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Concepts in American Local History: Community in Winder, Idaho

Lorine S. Goodwin
Brigham Young University - Provo

CONCEPTS IN AMERICAN LOCAL HISTORY:

COMMUNITY IN WINDER, IDAHO

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Lorine S. Goodwin

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David H. Pratt, Committee Chairman

Eugene E. Campbell, Committee Member

13 July 1981
Date

James B. Allen, Department Chairman

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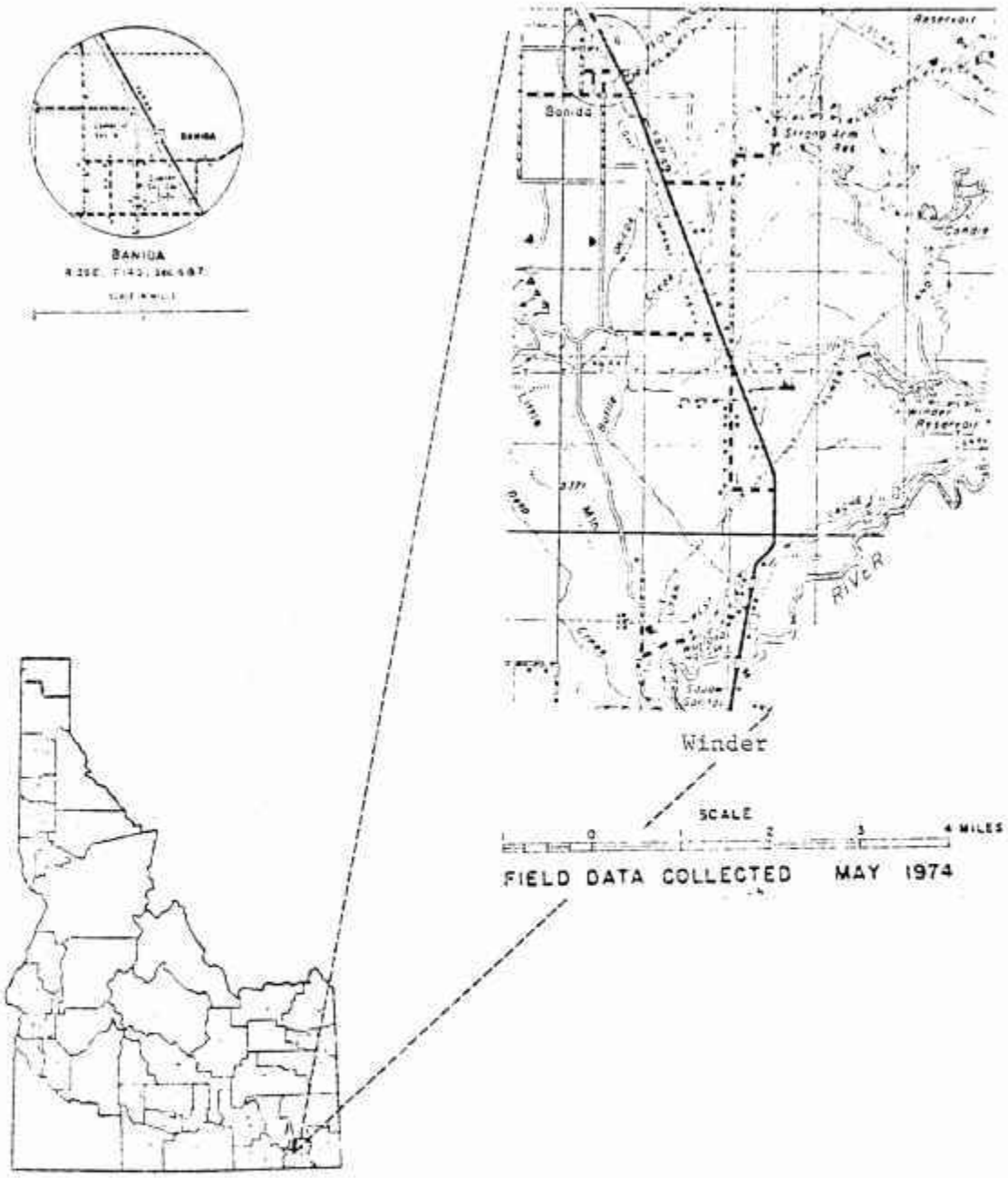
PREFACE

In all probability the average motorist traveling the scenic route north from Preston, Idaho, drives along Highway 91 without realizing he has passed through Winder. No decrease in speed is required and no township marker identifies a population of 163 persons or indicates an elevation of 4,771 feet above sea level. From all appearances Winder is no more than a continuation of the farming area outside Preston.

Despite the road map's designation of the highway as a scenic route, the rural landscape of Winder is neither attractive nor exceptional. A scattering of dwellings and other farm buildings lend slight interest to the rectangular arrangement of fields, which are dry and uninviting, except in the spring when the grain is young and the alfalfa green.

