-off” companies resulting from research which began initially at Utah State University. Currently under the chairmanship of Rex Spendlove, HyClone manufactures biological and serum products for research and pharmaceutical applications.³¹

As discussed earlier, one of the first spin-offs from Utah State University research was the development in 1961 and later the manufacturing of the Trackmaster. In 1966 several engineers working at the university’s Electrodynamics Laboratory (Space Sciences Laboratory) left the university to begin a private venture. Calling the company LEPCO, the engineers’ main emphasis was in building upper-atmosphere radiometers. After a few years of successful operation, the original founders decided to sell the company to a Boston, Massachusetts, engineering firm, only to buy it back a short while later and rename the firm Wescor. Wescor continues in business today, producing, among other things, psychrometers, which are devices used to measure the water potential of any given area.³²

By 1988 over twenty university spin-off companies were in operation in Cache County. Realizing the tremendous potential in faculty-generated research, Utah State created its own research park in 1986. The park is home to several university research units and to a number of private companies which lease space from the institution. Research park director Wayne Watkins noted how the park served both the community and the university by making the two “more strategic and entrepreneurial in regards to [their] relation with industry.”³³

Similar to the agricultural industries in Cache County, the suc-

cesses of the new local high-tech industries also attracted the attention of larger corporations. *The Herald Journal* noted in 1990 how Cache County had become more dependent on outside capital than other areas of the state.³⁴ Outside of the success stories of locally started small businesses, Doug Thompson, executive director of the Cache Chamber of Commerce, also called attention to the availability of new technologies which made outside ownership possible. Such things as computers, fax machines, and long-distance conference calls made it possible during the 1980s to conduct business from outside the locality. But, Thompson stressed, those “businesses controlled by outside companies tend sometimes not to be as involved in the community as those whose leaders live here.”³⁵

Such was the case when two Utah State University graduates, Randall K. Thunell and Gary Burningham, formed CULTEC, Inc., in the early 1980s. Beginning in Oregon, where Thunell was pursuing a doctoral degree at Oregon State University, the company started manufacturing a virus-resistant strain of bacteria used in the making of cheese. The two scientists eventually returned to Logan and merged their company with BIOLAC, a locally run enterprise which was involved in similar research. The merger of the two companies under the BIOLAC name increased sales from several hundred thousand dollars annually to more than three million dollars annually. By 1985 most of the cheese manufacturers in the United States were using BIOLAC’s technology. BIOLAC’s success, according to Thunell, was “coming directly off the profit/loss sheet of . . . Miles Laboratories,” and in 1985 BIOLAC accepted a buy-out offer from Miles. “The transition from BIOLAC to Miles was nothing short of rude awakening,” Thunell stated. The small company had run its business by establishing personal ties with the cheese manufacturers it served. “When something needed to be done, we just got together, talked about it and did it.” There was no need for executive sessions and memoranda, according to Thunell; if there was a problem, they simply went to the client and fixed it.³⁶

All that changed with the Miles Laboratory take-over. The scientists were forbidden to make direct contact with former clients, and it appeared to Burningham and Thunell that Miles was more interested in suppressing the company’s technology than exploiting it. The BIO-

LAC scientists complained to the huge corporation, and in 1987 the company flew several executives out to Logan to tour the BIOLAC facilities. Some personnel were offered jobs at one of the company's plants in Elkhart, Indiana, and, although several accepted the company's offer and relocated, Thunell and Burningham refused. According to Thunell, one company executive threatened to "make their lives so miserable you'll beg us to let you move to Elkhart." True to its word, Miles Laboratories closed the BIOLAC plant in December 1988.

After revolutionizing the cheese-manufacturing industry, the local scientists were essentially out of a job. But a company shake-up in the Marschall Division of Miles Laboratories brought a new player onto the scene, and the two men were able to take severance from the company. After waiting out their contract, the two reassembled the old CULTEC company, purchased the BIOLAC facilities, and began anew, trying to reestablish old contacts and again revolutionize the industry.

Not all mergers were success stories, but neither have all failed to achieve the hoped-for results exemplified by the BIOLAC story. Regardless of success or failure, mergers are often necessary to expand local businesses into international markets. Increased industrial development in the county also brought increased population and growth. The county's population in 1950 stood at 33,536. Over the next ten years the population rose by only slightly more than 2,000 individuals—to 35,788. During that ten-year period eleven of the county's nineteen incorporated towns and cities lost population. That trend, however, was reversed between 1960 and 1970, when only the towns of Clarkston, Lewiston, and Trenton continued to lose population. With new industrial development taking place during the 1970s, the county's population rose from 35,788 in 1960 to 57,176 in 1980. Furthermore, by 1990 all of the incorporated areas of the county were experiencing population growth, as the county's population soared to over 70,000.³⁷

With increases in population, non-agricultural employment also rose dramatically in Cache County. A total of 1,218 persons were employed in manufacturing in 1962.³⁸ By 1989 that figure had escalated to 8,021.³⁹ In total non-agricultural employment—including

manufacturing, mining, construction, transportation, trade, finance, government, and services—the county had 8,463 persons engaged in non-agricultural employment in 1962.⁴⁰ By 1989 more than 27,000 persons were engaged in non-agricultural employment.⁴¹

Growth and planning have been one of the single most important issues facing the county in the last three decades. In 1950 long-time *Herald Journal* columnist Ray Nelson published the results of a survey conducted by a committee of the Logan chapter of the American Association of College Women. The survey endeavored to determine the future expectations of Logan citizens by asking: “What suggestions do you have for improving Logan?” Some suggested that citizens should exercise more restraint in the removal of trees along their streets, others wanted pigs removed from the city limits, many felt the county should take steps to publicize “the advantages we have to offer,” while others wanted all signs and billboards removed from city streets. Time and again, Nelson noted, respondents suggested that the city construct an appropriate sewage-disposal system, build a new hospital, and implement planning and zoning ordinances. One respondent even went so far as to offer to help work “out a master plan for the development of Logan City and vicinity.”⁴²

Logan City passed its first comprehensive zoning ordinance in August 1950. Among other things, the ordinance regulated by districts the size and height of buildings, percentage of a lot that could be occupied, distribution of population, and distribution and use of buildings for residences or industry. The keeping of animals within city boundaries was allowed if it conformed to the idea of a family food supply. A maximum of two milk cows, two sheep, two goats, twenty rabbits, and fifty chickens could be kept.⁴³ The subject of keeping pigs was noticeably lacking from the ordinance, although in response to complaints about the animals, Logan’s chief sanitarian Reed S. Roberts noted in March 1950 that “the health department [had] no authority at present time to say what parts of town livestock [could] be kept.”⁴⁴ Logan’s new ordinance attempted to deal with the matter by stating that the zoning ordinance was “necessary to health, peace and safety of the inhabitants of Logan City.”⁴⁵

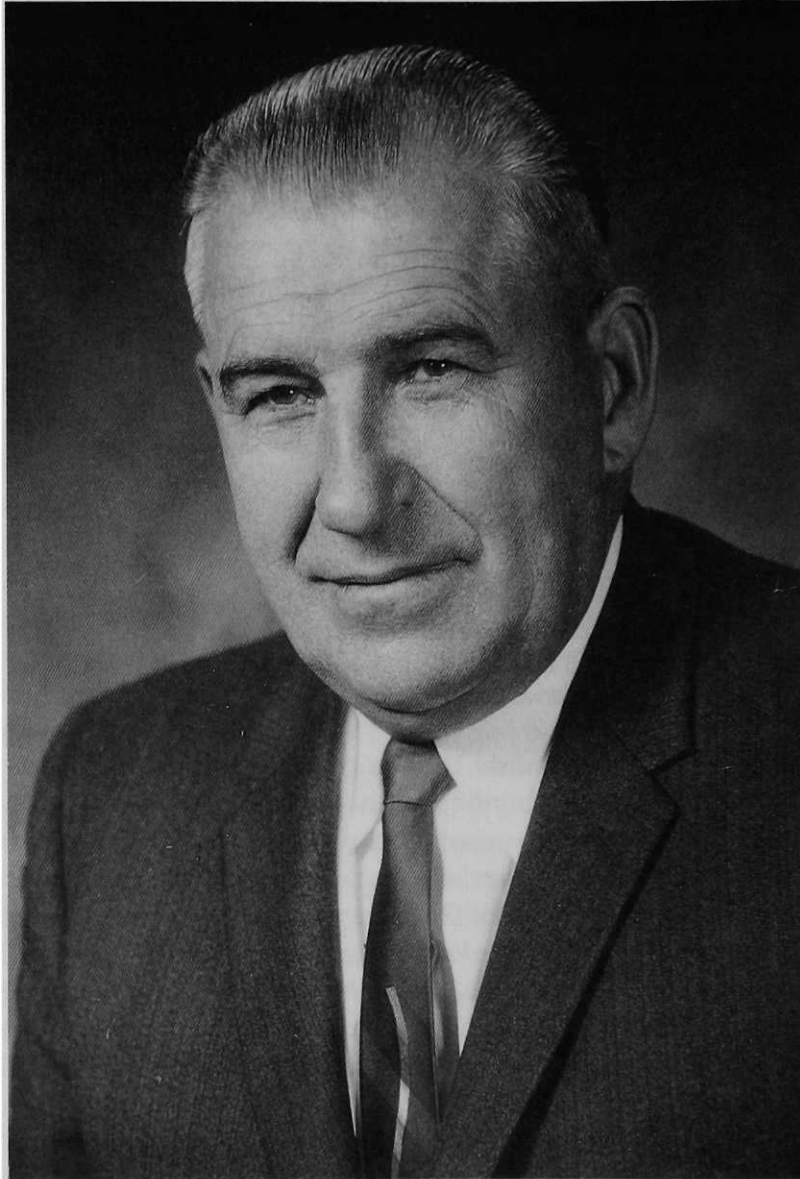
In 1956, of the incorporated communities, only Logan City and River Heights had zoning ordinances. Smithfield mayor M.T. Van