An astute observer, not too intent on his destination, might notice the bend of Bear River as it curves southward toward the Idaho-Utah state line, the West Cache canal at the base of the northern bluffs along the river valley, the electric power towers which cut a diagonal line across the flats, the modest Mormon chapel built in 1957, or the siphon which conveys irrigation water to the Twin Lakes reservoirs on the west side.

Occasionally a tourist might stop if he sees one or both of the roadside monuments, the first of which commemorates the historic



Map 1. Location of Winder and Enlargements of Banida and Winder

SOURCE: Idaho Transportation Department, Highway Map.

Nathan Packer ferry, long defunct, or another which marks the site of the Battle of Bear River, fought in 1863. In any event, the traveler is likely to feel little more than a sensation of neglect and loneliness, if indeed he leaves Winder with any impression at all.

Little remains to reveal centuries of seasonal occupation by food-gathering nomads, the bustle of activity associated with a division point of the Utah and Northern Railway, or the furor created by the Battle Creek race track. Only two isolated log cabins still stand as mementos of homesteader expectations, a small, boarded-up service station represents the fate of commercial enterprise, and a once handsome brick school house now serves as a hay shelter. Only the oldest residents recall the time when Winder was called Poverty Flats, when the hot springs along Bear River was a popular spa, when a mysterious prospector named Lovhaug mined for silver and gold along Battle Creek, and when Francis Armstrong, mayor of Salt Lake City operated the Mormon church ranch.

In 1907 its Mormon founders held high expectations for Winder. They envisioned their community as a future market center for the northernmost part of Cache Valley. But their optimism lacked a foundation of community cooperation. Now, in 1981, modern farmers concentrate on soil improvement, consolidation of farms, maintenance of costly machinery, selective breeding of dairy stock, social interaction with larger community centers, and professional careers for their children and grandchildren. The population is becoming more urban, more industrialized, more mobile, older, more harried, more questioning, more urbane, and farther removed from tradition. Fewer

of its people cling to hopes of community development. Increasingly, individual, social, political, and educational needs are met outside the locality, and many of Winder's people question the desirability of maintaining a separate Mormon ward, their last remaining vestige of community identity.

Winder's past has jeopardized its future, but perhaps loss of identity is in the best interests of its population. Winder might solve its problems best by a closer blending with the larger society to which it belongs. Times and conditions change. The most effective way to realize the founders' dreams may be to abandon that which was historically desirable, but immediately irrelevant, to reexamine traditional presuppositions in the light of current situations, and to adapt to the sweep of society.

My concern with Winder's past is both personal and academic. For the first seventeen years of my life, Winder was my home. My father and one of my sisters still live there. As a child, choked by dust and poverty, I marveled that anyone had settled a place so bereft of economic and cultural opportunity. As I grew, I found certain areas of interest and a few pockets of beauty interspersed with the overwhelming climate of confinement. Later, after already imperceptible ties to Winder were severed, my curiosity survived to diffuse into a preoccupation with local history as an academic study.

Winder was not an arbitrary choice for this thesis. I required a small rural population, atypical of accepted models of Mormon villages, in at least some respects, on which to test certain emerging theories and methodologies of local history which I was

studying. After due survey and consideration, I selected Winder for the following reasons: (1) its people had failed to achieve the close community ties usually identified with Mormon populations, (2) Winder did not reach its projected potential, (3) its past was complex enough to provide adequate themes, (4) its prehistory was colorful enough to attract interest, and (5) it was settled in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the time period in which I was most interested. The use of Winder in the study provided additional advantages of virgin research territory, accessibility to primary sources, and manageability of materials. Added to my working familiarity with the people and the place, these aspects made Winder a suitable topic for the study.

Still, writing the history of community in Winder was not easy. The past of small populations, like that of larger groups of people, is punctuated with conflict. On a local level, such conflict remains both specific and intense to living individuals. Biases of the past persist, and violation of stereotypes invokes strong emotion. To record, and particularly to evaluate, is to risk offense. However, the benefits of capturing part of Winder's history, before it was lost, outweighed most personal considerations. Any infringement on sensitivities was entirely unintentional.

As it probes the processes working for and against the development of community, this study deals with three separate populations which occupied Winder at different time periods: the prehistoric people, the historic Shoshoni, and the Caucasian occupation beginning in 1863. It discusses the effects on community

of the physical environment, of settlement patterns, of population characteristics, of the economy, of social concerns, of religion, and of politics.

A broad concept of community is adopted to refer to a sense of belonging. The term "community" applies primarily to human experience, but place is frequently meant or implied because of the defined geographic boundaries of Winder. Application of the term is also wide enough to describe various forms, degrees, and dimensions of community based on the historical reality of continual transformation.

A complete history of Winder is not attempted. The scope encompassed by local history has become so vast and the range of source material so expansive that a holistic analysis of even a small population, such as Winder, is impractical. The thesis explores only those aspects relating to community. It mentions only a few of the people who made significant contributions, and it deletes many of the events which took place. It does not include family and personal histories.

Nevertheless, approaching the study from a standpoint of community reveals much of the overall history of Winder. The themes of life are so closely interwoven that one aspect must be related to the rest of the community experience to be understood. Despite the necessity of specialization, the study retains a holistic orientation by presenting a wide coverage of its specialty area.

There are many people to whom I owe a sincere debt of gratitude for their aid and encouragement during the preparation of this thesis. Among them are the members of my committee at Brigham Young

University, David H. Pratt, chairman, and Eugene E. Campbell, who read the manuscript and provided constructive criticism; Alan Rogers and Robert Douch, from whom I gained a perspective of English local history; the staffs of the Genealogical Library and the Historian's Office of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; the Clerks of Oneida and Franklin Counties; and the people of Winder who were interviewed. On a more personal level, I express thanks to my parents, to my sisters, to my children, and especially to my husband, Ray, for his patience and support.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis was undertaken with dual aims of equal importance. The first was to present the history of community in Winder, a small agricultural area lying six miles northwest of Preston in Franklin County, Idaho. The second was to contribute to the development of American local history theory.

The historical aspect deals with both community evolvement and fragmentation, focusing on the various reasons why the people of Winder were unable to form strong and stable community ties. It explores the interrelated physical, economic, political, social, and religious facets of Winder's past to reveal that failure to achieve a close cohesion can be traced to a combination of factors, some of which relate to the environment, to innate traits of particular groups of people who lived in the area, to external pressures, and to inability to solve social and economic problems.

From the earliest human occupancy, perhaps as far back as 10.000 years, the physical environment of Winder proved hostile to organization of sedentary communities. No evidence of Lithic occupation has been identified, but scattered remains of Archaic cultures show that early men found the area unsuitable for continuous habitation. Conforming to both their surroundings and preferences, prehistoric populations included Winder in their broad food-gathering

cycles, but they did not develop agricultural communities or build villages.

Successive groups of historic Shoshoni Indians encountered similar problems. They were able to use the land only seasonally. As a result, and probably as a matter of choice and tradition, they maintained a highly mobile and diverse, yet stable, folk culture which differed little from that of earlier inhabitants.

The intrusion of Caucasian influence destroyed the Shoshoni mode of life. Exploitation of an already fragile balance of nature by trappers, explorers, emigrants, freighters, and stockmen left Winder almost bare of usable natural resources. The economic base and the value systems of the native people eroded decisively, causing serious conflict between White and Indian populations. The cultural clash culminated in 1863 with the bloody Battle of Bear River, which was fought in Winder between the United States Army and a large winter encampment of Shoshoni.

The settlement of Winder in the last decade of the nineteenth century by Mormon pioneers seemed to promise progress and prosperity to the area for the first time. However, unlike many of the earlier Mormon settlements in Cache Valley, Winder was occupied with an eye to individual enterprise rather than for religious motives. Instead of creating a nucleated, self-sustaining village conducive to the formation of community affinities, the first settlers scattered across the land onto 160-acre homesteads intended to supplement smaller acreages in established communities and devoted to dryfarm wheat and alfalfa.

The difficulties they encountered soon dashed hopes of fast profits from cash crops. Yields fell below expectations, building an irrigation system placed the people under heavy bondage, and economic recessions devoured gains made in good years.

The shaky economic base of the community aggravated serious social problems which developed among a population with undefined common goals and weak leadership. Disillusionment and conflicting interests led to sectional divisions, alienations, and fragmentation of an already loose unity. As segments of people withdrew from community participation, living conditions degenerated. Local political organization became impractical, and the Mormon church, in its attempts to build community, often created greater tensions than it relieved.

Eventually, during the World War II economic boom, living and social conditions improved. Under the direction of strong religious leaders, the people united to build a meeting house and to renew community bonds. Unfortunately the change came after stresses associated with modernization--mobility, mechanization, deterioration of population structural balance, and the final blow of school consolidation--had combined to weaken community. With the rest of rural America, the man-land relationship in Winder changed from viewing farming as a way of life to a means of making a living. The people of Winder cultivated outside interests and social ties which replaced those within the community. What happened to Winder may be typical of many Mormon rural areas settled in the 1890s and 1900s. Certainly, late Mormon settlement involved problems and patterns different from

those encountered in the earlier colonization of Cache Valley. More community studies are needed for this time period before generalizations are drawn.

No previous studies of Winder are available upon which to base a community history. Arrington's Great Basin Kingdom, Arrington and Bitton's The Mormon Experience, Ricks' History of a Valley, Peterson's Idaho, and Poll et als., Utah's History provided good background material. Several regional histories of Southeastern Idaho helped in forming comparisons, but the greatest volume of specific reference material came from primary sources, many from the community itself. Primary sources included pertinent geological, geographic, and anthropological surveys; maps; journals and memoirs; census records; county, business, and church records; personal interviews; and on-site observations. Selected interviews reflect a broad range of opinion to supplement other sources and to clarify attitudes and the meaning of events.