Sheep being driven on Hayden's Fork Road, Cache National Forest, 1954. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

Orden noted that Smithfield, the county's second-largest municipality, should have zoning ordinances but that there were "too many farmers" to ever get such an ordinance passed. Most of the towns had justices of the peace, marshals, and a jail. Most offenders were brought before the justice of the peace for having committed traffic violations. Clarkston mayor Victor Rasmussen, however, also noted an increase in juvenile delinquency. Many of the towns in Cache County in the 1950s had small public libraries, like the Carnegie Library in Smithfield. Without exception, all had baseball diamonds and some had rodeo grounds. Most had a town hall or city office building; and most had either a regular or volunteer fire department.⁴⁶

None of the incorporated towns and cities in the county had any sewage disposal systems other than cesspools and septic tanks. Logan City's health department claimed that over 150 outhouses still existed in the city in 1950 and that sewage was flowing freely into the west fields.⁴⁷ Sewage from Logan City dumped into the west fields at two



Wesley G. Malmberg served as Cache County Sheriff, 1937-1970. (Cache County Courthouse)

points. The north outfall spilled into an open ditch approximately 700 feet west of 600 West and 200 North streets. The south outfall, which served the Island area of Logan, discharged north of 200

South, several hundred feet west of 600 West Street.⁴⁸ In October 1957 the voters of Logan City turned down a \$1 million bond issue to build a sewage-treatment plant west of the city.⁴⁹ Over the course of the next eight years Logan City voters would turn down similar bond issues three times.

At the forefront of the controversy over the bond issue was the escalating price-tag for the project. By 1965, the year in which voters finally passed the bond issue, the project's cost had risen to over \$2.5 million. Yet the system which Logan City ultimately constructed was considerably less expensive than the system which was first proposed in 1957. A system such as that proposed in 1957 would have cost over \$5 million in 1965. By 1965 the Utah Water Pollution Control Board had relaxed its prohibition on lagoon-type sewage-treatment systems. Up to that time, the board had insisted on mechanical filtration systems, which were considerably more expensive.

Lagoon-type systems, the type which Logan City ultimately constructed, were considered nearly as risky as open sewers during the 1950s, and many citizens voiced concern over health hazards from infected waterfowl and mosquitoes. Many also questioned the odor problem which can result from improperly managed systems. Dr. E.L. Hanson, a retired city physician, is credited with spearheading the drive to inform the public and to convince the Utah Water Pollution Control Board to restudy the viability of lagoon treatment. Knowing that cost was the major deterrent to having a local sewer system, Hanson and a committee of community activists wrote editorials and visited with community groups to assuage the fears of the county's residents. Hanson's work along with that of community groups who set about to document the effects of pollution on the Bear River and its tributaries finally convinced the citizenry to pass the sewer bond issue on 31 August 1965.⁵⁰

Since the 1960s several other communities within the county, including Providence, Smithfield, North Logan, and River Heights, have connected to the Logan City sewer system, which was enlarged and improved in 1989. Other communities have installed sewer systems within their own communities; still others, mostly the unincorporated areas of the county, continue to rely on septic tanks.

At the time of Ray Nelson's newspaper column in 1950, the other

most mentioned improvement for Logan City and the county was improved health services. Logan had been a center for the medical needs of citizens not only throughout Cache County but also for neighboring counties in Utah and southeastern Idaho since Oliver C. Ormsby relocated to Cache County from Box Elder County in 1872. Ormsby set up his practice in the old Blanchard Hotel on the corner of 100 West and Center streets. The Blanchard Hotel offered the convenience of being the county's first hospital, according to historian A. J. Simmonds: "If a patient needed a room for convalescence, he merely continued paying the rent on the room at the hotel where the surgery or other treatment had been performed."⁵¹

Chances are the rent at either Blanchard's Hotel or the Cache Valley House Hotel was considerably less expensive than comparable rooms at hospitals. In 1872, however, there were no other hospitals in Cache County. In 1903 doctors D.C. Budge and W.R. Calderwood opened the valley's first hospital at 207 West Center Street in Logan. The two doctors were assisted by Nora Christensen, one of the county's first professionally trained nurses. Nurse Christensen was a recent graduate of St. Luke's Hospital in Denver, Colorado, and after arriving in Logan she was placed in charge of training other local women to become nurses. The training was later moved from the Budge/Calderwood Hospital to Brigham Young College.

After 1903 Logan City saw a proliferation of hospitals, as Dr. W.B. Parkinson opened the first Latter-day Saints Hospital at 337 West 100 North, followed by the first Budge Clinic, began by doctors D.C. Budge and T.B. Budge, opening in 1905 at the corner of Main and Center streets.

With a growing population during the first decade of the twentieth century, Cache County and the surrounding area soon needed more than the facilities at the Budge Clinic. A group of local physicians and businessmen responded to the need for a new hospital by constructing the first phase of the Utah-Idaho Hospital in 1914. The hospital had a sixty-bed capacity and was located at 300 East 200 North, northeast of the Logan LDS temple.

Even the new facility was hard pressed to deal with the medical needs of the World War I period and the flu epidemic which followed. In response to the growing need, Dr. Clarence C. Randall and



Airport service station, 4th North and Main, John Anderson, manager, 1930s. (Courtesy Geniel Pond)

Dr. Winston B. Jones opened a hospital at north Main Street, south of the county courthouse, in 1920. That same year doctors H.K. Merrill, R.O. Porter, and E.P. Oldham opened a competing facility, naming it Cache Valley General Hospital, practically next door at 172 North Main Street.

In 1928 the doctors involved in Cache Valley General Hospital constructed a new hospital just east of the Logan LDS tabernacle. The hospital opened in 1929. The new Cache Valley General Hospital and the Utah-Idaho Hospital, which was renamed Budge Memorial Hospital in 1926, were the area's major medical facilities until 1948 when the LDS church purchased them both. The church closed Cache Valley General Hospital and remodeled Budge Memorial, which became the Logan LDS Regional Hospital. In 1975 the LDS church withdrew from the field of health care in Cache County and sold the facility to Intermountain Health Care. In 1977, some twenty-seven years after Ray Nelson publicized the suggested improvements of Logan City's residents, construction began on a new health-care facility at the present 1400 North Street location; it was dedicated on 21 November 1980.⁵²

The 1400 North block in Logan City was still predominantly farmland in 1977. Both the city and the county began the process of adopting new plans for development and growth in 1968. A report prepared under the direction of the Cache County Planning Commission noted how the committee had been “for some time deeply concerned with the future environment of the area. . . . Realizing that the high quality environment enjoyed by county residents could only be maintained through sound planning for future growth and development, county officials initiated a program . . . to prepare a Master Plan for Cache County.”⁵³

By 1970 the county’s master plan had been prepared. Among other things, it suggested that the corridor from North Logan to Providence be designated as the county’s urban area, which should “receive the majority of the population growth.”⁵⁴ The unincorporated areas of the county, the plan stressed, should be reserved for agriculture; urban development should not only be restricted in that area but should be prohibited. The plan noted that over the course of the next twenty years, 2,000 acres of prime farmland would be required to accommodate expected new population growth. The plan also echoed what county residents had been saying for over twenty years: restrict or prohibit the “strip” development which progressively had been taking place north along U.S. Highway 91. With fairly strong language the master plan stated that the “area adjacent to the highway shall not be commercially developed from Logan to Smithfield.”⁵⁵

Although controlling commercial development along U.S. Highway 91 between Logan and Smithfield has proven to be nearly impossible, the county has largely confined the population growth, if not between North Logan and Providence, certainly between Smithfield and Providence. County government has been less successful in limiting housing construction within the greenbelt area of the county.

One of the constants in planning for growth and development has been the need for increased development of water resources. As discussed earlier, in the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century settlers of Cache Valley’s towns and communities developed and improved irrigation canals. Communities also devel-

oped culinary and municipal systems. Logan City constructed the first culinary water system in Cache County during the late 1880s, taking water directly out of the Logan and Richmond Canal and conveying it to homes in a ten-inch wooden pipe. The system was not without problems, particularly during the winter when the canals were dry or frozen. In 1893 the city moved the source of its culinary supply to the newly constructed Logan, Hyde Park, and Smithfield high-line canal. In 1914, following a report by Logan City engineer T.H. Humphreys, the city again moved its source of drinking water from the canal directly to DeWitt Springs, the present source of most of its water.⁵⁶

For most communities, however, the community ditch or a shallow well usually lined with wood, stone, or brick remained the source of the public's drinking water until much later in the twentieth century. Technological advances in water-delivery systems and well drilling made it practical for most communities in Cache County to either improve the efficiency of their springs or drive a deep well in places where pure water could be found under artesian pressure. With cisterns and reservoirs installed, water could be piped to the individual homes either through the force of artesian pressure or by the force of gravity flow. By the late 1930s most homes in Cache County had running water.

The Great Depression of the 1930s proved to be a boon for water development in the county. Federal programs made available funds for the construction of community waterworks. Most communities throughout the state of Utah which were without culinary water in the 1930s applied for and received federal funding to acquire such. One of the most positive aspects of the Depression was the development of a much safer culinary water supply in the county.⁵⁷

Water has truly been the driving force behind development, not only in Cache County and Utah but throughout the West. The need for increased water resources development—for agriculture initially, but now more so for industrial and urban needs—has spawned the construction of huge reservoirs, canals, and waterworks which move water from one river basin to another. Agricultural developments have prospered or died because of plentiful or inadequate water supplies. Similarly, future urban and industrial developments will also

be reliant on a constant water supply. The present common view that infinite growth is both necessary and desirable may be one of our greatest misperceptions, as we will realize when the supply of water finally cannot provide for any new growth.