The theoretical aspect of this thesis draws together a number of concepts which may be useful in the development of American local history as a viable academic field of study. Among other concepts, it tests certain English local history theories to determine their adaptability to a study of community in Winder. The pitfalls and difficulties encountered in the adaptation are recorded along with the successful applications.

Recently the need for a more clearly defined structural basis for American local history has become acute. Concepts used in national history often fall short of the needs of local history, and,

in the past, few academic historians were willing to develop new theory in a field which seemed to offer scant professional opportunities. Now with interest in local history accelerated by a powerful combination of the Bicentennial, the popularity of such books as Alex Haley's Roots, and the proliferation of preservation movements, both professionals and amateurs are producing a rash of community histories without the benefit of adequate guidelines. Local history seems to be shooting off in all directions, disconcerted, disoriented, and disorganized. The few available texts lean primarily toward collection of data, sources, and publication. Too frequently the results reflect "the raw materials of history, and not history iteslf."[1]

In contrast, English local history has developed into a more organized field of study. Like its counterpart in the United States, it has faced identity problems and is still struggling for acceptance. Strong stresses are placed on practical aspects, but its pioneers--H. P. R. Finberg, W. G. Hoskins, and others--have organized a theoretical framework on which to base local history studies.[2] Consequently, divergence and variance have the advantage of a common point of departure.

Alan Rogers, a leader in theoretical development, defines local history as "the study of the past of some significant local unit, developing as a community, in its context and compared with other such units."[3] It is a history which deals with resident sets living together in a community larger than the family and smaller than the nation. A suitable unit for study may be a hamlet, a

neighborhood, a rural area, a town, a city, or another significant social entity into which people have organized themselves or have been organized; or it can be the history of general local components, such as industries, gilds, religious provisions, charities, or self-help societies; or it is a comparative study of several local units.[4]

Sometimes the entity has defined topographic or administrative boundaries. Often it does not. A region, a county, or, in some cases, a parish may be an artificially created area embodying a great number of communities without necessarily reflecting a community of interests.[5]

The approach may deal primarily with people, place, or sources, depending on the objectives and preferences of the historian. In spite of his preference for a "people over place" approach, Rogers suggests that an attitude which incorporates all three factors is apt to be the most successful. He points out that "all three have contributions to make, and they each help to overcome the limitations and distortions inherent within any single approach."[6]

The synthesis of local history in England is built around the following concepts:

1. Local History deserves to be studied for its own sake, not as an "ancillary discipline" to national history. There is a clear distinction between local history and national history localized. If it is conducted primarily to illustrate national trends, to check generalizations against local specifics, or to form microcosmic studies, all acceptable and useful historical procedures, the local study belongs to the level of history it supports.[7]

Finberg points out that local history possesses "a chronology of its own distinct from that of national history." Most communities in England existed before the realm, others rose with industry, and some, such as Whatborough in Leicestershire, faded away when their reason for existence was removed. The time-scale of events may be different, as was the case of Stamford and Nottingham where enclosure did not occur until 1865-1875, long after the national enclosure movement was over. Because the subject matters of national and local history are not the same either in time or space, local history cannot be a part of national history.[8]

2. Local history deals with social realities, not with physical or administrative boundaries. Dispersed, nonnucleated settlements, like those on the moorlands of Derbyshire, may transcend a number of physical boundaries, or parishes, such as Myddle, in Shropshire, may embody several social units. Finberg has observed, "locality alone does not provide a suitable or intelligent theme for the historian."[9]

3. Local history is properly approached from an internal point of view, from the community level which it studies. Its significance pertains to the people in the community itself, not to national or regional trends as such. Some national trends might not have affected the local community and certain aspects of local community life may add nothing to the understanding of the nation as a whole.[10]

4. Local history draws its themes from the community itself. Good local history centers around and relates to significant themes.

For instance, David I. A. Steele discovered an overriding theme of the parish of Corby Glen to be changes in land ownership, Alan Rogers related the history of North and South Rauceby to enclosure, and Margaret Spufford tied the history of three Cambridgeshire villages to religious belief among the laymen.[11]

5. Comparison with national and regional backgrounds, as well as with other communities, is essential to an accurate perspective. Through comparison, the distinctive and significant stand out and the typical does not appear unique.[12] As shown by David C. Hey's study of Myddle, the fact that 60 percent of all residents had links with London in the late 16th century precludes the treatment of the village in isolation. Rogers argues that comparison is the means by which parochialism may be overcome.[13]

6. Local history is a vast and complex discipline. In addition to acquiring a broad understanding of history in general, the local historian should be willing to investigate the geography, geology, economics, political science, anthropology, and other aspects of his area of interest if th ey are pertinent to his study. He must treat all time periods with the degree of thoroughness indicated by his subject.[14]

7. On-site fieldwork, particularly observation of the local landscape, should augment research in "private muniments and public archives."[15]

8. Although local history requires demanding research, precise scholarship, and literary excellence, it is a field which offers "a seemingly inexhaustible attraction" for, and remains within,

the capabilities of the amateur as well as the professional historian. It is a suitable and desirable subject to include in school curriculums.[16]

9. Because of the enormous amount of research and the wide range of abilities required to study a local community, teamwork is encouraged. Adult education groups, in particular, have responded to team activities.[17]

Guided by these concepts, local history in England has made immense strides, both in popularity and development, within the last three decades. It is entering the mainstream of historical writing as an independent field of study with an evolving theoretical structure and a host of fresh and intriguing methodologies. In a number of schools, the subjects of local history is taught at all levels of education from the primary grades to the college. University-directed studies in local history are well attended by adult groups, and the field attracts an increasing number of proficient professional historians. As a result, a significant number of excellent local histories are being produced.[18]

Much of local history's recent appeal can be attributed to the new concepts of its worth and by the organized methods of research and evaluation. Academic historians and amateurs alike are coming to a realization that because human living patterns were organized mostly on the local level until the present century, it is on the local level that certain basic social structures of the past can be best identified and patterns which governed the lives of the common people can be traced. Now that means have been devised by which the history

of local entities can be studied effectively and justified logically, many professional historians consider the local community to be a significant field of study.[19]

The horizons of local history in England are expanding rapidly. An explosion in the range and bulk of available source materials necessitates the use of increasingly sophisticated techniques for their exploitation. Greater in-depth analyses of communities is possible and wider concepts necessary. A notable advance is evident in the direction of social anthropology in an attempt to "understand the community in the round."[20]

The latest techniques of sociology, geography, economics, anthropology, statistics, and other fields are utilized extensively to increase accuracy in the reconstruction process and to more fully exploit the sources. Labor-intensive research in deeds, probates, census records, and family reconstitution are becoming common procedures. Computer analysis assimilates a voluminous bulk of census, probate, and parish records. Methods of portrayal are more complex and revealing. Logarithmic graphs, pyramids, histograms, and etc. replace simple graphs and tables.[21]

With the complexity of local history increasing, the horizons expand. The potentials of local history are only beginning to be realized. Complete analysis of a local unit is more difficult to manage, and the wide range of skills required makes specialization more desirable.[22]

Local history has opened a whole new dimension of historical inquiry in England. Man's past may be studied in new ways, in greater depth, with more accuracy, and with wider comprehension.

Considering the success and progress of local history in Great Britain logic seems to support adaptation of English local history to bypass the energy-consuming pangs of theory development in American community studies. This course of action seems especially advantageous since both countries are experiencing many parallel local history trends which involve increased interest in historic preservation, in family and ethnocultural investigations, in folklore and oral history, in the status of women and minorities, and in projects to promote local history in schools and among senior citizen groups.

Notwithstanding, serious reservations attend trying to extend historical theory from one culture to a differing one. Such an adaptation did not satisfy the needs of national American historians. Similar problems may prevent its use on a local level. Local history in Britain and the United States may not have enough in common. Historical, cultural, educational, and regional variations may be too diverse. Different attitudes, priorities, circumstances, and needs may require different ideas. Programs and methods may not adapt.

Little serious attention has been given these considerations. The few historians interested in the exchange feel that American local historians can glean much from the British. How far they can carry the adaptation awaits adequate and imaginative trial in a wide sampling of American studies.[23]

This thesis is a step in that direction. The history of community in Winder tests Finberg's concepts, some more widely than others, in an American rural setting. The study found adaptation of

English theory helpful in many respects. Studying the history of community in Winder for its own sake provided a reason for in-depth analysis of the small resident set. The investigation focused on a central theme which was drawn from Winder itself and which is significant to Winder and other Mormon settlements with success. The study approached Winder from within, and it emphasized the significance of national and regional trends to the local population. Comparison with the region and nation, as well as with other Franklin County communities, created meaningful conclusions. Organization and direction produced a more complete study, more logical outlooks, better balanced interpretations, and more accurate evaluations. On-site research, including the recording of oral histories, while certainly not unusual in American historical research, was essential to an understanding of the community. Teamwork was not used, but cooperative research would have expedited the work.

On the other hand, English theory and methodology did not provide all of the answers. In some areas different approaches were necessary. This was true in assessing the roles of government, religion, education, and social structure in community development. Because such systems are different in the United States than in England, they required different treatment.

The vast difference in time frames caused problems. As Rogers has pointed out, most English communities had a more or less continuous development from their establishment in post-Roman times or earlier until the present. A life-span of ten, fifteen, or more centuries provides time for the formation of distinctive cultures and

the establishment of stable life patterns.[24] Winder enjoyed no such continuity. When the prehistoric inhabitants of Winder were driven out a mere 118 years ago, a distinctive social system was replaced by Caucasian peoples with an entirely different cultural background.