It appears from an examination of the historical record that Cache Valley's groundwater supply has been depleted as the local population increased. For the first several decades of settlement, groundwater actually increased in Cache Valley. The replumbing of virtually all of the valley's streams into canals created an extraordinary amount of seepage. As these canals were most prone to seepage in the rocky bench areas where they were first diverted from the rivers and streams, the water percolated through the gravel and reappeared on the valley floor. Many fertile and productive tracts of land were waterlogged by the turn of the century.

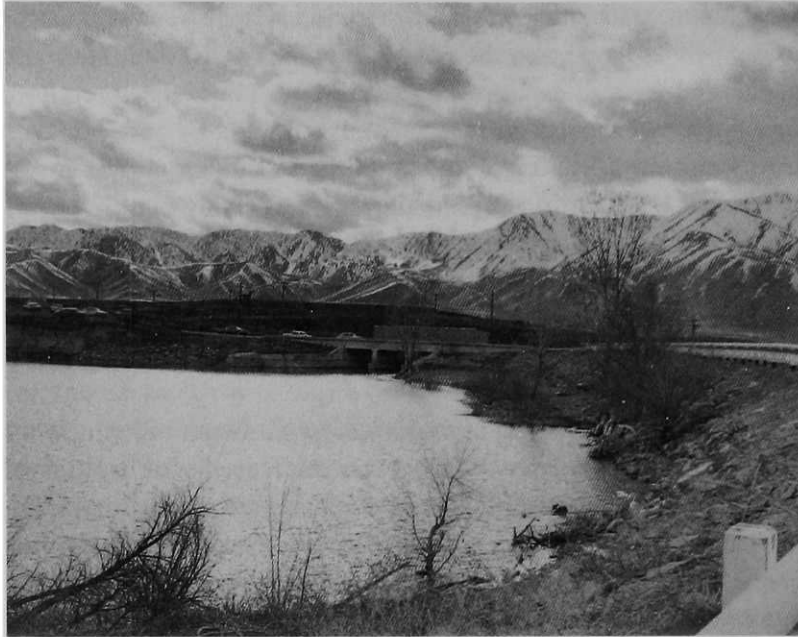
Drainage engineer R.A. Hart, working with the U.S. Department of Agriculture in 1916, reported on a tract of land located about one mile southwest of Smithfield. The land had originally been part of Bishop Samuel Roskelly's rather extensive holdings and, according to Hart, had been "at one time very productive of grain, hay, beets, and potatoes." In 1911, when Hart first investigated the area, he found it waterlogged, with much of it being an "almost impassable bog." Hart noted in his report that the "injury was due to seepage from irrigation of higher lands." After installing lengths of tile drain below the land's surface, the excess water began to dissipate, and was drained to the southwest, emptying into Hopkins Slough at the property's southwest corner. After concluding the work, Hart mentioned how "the water developed is worth many times the cost of drainage." A considerable quantity of water was developed by draining the Roskelly tract. Hart noted: "The quantity of water obtained was so copious that the main was overcharged at the outlet and the 5" tile was fully charged at the upper manhole."⁵⁸

The water developed by drainage projects throughout Cache Valley greatly benefited farmers farther west towards the valley's center. Toward mid-summer, after water had been flowing in the canals since June, the drains would start flowing. This flow helped augment the water supplies of secondary irrigators whose land had been settled at a later date.

More recently, more efficient irrigation systems such as pressurized pipelines have taken the water out of the canals, while sprinkler systems have nearly replaced flood irrigation. The new systems have brought about a vastly more efficient use of water by upstream irrigators; but this second replumbing of the valley's groundwater system has also nearly dried up the tile drains of eighty to ninety years ago. The first replumbing of the valley's watercourses created an underground flow which was used in successive stages. It created a hydraulic use system based on inefficient use of resources by higher irrigators for their water supply. It was a symbiotic relationship which endured until only recently.⁵⁹

In addition to changes in the flow of groundwater brought about by more efficient irrigation systems, increased withdrawals of groundwater from the aquifer have also occurred. The earliest measurements taken of the county's groundwater were done by Samuel Fortier, working for the Utah Agricultural Experiment Station in the summer of 1896.⁶⁰ In addition to measuring the valley's streams and rivers, Fortier also measured selected springs on the valley's floor. Over the course of the next one hundred years successive measurements were undertaken by hydrologists. In 1944 William Peterson, director of the Utah Cooperative Extension Service, conducted a similar inventory of the county's groundwater resources.⁶¹ Between 1896 and 1944 the springs at the valley's center showed little change in flow. In fact, many of the springs, probably owing to an increase in seepage from the upper irrigation canals, showed an increase in flow, particularly by late summer and early fall.

During the 1960s the U.S. Geological Survey began taking measurements of the county's groundwater.⁶² Even as late as 1970, however, area springs showed little decrease in volume. In 1944 Peterson measured Hopkins Spring southwest of Smithfield as flowing 3.7 cubic feet per second (cfs). In 1968 the USGS recorded an almost exact measurement for the spring. But by May 1990 the USGS recorded Hopkins Spring as flowing at only 1.15 cfs, less than a third of what it had previously measured.⁶³ Similar decreases have been noted in other areas of the valley where significant usage of groundwater has taken place. Peterson measured Little Ballard Spring located west of Providence at 4.0 cfs in 1944; the USGS recorded the



Spillway of the Hyrum Dam, 1970s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

same spring as flowing somewhat less, 3.4 cfs, in 1967. In 1990 the USGS recorded a measurement for Little Ballard Spring at just under 1.0 cfs. Although the latter part of the 1980s and the early 1990s were characterized by area drought, the dramatic decline in the flow of springs on the valley floor is nevertheless indicative of a decreased recharge of the valley's aquifers.

Cache Valley has long been blessed with substantial water supplies, and even though county water users may currently be "mining" more water from the aquifer than is being recharged by annual mountain snows and precipitation, some maintain that there is no serious problem because there is always the Bear River. However, the Bear River, because of its location in nearly the center of the valley, meandered through Cache County for over forty years after white settlement before settlers put any of its waters to their use. As discussed previously, the first appropriation of Bear River water came to Cache County via the West Cache Canal, which headed north across the Idaho border near Riverdale. Only after the arrival of electric

power to the communities along the river during the late 1910s and on into the 1920s could Bear River water be diverted within the county by use of irrigation pumps.

Communities above Cache County, in Rich County, Utah, Oneida County, Idaho, and Uinta County, Wyoming, began diverting the Bear River for irrigation as early as the late 1860s. In 1889 John R. Bothwell began plans to construct two canals at the head of Bear River Canyon between Cache and Box Elder counties and filed on all the unappropriated waters of the Bear River and Bear Lake.⁶⁴ Bothwell fell into financial trouble during the early 1890s, and the company formed through his promotion eventually became the property of William Garland, the canal's contractor. Garland, however, also failed and sold the company to Salt Lake City businessmen. In 1900 the Bear River and Bear Lake Water Works was purchased by the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company for \$450,000. The sugar company retained ownership of the canals and water rights, erecting a new dam in Bear River Canyon, engineered by J.C. Wheelon. The sugar company also built and operated a hydroelectric plant in Bear River Canyon. In 1927 the entire operation was sold to Utah Power and Light Company, which erected the present Butler Dam downstream from the original canals.⁶⁵ By 1927 Utah Power and Light was operating five hydroelectric plants on the Bear River—from Soda Springs, Idaho, to Beaver Dam in Box Elder County.

Earlier, in 1921, Cache County irrigators and Utah Power and Light Company went to court over control of the tributary streams to the Bear River. The resulting Kimball Decree of 1922 set the basic tenets pertaining to water rights throughout the county.⁶⁶ Still, problems over the use of the Bear River continued to plague the three states which shared its drainage. Furthermore, future developments on the river which depended on federal reclamation funds required that the three states of Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming come to an agreement over appropriation of the river's water. In 1955 the state legislatures of all three states passed bills to authorize the creation of the Bear River Commission. The states also had come to terms on an agreement known as the Bear River Compact. President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the compact into law in 1958. The purpose of the compact, as outlined in the agreement, was:



Newton Dam, 1940s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

to remove the causes of present and future controversy over the distribution and use of the waters of the Bear River; to provide for efficient use of the water for multiple purposes; to permit additional development of the water resources of Bear River; and to promote interstate comity.⁶⁷

Since the decade of the 1980s, however, there has been a lack of comity, which has been as much within the states as among them. Brought on by urban and industrial growth from Cache County and continuing south along the Wasatch Front, renewed interest mounted for developing the state's unused portion of its Bear River Compact appropriation.⁶⁸ Cache Valley citizens worried that Salt Lake County might move to construct water projects and export Bear River water to the Wasatch Front. Their response, first voiced in 1979 and again in 1989, was to attempt to form a countywide water conservancy district.

Water conservancy districts had been legal extensions of local governments since their creation in 1941.⁶⁹ District proponents claimed the county needed an organization to deal with other countywide organizations as well as the state and federal governments. In 1989 opponents to the plan established a grass-roots organization—

People for Wise Water Planning (PWPP)—to combat passage of the district. It claimed that conservancy districts were simply a method used to construct large, expensive water projects with taxpayer dollars. It further claimed that most taxpayers would not benefit from these projects and that conservancy districts would therefore require the many to subsidize the few.