The prehistory of Winder is very close to the present. Personal contact with Shoshoni who included Winder in their food-gathering cycles is within the memory of living individuals. The prehistory of English communities lies far into the past. Prehistory in Winder is told mostly from ethnological studies; prehistory in English communities depends more on archaeology, especially on hedgerows, place names, and buildings.[25]

Handling extremely high mobility (by English standards) in a small population also created difficulties. Demographic techniques developed for larger populations with a longer continuity did not yield believable results. For example, if a large percentage of families moved within five or six years after joining the community, the age of the mothers at the birth of their first daughter or the interval between births is of little consequence to population projection.

In addition, the absence of English local history studies pertaining to areas of dispersed settlement also hampered analyses. Histories of rural areas, such as Hey's study of Myddle, deal with rural towns at the expense of hamlets and farmsteads outside of the village. Methods of reconstructing the histories of dispersed settlements have not been developed.

On the whole, certain basic principles of English local history adapted to the study of community in Winder; others did not.

Different data were available and different questions needed to be asked; but if the study of Winder is an accurate indication, which it may or may not be, English theory promises to contribute substantially toward a synthesis of American local history.

Notes

[1]W. G. Hoskins, Local History in England, 2nd ed. (London: Longman Group, 1972), p. 27.

[2]See H. P. R. Finberg and V.H. T. Skipp, Local History: Objective and Pursuit, 2nd ed. (Newton Abbott, Devon: David and Charles, 1973); H. P. R. Finberg, "Local History," in Approaches to History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), pp. 111-125.

[3]Alan Rogers, Approaches to Local History, 2nd ed. (London: Longman Group, 1977), p. 4.

[4]Ibid., pp. 1-4.

[5]Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[6]Ibid., p. 8.

[7]Finberg, "Local History," pp. 113-116.

[8]Ibid., p. 120; Rogers, Approaches to Local History, p. 2.

[9]Finberg, "Local History," p. 120; Rogers, Approaches to Local History, p. 4.

[10]Finberg, "Local History," p. 120.

[11]Ibid; David I. A. Steel, A Lincolnshire Village (London: Longman Group, 1979); Alan Rogers, Stability and Change, Some Aspects of North and South Rauceby in the Nineteenth Century (London: Longman Group, 1969); Margaret Spufford, Contrasting Communities (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

[12]Finberg, "Local History," p. 123.

[13]Rogers, Approaches to Local History, p. xv; David G. Hey, An English Rural Community: Myddle under the Tudors and Stuarts (Bristol: Leicester University Pres, 1974).

[14]Finberg, "Local History," p. 124.

[15]W. G. Hoskins, Fieldwork in Local History (London: Faber and Faber, 1967 gives a wide discussion of the subject; Finberg and Skipp, Local History, p. 42.

[16]Finberg, "Local History," p. 125: Finberg and Skipp, Local History, pp. 103-125; Robert Douch, Local History and the Teacher (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 1-14.

[17]For discussions on how teamwork can be accomplished, see Finberg and Skipp, Local History, pp. 87-102; Alan Rogers, ed., Group Projects in Local History (Folkestone, Kent: William Dawson and Sons, 1977).

[18]Alan Rogers, "New Horizons in Local History," The Local Historian 12, No. 2 (June 1978): 67; Douch, Local History and the Teacher, p. 4. For examples of valuable studies by professionals, see Hey, An English Rural Community; Spufford, Contrasting Communities; Rogers, Stability and Change; Gillian Tindall, The Fields Beneath: The History of One London Village (London: Temple Smith, 1977); Keith Wrightson and David Levine, Poverty and Piety in An English Village: Terling 1525-1700 (London: Academic Press, 1979). A recent publication written by an amateur which enjoyed widespread popularity is Rowland Parker, The Common Stream (St. Albans, Herts.: Paladin Frogmore, 1976).

[19]Finberg and Skipp, Local History, p. 24.

[20]Rogers, "New Horizons in Local History," p. 71.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Rogers, Group Projects in Local History, p. 12.

[23]Louis Bisceglia, "'Writers of Small Histories'; Local Historians in the United States and Britain," The Local Historian 14 (February 1980): 8-9.

[24]Rogers, Approaches to Local History, p. 2.

[25]Douch, Local History and the Teacher, pp. 52-85.

CHAPTER II

OF TIME AND SPACE

Winder is a strange and sometimes confusing place. Physically and culturally, it is part of the Utah-Idaho Cache Valley, yet it displays strong and fascinating affinities with the Idaho mountains and plains to the north. It has served as a geographical and historical bridge between the Bear-river and the Snake-river drainages, between desert and alpine climates, between archaic and formative populations, between folk and rural societies, and between secular and religious communities.[1]

It is a land between, but it is also a land apart. On the north and east, ranges of clay foothills separate it from Treasureton and Mink Creek; on the west, Little Mountain and Deep Creek partition it from the villages of Oxford, Clifton, and Dayton; and on the south, Bear River isolates it from Riverdale and Preston.[2]

The Bear river is Winder's lifeline. It drew prehistoric peoples to Winder thousands of years before it attracted white traders and settlers. In recent times its waters have been diverted to irrigate Winder's thirsty flat lands.