Nevertheless, district proponents such as the late Professor Calvin Hibner of Utah State University felt that the district would provide the people of Cache County with much-needed “control over their own destiny.”⁷⁰ Paul Gillette, deputy director of river-basin planning with the Utah State Division of Water Resources, told the *Herald Journal* in 1989 that water conservancy districts had become the accepted manner for counties in the state to develop water resources, and that without a district Cache County would be operating at a disadvantage when negotiating with the state or with other counties. Gillette succinctly put the topic of water development into focus when he stated: “The Bear River is going to be developed because the political leaders of the state are not going to allow water to be a limiting factor for economic development in Utah until we are out of it [water].”⁷¹

From Southern California to Las Vegas, Nevada, water had already become a limiting factor in some areas of the West. It promises to become an even greater factor as urban and industrial development continues. One way which local governments have tried to combat dwindling water supplies has been through heightening awareness of water conservation practices. From fixing leaky faucets to eliminating large toilet tanks, conservationists have attempted to educate county residents about conservation.⁷² But at the same time that conservationists were championing the ideas of xeriscape yards, reduced-flow showerheads, and bricks in the toilet tank, the county and state were talking about the immediate need of appropriating several hundred thousand additional acre feet of water from the Bear River.⁷³

Water development will undoubtedly continue to play an important role in the county’s future, just as it has played an important role in the past. Similarly, growth and development have always been at the forefront of county concerns. During the early years of the

county's history, the problem was always a lack of needed development—there was not enough population, there was too little industry, there were too few business and professionals. All that changed rapidly in Cache County, particularly since the close of World War II. The county emerged from being primarily an agricultural community to being a leader in the field of high-tech industry. Cache Valley has not yet seen the explosive growth experienced along the Wasatch Front; but the county, perhaps more than any of the other twenty-eight counties in the state, is poised for a similar experience. Through the planning strategies begun over four decades ago and the continued cooperation of an enlightened citizenry, Cache County is also poised to be able to choose the direction of its growth and future development.

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CONTEMPORARY CACHE: A VIEW OF THE WHOLE

The history of Cache County reveals the significance of people throughout time and is a reminder that individuals can make a huge difference. Numerous officials have served the county with distinction over the years. Statehood established that most county officials were to be elected, and three elected commissioners administered the county. The sheriff, county attorney, assessor, clerk, surveyor, and other offices received partisan political party support. The day-to-day responsibility of administering the departments fell to career employees who supervised road maintenance and worked at snow removal, tax collection, licensing vehicles, courts, detention, and law enforcement. As county responsibilities grew, including waste management and administration of the county fairgrounds, the pressure on elected officials intensified. County commissioners became salaried administrators, although their compensation was relatively modest.

Commissioners relied heavily on department heads to advise them on budget and management matters. Cache County's mayors association began to question the relationship between the county's

and its communities in the mid-1980s. Some communities contracted with the county for law enforcement and judicial functions, and certain towns contracted with each other for fire protection and waste disposal. To many, it seemed that the complexity of administering all of the programs reached beyond the capabilities of elected commissioners.

Area mayors joined a group of citizens and, after consultation and research, recommended a total overhaul of the county form of government. Utilizing the concept of representative democracy, they proposed that the three commissioners be replaced by an elected county council of seven members, each of whom represented a specific geographic area of nearly equal population. The proposal also recommended creating a position of county executive, an elected individual with a countywide contingency. Although some advocated the appointment of all other titled division heads, including sheriff, assessor, and clerk, a compromise determined that these officers would continue to be elected. The county voters accepted the recommendations in a 1985 plebiscite and the concept became a reality.

Many Cache County residents believed that their new system of government would appeal to other counties and become a model because of its claimed cost-saving efficiency. However, change is difficult to effect, and to this date no other county has accepted the council form. Nonetheless, for Cache County, the system has worked very well for a decade, primarily perhaps because of the quality of those who chose to seek positions on the council. Seth Allen, a former county clerk, and Lynn Lemon have served as the county executives. They have chosen to follow the advice of the council and direct the county in a manner reflecting consensus. The key is the commitment of the public servants.

Ann Skanchy and Bobbie Coray are two of the dedicated county council members. Skanchy has devoted over a decade to elected community service in Logan City and Cache County. Coray served many years as the county economic development director. Recognizing the diversity of Cache County, these leaders worked together with their colleagues to try to safeguard the county's economic future and maintain its environmental attractiveness. The current (1996) status of the county shows it and the state in a position of unusual eco-



Bear River at Amalga, 1997. (Courtesy Craig Law)

conomic strength because of the economic diversity created in the past century. A number of viewpoints show what Cache County is, why it has changed, and what it may become.¹

Agriculture has been very important historically, but it is now much less of a driving force in the valley. Cache County is still well watered with numerous irrigation systems that provide steady and reliable moisture for crops. Utah residents always like to convey the impression that the state has a genuine agricultural base and maintains rural values; however, the reality is that less than 20 percent of

Utah's land is in agricultural use. This is in contrast to Iowa where over 85 percent of the land is farmed and California where nearly 40 percent of the land is in some form of agricultural usage. In the past thirty years nearly three million acres of Utah farmland have been removed from agricultural production. Even when government-owned grazing land is factored into the equation, Utah has less than 33 percent of its total land average in agricultural use. Cache County currently has 43 percent of its 749,420 acres in farms. Only five Utah counties exceed that number. The average size of a Cache County farm has grown since 1945 from 173 acres to 265 acres. Simultaneously, the number of farms has decreased dramatically throughout the state—from 26,322 in 1945 to 14,066 today. Cache County farms have decreased at nearly the same rate—from 2,002 in 1945 to a present number of 1,223. This helps document the national reality that fewer farmers are using the same amount of land to produce more crops and livestock.²

While only 12 percent of Utah's limited farm acreage is irrigated, Cache County has approximately 26 percent of its farmland irrigated. This significant statistic documents that dry farming and pasture and grazing land make Utah oriented more to livestock than to crops. Indeed, Cache County is second only to Sanpete County in the market value of livestock—\$58,485,000; and it is second to Utah County in the combined total of crops and livestock—\$66,629,000. However, Utah County has 170,000 more acres in farmland and 500 more farms. Cache County's agricultural production continues to grow in spite of urban encroachment into bottomlands and the near disappearance of orchards along the southeast benches and dry farming along the northeast benches. Dairy production, despite the numerous government programs for other sectors, continues to be the backbone of Cache County agriculture.³

In 1990 only 1,955 of Cache County's 35,192 employees were employed as farm workers and 227 were in related agricultural services. This does not include workers in the various cheese-processing or yogurt-manufacturing plants, but it is still a very small percentage of workers who produce an unusual amount of wealth for the county. The Cache County unemployment rate has hovered near 4 percent in recent decades; but most of the county jobs are either in

manufacturing or government. The manufacturing sector does include agricultural related products such as cheese, butter, and other dairy products, as well as the meat-packing industry, which is obviously livestock related. According to the latest data, over 9,000 Cache workers are involved in manufacturing, with Weslo-Proform (Icon) the largest employer, while E.A. Miller, the livestock processor, is second. Governmental workers numbered 8,150, or 23 percent of all employees in the entire county. The presence of Utah State University helps explain this fact, and the percent of government employees in the county is four percentage points above the state average. Federal, state, and local government is the second largest employer in Utah, behind services.⁴

It is interesting to note that Cache County payroll wages remain well below the state average in every category. This is, in fact, one factor that attracts many industries to the county. As an example, in the area of construction the state average worker wage is \$1,917 a month, while in Cache County a worker averages \$1,666. In manufacturing the disparity is much greater; Cache workers receive \$1,561 a month compared to a statewide average of \$2,125. The state average for government employment is \$1,805, while Cache County averages \$1,389. Other forms of employment reflect similar disparities. Some of this may be due to large numbers of college students who work part time and do not expect high wages. There is also a willingness of many agencies and companies to pay the lowest possible wage. There is virtually no counterbalance from organized labor unions, so many employers can pay lower wages than in many other areas.⁵

Another labor statistic of significance sheds light on the county's economic situation. Over 60 percent of women sixteen and older are in the workforce. The state average is 58 percent; and Cache ranks with Davis, Salt Lake, and Summit as the only counties with more than 60 percent of women presently employed. This is a dramatic increase—in 1980 only 47 percent of women in Cache County and 49 percent statewide were employed. Numerous women are employed in manufacturing and in government. This statistic also relates to the presence of the university and its employment of students, nearly half of whom are female. The female student body at the university has also increased in the past decade. The nearly full

employment in Cache County is in some measure offset by the continual tendency to pay low wages. In government, manufacturing, finance, transportation, utilities, and communications, the wages in Cache County average over \$500 a month less than wages for similar work along the Wasatch Front.⁶ A recent increase in the national minimum wage will not affect this situation.

The cost of Cache County housing is not much lower than that in other areas of the state. For instance, according to the 1990 census, Cache County had 7,860 rental units and the average rent that year was \$268 per month. Cache apartments averaged \$45 less per month than those in the Salt Lake area and \$20 less than those in Utah County. This can in part be explained by the large student population. Of Cache County's 22,053 housing units, 35 percent were rental units.⁷ This is about the same for Utah County, the home of another large university. The state average is about 28 percent of all dwellings are rental units. In the past six years both the number of units and the rental costs have risen dramatically. A 1996 survey of advertisements for rental property indicated that Cache County's cost per rental unit had climbed to \$358, which only trailed the Wasatch Front averages by thirteen dollars. The result is that Cache housing is proportionally much more expensive than it is along the Wasatch Front in regard to percentage of wages used for housing.⁸

New construction in Cache County also reflects a significant shift in two areas. Most of the construction in Logan is either apartments or homes valued above \$200,000. Although Hyde Park, North Logan, and Providence do not have many apartments, their new construction is also primarily of houses above \$200,000. New home construction also indicates a definite growth in and around Logan. In the years from 1989 to 1992, 743 new dwelling units were constructed in Logan, and many of those were apartments. Utah State's dramatic enrollment increase necessitated a response, and developers built numerous new multiple-living dwellings. During that same time period, Smithfield built 138 structures, Hyde Park 73, and North Logan 67—all primarily personal residences. Those four years saw four new homes built in Lewiston and thirteen in Richmond. On the south side of the valley, Providence had ninety new additions,

Millville thirty-seven, and Nibley twenty-two.⁹ The incorporated growth is primarily in the area of Mt. Sterling and Paradise.

The larger communities in the south end of the county—Hyrum and Wellsville—had respectively twenty-four and twenty-nine new structures built during the four-year period. This indicates a continual urban development in the Smithfield-to-Providence corridor. Logan's Main Street and U.S. Highway 91 are also developing rapidly as urban shopping strips for the region. The total construction value in 1992 was \$66 million when residential and non-residential construction were added together. This documented growth in construction reflects skyrocketing prices for both houses and rental units. The main reason for this is the county's population growth over the past few years.¹⁰

Cache County had a population of over 80,000 in 1996. That is an increase of 23,000 in the past sixteen years. The population of the county has nearly doubled since 1968. The population per square mile is now more than 68.9 people, while the state average is only 23.8 per square mile—a 23 percent increase in the period from 1980 to 1990. Of course, Utah is considered a very urban state, with 87 percent of its citizens residing in communities with a population in excess of 2,500. Cache is the fifth highest in people per square mile in the state—only Wasatch Front counties Salt Lake (1,093), Davis (709), Utah (154), and Weber (304) have greater population densities than Cache County. Twenty-one percent of Cache's citizens lived in a rural classification in 1990; but, as the area from Smithfield to Providence attracts new residents, this number will diminish. Communities such as River Heights and Hyde Park show fewer than 2,500 people in the 1990 census, yet they are actually very urban.¹¹

Although some of the county's best farmland has suffered both commercial and residential encroachment as mentioned earlier, the most recent residential building is on the high benches from Smithfield to Millville. Between 1980 and 1990 Cache County had a population increase of 22 percent, but rural population as a percent of the whole dropped. This trend continues and creates new problems for the county relative to transportation and the providing of human and other essential services.

According to the 1990 census, the average size of a Cache County

family household is 3.81 compared to the state average of 3.71. An interesting statistic is that Cache, Utah, and Iron counties—the three counties identified as having a large college-age population—head the state in the average size of a non-family household—that is, apartment dwellers: Utah is 2.06, Cache 1.67, and Iron 1.53 people per household. This compares to the state average of 1.34. While 8 percent of the total state population is between the ages of twenty and twenty-four, 12 percent of Cache County residents are in that age group. The presence of the university helps explain why over 10 percent of the county's population is under the age of four, which is also well above the state average. Eight percent of the population is over sixty-five; the state average is 8.7 percent. Cache County provides a balanced population of all ages.¹²

Cache County is also becoming more racially diverse. Although Cache County's original occupants were Native Americans, for most of its history the county has been primarily composed of Mormon Caucasians. The university, especially through athletics and active recruitment, has brought numerous minority and foreign students into the county—yet racial minorities remain a very minute percentage of the entire population. However, the population of minorities in the county has more than doubled in the past decade. Currently slightly over 6 percent of the population in Cache County is classified ethnically as minority, compared to 9 percent statewide. Under census classifications, the largest minority groups are Asian and Pacific Islanders, who number 1,910, followed by Hispanics with 1,780, Native Americans with 547, and African Americans with 217 inhabitants of the county. These statistics do not include Utah State University foreign students, who add a multicultural dimension to the community.¹³

Education is also dramatically affected by population growth and the pressure on local public schools, the Bridgerland Area Technological Center, and Utah State University is fairly great. Cache County is a very well educated community that traditionally prizes learning. Eleven and a half percent of all its residents over twenty-five have a graduate or professional degree; the state average is 6.8 percent, and the closest county is Summit County with 8.8 percent. Summit County residents have more citizens holding bachelor's

degrees than Cache County by a 32.9 to 30 percent margin. The state average is 22 percent; so again Cache County has a well-educated citizenry. Since it is a regional medical and legal center as well as educational magnet, this is no great surprise, but it does reflect well on the citizens. When the early schools were established over a century ago, there was no evidence that this would be the case.¹⁴

The two school districts enroll nearly one-fourth of the county's population. In 1991 the thirteen grades had a combined enrollment of 17,594. The capital facilities outlay, maintenance, and salaries make education a huge part of Cache County's economy; in 1991 education expenses exceeded \$45 million in the county. Cache District, with well over 12,000 students, spent \$2,664 on each pupil; while Logan, with over 5,500 students, spent \$2,702 per pupil. The state average was \$2,756 per pupil that year; so the two school districts were below that average but close to the norm. The districts have both moved closer to the state average in recent years, although they still struggle with larger classes than desired. It is also well to keep in mind that Utah has one of the lowest expenditures per pupil in the entire nation.¹⁵

By the same token, the local school districts are behind the state average in salaries paid to beginning teachers. The Utah average was \$17,804 in 1992, which ranged from \$20,318 in Park City to \$16,277 in Grand County. Cache County ranked second lowest at \$16,735, while Logan averaged \$17,544. However, both districts fared better at the maximum end of the scale for teachers with advanced degrees—both Logan and Cache were well above the state average. In the past few years the teachers associations have had genuine disputes because of the issues of salary, class size, and expenditure per pupil. Part of the problem is focused on the state legislature because of its usual unresponsiveness to educational needs even during strong economic times.¹⁶

The Bridgerland Applied Technology Center (BATC) has evolved into an essential aspect of Cache County education. The BATC provides professional training in numerous fields and is well equipped to offer opportunities to many individuals regardless of age or educational background. Since it moved to the old Wurlitzer plant west of Logan, the campus has grown in numbers and influence. It offers

an alternative to the university, and the state-funded institution operates outside the Utah Higher Education administration. The center provides considerable adult education opportunities as well as classes that bring secondary education to the local workforce.

Utah State University is a major part of any Cache County educational discussion. Its budget is now nearly \$200 million of combined state and federal sources and the student body is approaching 20,000 people. The university campus is active, with new buildings, renovations, and continual expansion; and the university has consistently been one of the county's largest and most steady employers. During the past two decades Utah State University has become increasingly successful in attracting federal aid to augment its budget. However, the demand for a national balanced budget, the huge national debt, and the trade deficit all combine to cloud the picture of federal funding of higher education. Extension programs, the experiment station, and research contracts recently have been slashed at the national level, and state funding has not increased at a very substantial level, especially compared to the increases in public education and various other social services. Salaries are considerably lower than the national and regional averages as well as at the University of Utah; but they are much higher than those at other state schools. Education is one of the greatest Cache County industries and continually seeks increased support from legislators and citizens. The economy and quality of life for the entire valley is enhanced by the presence of its educational institutions.¹⁷

Cache County's quality of life negates some of the concerns of local residents about wages, education, and the future. However, it is part of a state with a very high birthrate and large families. Still, Utah has increased its per capita income from 74.5 percent of the national average in 1988 to nearly 82 percent in 1995. Cache County and the state of Utah more than doubled personal income totals between 1980 and 1990. Cache residents reported income of \$866 million in 1990, more than double the \$391 million in 1980. The state income increased from \$11 billion to \$24 billion during the same period. During that same decade, however, per capita income for the county and state did not increase nearly as much. Cache County went from \$6,779 to \$12,290 per capita, which is a similar percentage to Utah's

increase but still slightly below the state average. Because of local family size, the median household income in Cache County was \$31,562 in 1990, which was \$1,500 below the state average.¹⁸

Cache County citizens are primarily economically average. The 1990 census showed that 8.7 percent of Cache County families, or 1,384 households, lived below the poverty level. However, in 1992 only 944 people received public assistance. The last statistic is only 1.3 percent of the population, while the state average is 3.0 percent.¹⁹ Once again the fact that many students work part time tilts the averages to the low side.

Since 1986, when the state law was passed that valued properties at their cash value, the total assessed valuation of Cache County property has increased from nearly \$1.2 billion to almost \$1.5 billion. That is a large increase in property value in a very short period of time. More than \$20 million are collected each year in property taxes from Cache County citizens. The total picture of the county's economic picture is quite healthy.²⁰

Cache County currently has in excess of 130 manufacturing establishments that range from small candy and candle companies to Icon with over 2,000 employees and an international clientele. Cache ranks fifth among the counties in number of manufacturing establishments. The value of their products is well into the billions of dollars. Cache County has some very unique businesses that grew from a few people with dreams, courage, and luck. The melding of tradition and innovation created a climate for considerable success. Many people are concerned that one of Cache County's largest employers, E.A. Miller, has been purchased by a gigantic conglomerate, ConAgra of Omaha. Detroit's Thorn Apple Valley closed down the long-running Tri-Miller pork-processing plant within a few years after it purchased the facility. That is part of the world of modern business, however; and since outside capital helped build Cache County's banking and railroad industry, it is only natural that contemporary manufacturing and business would also attract capital investment. Local success attracts outside interest and when a large national corporation purchases a home-owned company, then a touch of autonomy and personal care is lost.²¹ The recent sales of Lundahl

Astro-Circuits and the Jack B. Parson Construction Company indicates this trend will continue.

This is also true to a degree in the area of health care. For many years the nation has sought a workable health care program. When health care became a major issue in the 1992 presidential campaign, the hospital, insurance, and medical lobbies fought hard to destroy a national policy and simultaneously sought greater economic strength at the local level. For instance, Intermountain Health Care, which operates the Logan Regional Hospital, purchased the Budge Clinics and then expanded its influence by purchasing individual local doctors' private practices. The expensive diagnostic and care equipment employed by modern medicine as well as the limited size of the area discourage extensive competition. In the meantime, other medical providers such as the Western Surgery Center engaged in expansion attempts and explored the idea of building a new hospital. Alliances were formed between physicians and insurance companies that confused the local health care picture.²²

In the midst of this, the personal touch may be lost as doctors become employees. Cache County listed eighty-five doctors in the 1990 census, which was one doctor per 900 citizens. Only ten doctors were listed as family practitioners. There also are about sixty dentists, oral surgeons, and orthodontists in the county. In part due to the regional nature of health care, many residents of Idaho and western Wyoming come to Cache County, especially when a specialist is required.²³

There are also a number of county facilities that provide care for elderly citizens. The Sunshine Terrace in Logan has received national acclaim because of its day-care, education, and music programs that provide an enhanced quality of life for many elderly citizens. With the companion approaches of Logan Valley and Williamsburg centers and the Logan Regional Hospital, a lifetime of quality existence in Cache County is a definite possibility. However, this too has numerous political overtones.