Rising from a series of glacial lakes in the high Uinta mountains of Utah, the river passes north into Wyoming, gathering water from small tributaries as it meanders across state lines until it reaches southeastern Idaho. At Soda Springs it doubles back south,

gaining momentum through the wild Oneida narrows before it emerges into Cache Valley at Riverdale. Entering the southern section of Winder, it flows briskly west for a few miles, then turns southward toward Utah. Finally, after completing a 500-mile course, it empties into the Great Salt Lake, less than one hundred miles from its original source.[3]

If the river has been a benefactor to the occupants of Winder, it has also been a scourge. The treacherous whirlpools and eddies of its current have taken many lives, and its tributary, Battle Creek, has leached Winder's lands of life-supporting moisture, minerals, and soils for indeterminate ages.

Battle Creek was called Beaver Creek before the tragic Battle of Bear River. When the Indians led trappers to the creek in the early 1820s, beaver, muskrats, otter, and other wild life abounded along the creek.[4] The stream originates in the Treasureton foothills, crosses the northern part of Winder, and continues near the western boundary through a deep gorge, joining Bear River not far from the present bridge.[5]

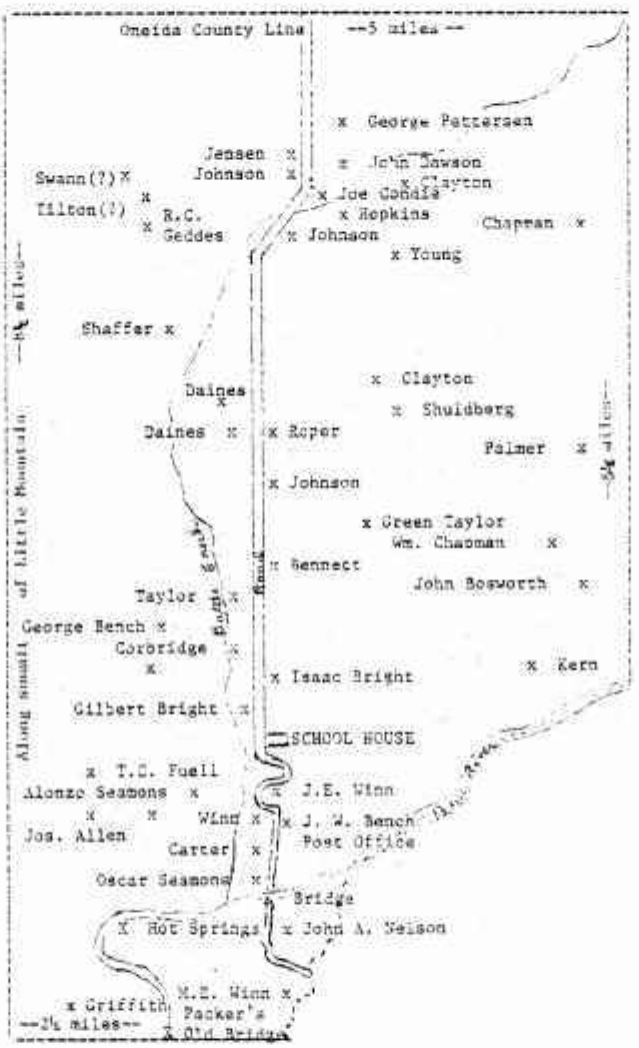
Pioneers laid off Winder's boundaries in 1907 for a Mormon ward. The description sent to the church headquarters in Salt Lake City reads as follows:

> Beginning at the south point of little mountain thenc north along the sumit of the mountain to the Bean Ranch thenc north west to the county line, thenc east one mile west of the east line of township 14 south range 39 east, thence south to the river thence down the river to the bridge, thence south on the brow of the hill to the county road running west across the river bottom thence west 2-1/2 miles, then north to the south end of little mountain.[6]

Thus delineated, Winder's land area measured slightly over thirty-six square miles of river bottom, clay hills, broken plateau, delta sands, and rock intrusions. Included was the Battle Creek gorge and its tributaries, about eight miles of river frontage, the east side of Little Mountain, the knolls to the north, and part of the land later divided off to form the town of Banida. Three distinct divisions were represented: Battle Creek, Poverty Flats, and Roscoe, also known as the Church Ranch or as the North End. The altitude ranged from 4,480 feet above sea level on the river bottom to 5,734 feet at the peak of Little Mountain. a variation of 1,254 feet.[7]

The overall environmental picture of Winder is that of the typical Western American steppe--a high, semi-desert plateau where cold winter blizzards, hot summer winds, and wide ranges in daily temperatures are considered normal. Temperatues of 30°C (100°F) in the summer months and below -18°C (0°F) in the winter are commonly recorded. January is the coldest month, with an average mean temperature (1931 to 1960) of -7°C (21.9°F), and July is the warmest, averaging 21°C (70.3°F).[8] The temperatures in Winder vary from one section to another and are typical of those in surrounding communities, except that the wind-chill factor is greater in Winder. The modern frost-free season is usually about ninety-five days, running from the middle of May to the middle of August. Occasionally it is less. Farmers have to be alert for sneak frosts in June and early July.