In national, state, and county politics, Cache County has consistently voted Republican and conservatively since World War II. In spite of lower wages, thousands of students, and a high percentage of professional constituents, Cache County remains a Republican party

bastion. Since 1980, when Robert Chambers, a popular Smithfield civic and church leader, lost his county commissioner's seat in the Ronald Reagan national landslide, the only Democrats to win in Cache County have been county council victors Dennis Funk, Stuart Howell, Chris Coray, and Joseph Morse. None of them won county-wide races, and by 1994 the county council was composed entirely of Republicans as well. In the 1992 national election, Democrat president-elect Bill Clinton only received 17 percent of Cache votes, although he received nearly 25 percent statewide. Ross Perot, who obtained 27 percent of Utah's vote, did the same in Cache Valley. Clinton did get 2 percent more votes than did Michael Dukakis in 1988; but the last time Utah voted for a Democratic presidential candidate was for Lyndon Johnson in 1964.²⁴ In 1996 Clinton, without Perot's serious candidacy, received over 35 percent of the county vote as he won national reelection, although he lost Utah's electoral votes.

Cache County's partisan politics are manifest at the state level as well. The result presently in Cache County is almost a given—the Republican gubernatorial, senatorial, or representative candidate will win. This may be somewhat beneficial when Republicans are in power; however, since there is little competition for the vote, the result may be taken for granted. There is no visible increase of state or federal appropriations to Cache County based on party loyalty. In fact, often state and national representatives from Utah have taken strong positions against governmental appropriations increases.

The innovative county council change which created representation at the county level does create a more open responsive and creative county government, regardless of the party in power. There is no indication that the political solidarity of Cache County will change unless there is a major economic dislocation. Indeed, those who are so disenchanted that they seek alternatives are more inclined to vote for a third-party candidate than switch between the major parties.²⁵

One difficulty that arose from a climate of political alienation from the national government and its legislation was a feeling that federal law is intrusive and even irrelevant. The local responses to environmental legislation, wilderness designation, federal land management, and occupational safety laws are examples. There is a degree



Tony Grove Lake, Logan Canyon, a local scenic treasure. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

of disdain and anger over attempts to enforce such legislation, and many protesters certainly feel it is within their rights to counter national or local moves or trends they find objectionable. The most visible contemporary battleground may be the attempt to widen Logan Canyon's road, U.S. 89, for reasons of safety and accessibility.²⁶

When the earliest trappers found Cache County and met the Native Americans already present, both groups explored and used the numerous canyons leading into the valley. Those canyons provided access to beaver, routes beyond the valley, and contact with the outside world. Later the canyons provided the irrigation and mill water, timber, and much of the stone to build the county's agricultural, religious, and economic material culture. From pioneering days to the present, the canyons have been central to Cache Valley's existence. Logan Canyon is recognized as one of the premier scenic locales in the nation; regardless of the season, it epitomizes the best of the Rocky Mountain West.

As part of the United States highway system, U.S. Highway 89, which goes from Mexico to Canada, became the canyon road and was built, graded, and finally paved during the Great Depression. It served as the local conduit to and from Rich County, Bear Lake, Star Valley, Jackson Hole, and beyond. The highway through the canyon remained close to the Logan River for most of its route; it then went up Beaver Creek and finally to Rich County at the summit. Except for widening and straightening nine miles of the road near the canyon's mouth during the 1960s, Logan Canyon's paved road has remained much the same for nearly seventy years.

Prior to the road controversy, environmental debates had developed over land use by off-road summer and winter vehicles, development on private land in the midst of national forests, the creation of Mt. Namoi National Wilderness Area, and the construction of more power facilities in the lower canyon. In the past the U.S. Forest Service and forest users were able to determine that certain areas should be free from off-road vehicles. Backpacking and cross-county ski areas were designated as were those for snowmobiles or four-wheel-drive vehicles. There is a large amount of backcounty acreage available in the side canyons off the main road. However, the proposed widening of the main thoroughfare has created an atmosphere of contention.

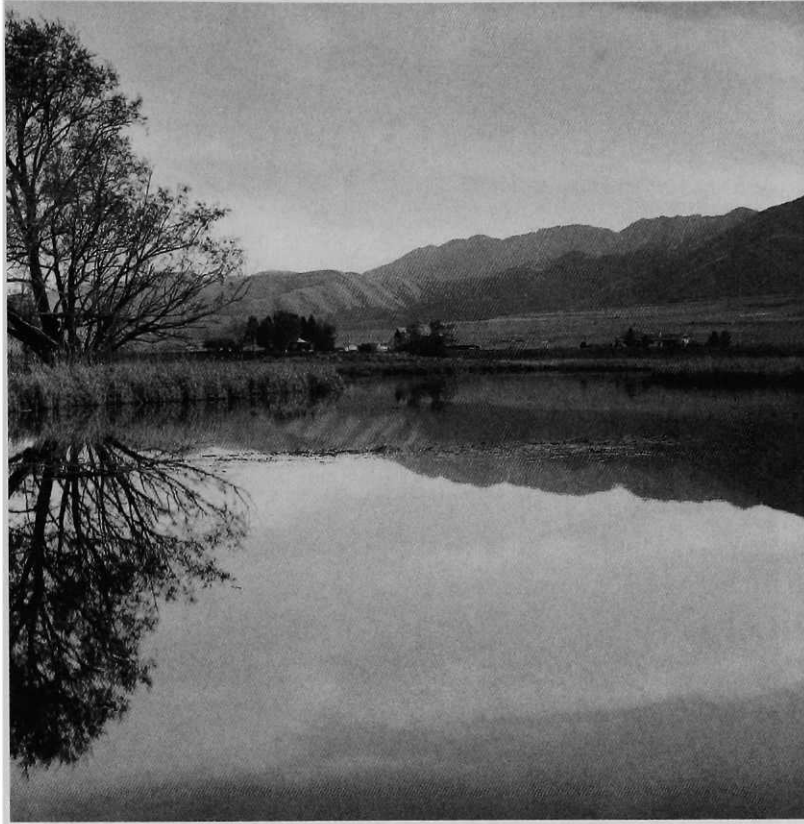
In the past two decades increased recreational and regular traffic have brought dramatic changes to the canyon traffic patterns and led to the Utah Department of Transportation's (UDOT) proposal to widen the road at some points and to alter Logan Canyon and Beaver Creek at others. All of the old concrete bridges need to be replaced and widened and there are numerous curve-straightening projects that have been proposed. For many years some concerned citizens have rallied against many of the UDOT proposals. Battlelines have been drawn and a major confrontation between various groups seems inevitable. The key question is whether or not compromise and concern can help maintain a fragile balance. Those concerned about the future of Logan Canyon look at the impact of road widening and resulting increased speeds on both Provo and Sardine canyons. They believe that a few extra minutes saved between Bear Lake and Logan is not worth the necessary concrete retaining walls,



Fishing the Logan River, 1920s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

stream alterations, destruction of fish habitat, and perhaps decade of limited use due to construction. Those who favor the UDOT plan feel that the shortened travel time and increased safety of a wider road justify the expenditure and the construction time needed to complete the project. They feel that there has been enough compromise already and that it is time to begin the project.

U.S. Highway 89 has been designated as a National Scenic Byway and many fragile aspects of environmental beauty are required by law to be preserved. In many respects the original pioneers and the trappers realized that the easiest routes through the mountains east of Cache Valley were either up Blacksmith Fork, over to Round Valley, and down into Bear Lake on the south or up the Mink Creek tributary of the Bear River and over into the northwest corner of Bear Lake Valley. Logan Canyon is a very difficult route for trucks, trailers, campers, and motor homes. It certainly deserves the classification of scenic byway. The turmoil over Logan Canyon's fate is thus far unresolved and will occupy considerable time and energy well into the



Pelican Pond, Young Ward, 1997. (Courtesy Craig Law)

twenty-first century.²⁷ The beauty of the canyon necessitates a careful and appreciative approach to its future.

The residents of the county face many challenges. Can the county seek increased economic growth and tourism and still maintain the quality of life for which it claims fame? Each succeeding generation must answer basic questions about both its heritage and legacy. The answers are not simple and the very complexity of the issues can cause considerable debate. Nevertheless, numerous elected officials and volunteer citizens recently chose to try to chart a course for the county's future. In a very real sense these women and men grappled with the concerns that many American communities face, and collectively they demonstrate courage and foresight.

Cache County is a unique entity. Its form of government, a



Top photograph: 1997 Cache County Commission Council. Seated, left to right: Larry Anhder, Sarah Ann Skanchy, Jerry Allen, Lynn Lemon—County Executive. Standing, left to right: Craig Peterson, Guy R. Pulsipher, Lane Beck, Darrel Gibbons, Steve Erickson. *Bottom photograph:* First Cache County Commission Council. Seated, left to right: Clyde Braegger, Dennis Funk, Ruth Ann Miller, Randall Weston, Jay Monson, Sarah Ann Skanchy. Standing, left to right: Darrell Gibbons, Bruce King—County Executive, Seth Allen—County Clerk. (Cache County Courthouse)

county council, is geographically representative and offers a distinctive approach to solving county problems. The presence of a major university and the services it provides also makes available unusual expertise. Environmentally, the county remains an oasis of beauty in the midst of unparalleled population growth. The area's canyons, mountains, and wetlands provide a refuge from the burgeoning transportation and other urban difficulties in the valley. Due to the tremendous impact of growth and development, the Cache County Council decided in 1991 to map a course for the future. Under the direction of the council and County Executive Seth Allen, about sixty volunteers served on committees to help pinpoint potential problems, offer solutions, and determine the county's future role. The result was the creation of a Cache County strategic plan entitled "Cache 2010: Charting the Future."²⁸

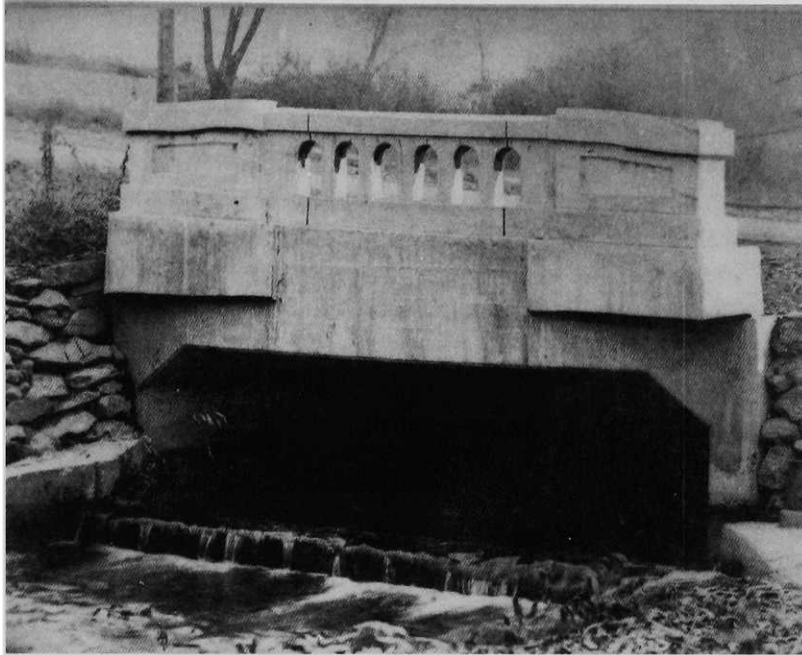
Trying to prepare a government institution for the future is no small task, and the end result deserves summation and analysis. Although it has no binding power, the document is unique in its unusual attempt to involve citizens at every phase of planning. Town meetings and subsequent public discussions represented an attempt to arrive at a consensus. Cache County Economic Development director Bobbie Coray felt that the county definitely needed to have an articulate planning document in order for prospective businesses and other entities to know what county residents' ideas were about key areas of the environment, human services, quality of life, education, transportation, and essential services, among other things. County council members Ann Skanchy, Stuart Howell, Darrell Gibbons, Bette Kotter, Chris Coray, Randall Weston, and Larry Anhder agreed and asked Tom Jensen, a Logan architect, to join Chris Coray and chair the "2010" group. Jensen and Coray involved all the county's mayors and then sought participation by interested citizens with a variety of experiences and expertise. After nearly a year of meetings and a number of countywide hearings, the group proposed a balanced, well-organized, and thoughtful course for the future. For a county to achieve this is very rare, and it provides an excellent example of the wisdom and concern Cache leaders have had for the future. Allen's successors can utilize the document as a guide, and it is

available whenever the executive and the council seek policy advice and direction.

The various committees analyzed the statistical data and developed an accurate picture of the current status of the county. Community leaders and citizens agreed that coordinated countywide planning is essential to avoid numerous projected problems. The reasons that necessitate solid planning include rapid population growth from 42,000 in 1970 to 70,000 in 1990, with a projected 103,000 by the year 2010. Economic growth is one major reason for the population expansion; there were 26,000 jobs in 1980 and 33,000 in 1990, with an expectation of 45,000 by 2010.²⁹ The projection is based on Cache County's fundamental attractiveness to new industries and continued expansion of Utah State University. The county unemployment rate is lower than both the state and the national averages. It has hovered near 4 percent for much of the past decade. Cache County has avoided boom and bust cycles because of its relatively small size and diverse economic base; however, that may change with an increased dependence on businesses operating in national and international markets.

The initial area of consideration was education, which remains one of the major employers in Cache County. The number of school-age children in the county has continued to increase, and in the next few years it appears that the trend will continue. The result is often a decreasing dollar per pupil appropriation, which creates a genuine concern because new schools must be built, old ones remodeled, and other facilities maintained. Nearly 28 percent of the population currently is enrolled in the public schools. Their future also must be addressed. Utah State University and the Bridgerland Area Vocational Center also involve a large percentage of the county's population. The capacity of the county to maintain a high quality of education is a great concern.³⁰

Of course, the quality of county life is also significant. Cache County has a fine historical and cultural tradition, and the committee postulated that creativity should be fostered, encouraged, and supported. Arts and humanities comprise an essential part of life's experience and there is a need to assist, encourage, and cooperate in these endeavors. Community parks and other recreational needs are



Bridge over Logan River at 100 East, one of seven such bridges built by WPA. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

also discussed. The committee stressed the need for countywide cooperation.

The development of human services related to two significant statistics: the county birth rate continues to rise while the death rate lowers. Increases in life expectancy create a greater demand on health-care systems as well as services for the disadvantaged and the elderly. Single-parent homes, children born to single mothers, and the number of families below the poverty line have also increased. Consequently, human services must be enhanced and viewed as a genuine investment in the future.

Under the title of essential services, the committee analyzed potential power, water, sewer, safety, and solid-waste needs—services essential to the operation of a successful modern community. Population and industrial growth strains the capacity of each of these services. The committee also dealt with transportation and traffic. Cache County has changed dramatically, and with a dynamic truck-

ing industry accompanying the growth in manufacturing by distributing agricultural products and manufacturing goods, many roads are inadequate. Although Logan City implemented a bus system, many county citizens are married of necessity to their cars and future road and thoroughfare considerations demand attention.

Each of these areas is controversial and solutions are not simple. A committee studied each of the issues and developed goals, objectives, strategies, and suggestions as to who would be responsible for their implementation. The idea is that cooperation, discussion, and determination will allow Cache County to handle the questions of preparation for the future. Although achieving consensus is very difficult, the plan outlines some fundamental general values that characterize an overall view of the citizenry:

We believe that the citizens of Cache County can influence and create our own future. Our future includes the Education of all our citizens both young and old, the provision of Human Services, the maintenance and improvement of the Quality of Life, Transportation, the delivery of Essential Services and consideration of our Environment.³¹

The committee simply stated values and outlined for the citizens specific ways to achieve each value. In the areas of Human Services, the document states:

We believe in the value and worth of each individual citizen of Cache County and encourage the development of his/her full potential as a human being. . . . The welfare of the people should be our highest concern . . . all Cache County residents have the right of access to basic human services as a matter of social justice. Individuals have the responsibility to promote their health and protect the environment in accordance with their abilities.³²

With those guidelines, the plan is then divided into subsections that discuss goals of lifestyle, funding, and health enhancement. Utilizing existing agencies, councils, and education organizations, the report addresses topics such as child and spouse abuse, homelessness, mental illness, minority needs, elderly and handicapped accessibility, and teenagers' difficulties. It is also concerned with duplication of services, how to create a more friendly environment for benefit appli-

cants, and providing increased recreational facilities for the elderly, among many other human service needs.

Somewhat cautiously, the plan also addresses the controversial and complicated issues of the environment. Again the implementation of this particular value depends on planning and education. The county has lacked coordinated educational efforts to recycle and reuse materials such as glass and plastic. However, the authors recognize the need: "We appreciate and value the diverse nature and high quality of Cache Valley's natural and built environment. We also firmly believe that some aspects of the natural and built environment are even now deteriorating. We will resist any further deterioration and seek actively to preserve and improve our environmental assets through ways and means that balance individual rights to property with our stewardship for the future."³³

The articulation of the value also spells out part of the problem. The communities and county are rarely on the same level of discussion when difficult planning issues come before their bodies. Many laws are easily circumvented by variances allowed by councils and boards. A major goal of this plan is to develop a countywide intercommunity representative and cooperative board. That board's challenge is to establish priorities and develop a long-range plan for the use of all county land.

A large percentage of Cache County's recreational area is located on public land, and the plan calls for the creation of an environmental advisory board to advise on all decisions and establish priorities. Governmental cooperation is essential to the success of this endeavor. There is also a request for increased environmental education through the school boards and Utah State University. The plan discusses specific ways to educate the citizens as to how to maintain clean air, water, watersheds, and visual beauty. The recognition of cost and benefit is also outlined, including fees for negative impact on the environment. The desire for open space, scenic corridors, critical habitat preservation, and wetlands maintenance is documented. However, a major problem faced by the plan is that many aspects demanded immediate attention. Individuals and communities must decide on what needs immediate environmental protection and how they must act.

Cache County has always provided a fine quality of life, in part due to its natural and educational environment. The beautiful canyons, streams, and mountains provide spectacular opportunities for fishing, hunting, camping, hiking, cross-country skiing, snowmobiling, and more. However, there is a need for the development of more trails for those purposes, and access is a growing issue. The committee wrote:

We believe that an intrinsic element of human life is the quality of that life. All people, including those with disabilities, need a quality cultural environment in which to live. This includes: high quality public art and entertainment opportunities, parks, recreation, museum, and library facilities, and a historic identity, all of which can be appropriately shared with the local populace as well as tourists.³⁴

There is also a goal to substantially increase tourism throughout the county while also assessing the impact of increased summer tourism. The strain on existing facilities could prove substantial, and the plan calls for attempts to enhance winter tourism.

There is also a genuine desire to develop historic-preservation programs. Each community has a heritage in its existing material culture; homes, barns, fences, outbuildings, canals, early stores, and churches represent a rich historical resource. How a community determines to preserve those artifacts says much about itself culture and traditions. There is a definite need to identify these sites beyond that done by the national registrar of historic places.

The concept of essential services is based on continuing what has been done in the past. There is nothing revolutionary or overly controversial about it. The document states that "We believe it is important to have dependable, safe, adequate and economical delivery of essential services to meet the current and future needs of the County."³⁵ One key for the county is in the management of its solid waste and waste water. As part of the solid waste plan, it might be necessary for the county to adopt a program where the large garbage cans that are handled by trucks are accompanied by large recyclable containers that are picked up monthly in the same manner as the trash. Papers, plastic, glass, and aluminum are separated after collec-



Jardine Juniper Tree, Logan Canyon. One of oldest trees in the state, about 2,000 years old. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

tion rather than before. The upshot is that people, government, and private enterprise combine to dramatically decrease solid waste and assist the recycling effort.

Water waste is also a potential problem because of the nature of the changes in society. No longer does the water fulfill a dominant agricultural use. To be sure, irrigation as an essential part of life, but now commercial, industrial, and domestic use of water is expanding. The ability to get maximum use of the water and keep it safe is something the Water Advisory Board must monitor and protect.

The strategic plan may face its most difficult task in trying to outline transportation needs. The physical geology of the county and the settlement patterns have helped create congestion unimagined in an earlier time. As previously discussed, the road from Smithfield to Logan and on to Hyrum now carries in excess of 20,000 automobiles per day and Logan's Fourth North, a major route to campus, carries almost as many. Cache County also is the home of many successful trucking companies that carry the products of Icon, E.A. Miller, Harris Research, Cache Valley Dairy, and other companies out of the valley. The Logan Transit Authority buses help alleviate some pressure, but not much. There is no bus service elsewhere in the county and taxicabs are not available in significant numbers.

The plan states that "We believe current and future transportation needs within the county should consider personal and commercial transportation alternatives, environmental and land-use priorities, commercial values, and housing patterns."³⁶ It is difficult to solve transportation difficulties in part because of a reluctance for government to condemn property in order to alter existing conditions. One alternative to more and wider roads might well be a desired urban response—increased carpooling, mass transit, and walking or biking.

There are many potential partial solutions, but Cache County residents still need their cars for many tasks and activities. The need for a countywide bus system is becoming acute, and increased parking facilities for bus access are required as well. One-way corridors may help, but drivers increasingly will need to be patient, considerate, and plan to use more time to reach their destination.

The final section of the report concerns education. In some respects it represents the desires and wishes of citizens everywhere, and it reflects a tremendous concern for the future of Utah education. One problem is that the implementation of the policy depends

on legislative funds which are never easy to acquire. The document summarizes traditional desires of Utahns:

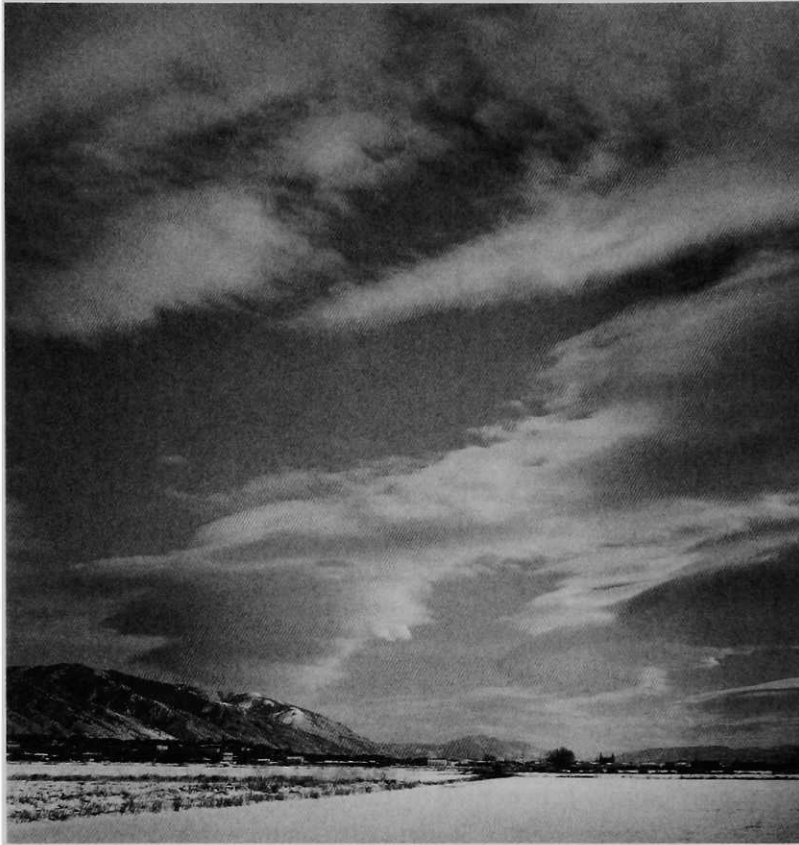
Quality education is a shared community responsibility . . .

- a. Quality education benefits the entire community
- b. Poor education is a liability to the community
- c. The state mandates and bears a major responsibility in providing resources for every child to receive an education.³⁷

There is a growing concern in Cache County that oversized classes, underpaid teachers, and the reluctance of bright potential teachers to enter the profession will undermine education efforts. There is a genuine need for partnerships among parents, teachers, businesses, and government to make sure that the community provides quality education, which is seen as a great window of opportunity. Another value that is essential to education is the realization that lifelong learning is central to understanding. Utah State University, through its electronic means of providing distance education, as well as home study, night school, and workshops, has recognized the need to provide continuing education. There is a recognition that education contributes to the success of a democratic society as it combats problems of truancy, absenteeism, drug and alcohol use, and other behavioral attitudes.

Cache County is benefited by the presence of the Bridgerland Applied Technology Center. Students gain employable skills and can move immediately into the workforce or part-time employment while furthering their educational goals. One of the most exciting county goals is the attempt to form partnerships among various businesses, schools, and government. Cache County students can benefit from outside help to achieve their personal goals and compete with others for employment. The school districts, the BATC, and USU are given a charge to work together and cooperate. The need for cooperation among institutions cannot be overemphasized. Adequate use of resources and facilities is something that can help create a better learning environment.³⁸

Those citizens who developed the plan felt a priority need was a professional countywide planning office that could develop and encourage adaptation of the 2010 framework. Each potential decision is then reached only after keeping in mind all aspects of the



Logan looking south, 1997. (Courtesy Craig Law)

plan—transportation must consider environment, and the environmental issues must consider essential services, and so on. Ideally these plans should have been made earlier, and unless the Quality of Life Advisory Board and 2010 Advisory Board recommendations are implemented and used the county will suffer in the future. This requires a new level of coordinated bureaucracy, but the future cries for new and different solutions to problems both old and new. There is much more included in the 2010 proposal, and the entire document deserves very close consideration.

Cache County has accomplished two dramatic achievements in government and citizen participation during the past decade. The citizens determined that they wanted a different form of county gov-

ernment and voted in a significant change. The resulting council then initiated an attempt to have the county help define its values and its future. The county is now ready to address the issues of the future with expertise, citizen involvement, and objectivity. A program is in place to channel special interests into a process that should be objective, fair, and flexible. Elected and appointed officials have documents and data to help them in their decision making. For example, a proposal for a new road or subdivision or manufacturing facility must pass various environmental, essential services, quality of life, and educational considerations. All of the proper questions must be asked and adhered to. Is there room for a park within the development? Do proper sidewalks and curbs with handicapped access exist? Is the watershed managed in a proper way? Is there safe and reasonable access to the public schools? The goal is to fit special interests in with the common good of the entire citizenry. This is very difficult in a county because communities often act to preserve their own narrow self-interest; hence you have North Logan's annexation of land far to the west of the community in order to receive revenue from strip developments. The cry is for people to see a large picture over considerable time and make their decisions accordingly.

Whether or not citizens and government agencies can focus on the recommendations of the 2010 project and withstand the pressures of a variety of issues is a difficult question. But the values are well articulated and deserve continual scrutiny. The future depends on the will of the people. Cache County's people should be proud of their history. They indeed have an opportunity to fulfill the wishes of Thomas Jefferson:

I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but in the people themselves, and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control of a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education.³⁹

ENDNOTES

1. The material in this chapter is primarily taken from the 1990 U.S. census and the 1993 edition of *The Statistical Abstract of Utah* (Salt Lake

City: Bureau of Economic and Business Research, 1993). Much of the material in the *Statistical Abstract* is from the 1990 census.

2. *Statistical Abstract of Utah, 1993*, 266–67, 279.

3. *Ibid.*, 283.

4. *Ibid.*, 103.

5. *Ibid.*, 440.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, 350.

8. *Ibid.*, 300.

9. *Ibid.*, 322.

10. *Ibid.*, 311–12.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*, 26.

13. *Ibid.*, 23.

14. *Ibid.*, 56.

15. *Ibid.*, 68.

16. *Ibid.*, 69.

17. *Ibid.*, 54.

18. *Ibid.*, 157.

19. *Ibid.*, 184.

20. *Ibid.*, 220–22.

21. *Ibid.*, 364–65.

22. *Ibid.*, 49.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*, 240–41.

25. *Ibid.*, 241.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Utah Department of Transportation, “Plan for Logan Canyon.” See also the Logan Canyon Coalition’s response. These papers are collected at USUSC.

28. “Final Report, Cache 2010: Charting the Future, Cache Valley General Plan, January, 1993,” Cache County Planning Office, Logan, Utah.

29. *Ibid.*, 2

30. *Ibid.*, 4.

31. *Ibid.*, 2.

32. *Ibid.*, 6.

33. *Ibid.*, 8.

34. Ibid., 5.

35. Ibid., 6.

36. Ibid., 7.

37. Ibid., 4.

38. Ibid.

39. Quoted in Max Belloc, *Thomas Jefferson and American Democracy*, (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 199.

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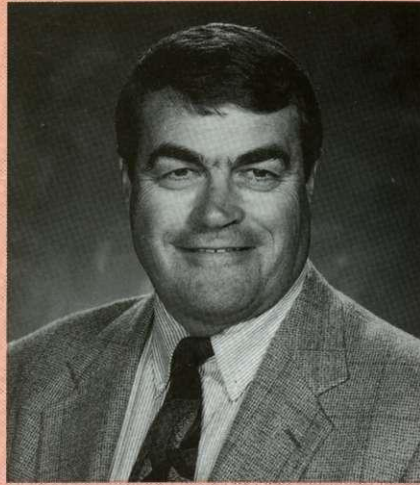
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Front dust jacket photograph: Cache County Courthouse, c. 1960; courtesy Utah State Historical Society.

Back dust jacket photograph: Winter scene, Cache Valley; courtesy Craig Law.

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