The rainfall is scarce and undependable. In ordinary years it measures between 11 and 13 inches, considerably below the 15.49 inches



Map 2. Lines of Proposed New Ward in Oneida Stake, 1907.

SOURCE: L.D.S. Church Historian's Archives. Winder Ward Records.

average in Preston. Low atmospheric humidity is the general rule. Frequent winds accentuate climatic drought in summer and lower the chill factor in winter. One reason for Winder's comparative aridity is that it lies in the shadow of Oxford Peak (9,282 feet above sea level) and the Bannock range of mountains which channel moisture around and above Winder into the Treasureton foothills, 2-3 inches more precipitation is recorded.[9] Farmers often watch oncoming storms from the west and south skirt Winder and deposit desperately-needed moisture in the surrounding areas.

The climate has varied little in the last 10,000 years, trending from slightly cooler and wetter in post-Pleistocene times toward today's warm, dry weather, with periodic oscillations of only a few degrees. Pollen studies conducted by Robert C. Bright at nearby Swan Lake peak in 1966 indicate variances in effective yearly precipitation of no more than 3-4 inches and an annual mean temperature of less than 3-4 degrees Centigrade.[10]

For Winder, an area of chronically low rainfall, a few inches more than normal moisture meant a marked increase in vegetable density, a greater faunal population, and an accompanying increased capacity of the land to support human use. In times of less rainfall the situation reversed. The changes were not adequate for the introduction of new species or for the elimination of previous ones, but to nontechnological prehistoric people in a semiarid environment, such fluctuations determined the density of human populations and the complexity of their cultures.[11]

Before exploitation by livestock interests in the last half of the nineteenth century, the entire area was covered by a typical

Upper Sonoran flora and fauna, overlapped by species from the lower Sonoran and Transitional zones on the far ends of its life spectrum. The variety of plants and animals was wide, but the density was low. Crested wheat grass dominated, with communities of sagebrush, juniper, rabbit brush, current bushes, various smaller plants, and numerous varieties of wild flowers growing in almost homogeneous clumps, so that the distribution was one of alternating stands throughout the area. Swamp grasses, willows, and cottonwoods lined parts of the river. Manzanitas, haws, chokecherries, wild roses, mountain mahogany, and other plants which require more moisture grew along Battle Creek.[12]

The fauna included a wide variety of large and small rodents, large mammals, and a full complement of grasshoppers, mosquitoes, and other insects. Of note are the black and grizzly bear, bobcat, elk, prong-horned antelope, mule deer, American bison, coyote, weasel, rockchucks, pigmy rabbit, black-tailed rabbit, beaver, otter, muskrat, badger, trout, and bats. Waterfowl, sage hens, magpies, hawks, owls, and song birds were also found.[13]

The first known descriptions of Winder were those recorded by members of the Hudson's Bay Fur Company in Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1824-26. In May of 1825 Peter Skene Ogden, with a party of over 130 persons, crossed Winder. On a half-political mission intended to trap out the lower Oregon territory to discourage American infiltration, Ogden had followed the Bear river south of its large bend at Soda Springs to the site of Thatcher, Idaho, where he left the river to avoid the treacherous Oneida Narrows. On Saturday,

April 30th, he camped on Cottonwood Creek above Winder, and on the following day he came upon the headwaters of Battle Creek in the Treasureton foothills. On the first and second days of May, he followed Battle Creek to its confluence with Bear river, traversing a route through Winder far enough removed from the contributing ravines of Battle Creek to provide smooth passage.[14] Ogden's entrees of May 1st and 2nd read as follows:

> Sunday 1st May.--We raised Camp early all safe so far well we had not proceeded more than three miles when we were obliged to encamp the rain falling in torrents until the evening we have however a far Superior encampment than last night. Elk & Buffalo are most numerous in this quarter & the farther we proceed we find the leaves already large. Flowers in blossom & every appearance of Summer. 40 Beavers this day.
> Monday 2nd.--Early this day we Started our route was over a hilly Country and our progress very Slow for it was late eve we reached the river it certainly makes a great bend here for had the rocks permitted our following it we should have been two days in Comming round we Crossed over the River & encamped. Dis. 10 miles. Course South & South west. Our hunt this day amounts to 74 Beaver & a Pelican also taken in the traps it was rather a Strange Sight to us all to see one of the latter in these remote quarters for in fact with the exception of a few Bustards, we have so far not seen Birds or Fowls of any kind Save & except Ravens & crows in abundance & as for insects we have no Cause to Complain, Fleas Wood lice Spiders & crikets by millions.[15]

The account of William Kittson, clerk of the expedition, differs slightly:

> Sunday 1st May. Commenced our journey this morning by ascending a steep hill, then descending along the borders of a rivulet, crossed several others and encamped on account of rain on one of the many small streams we had crossed. S. Course 4 miles. Paul, Laurent and Beauchamp are still ahead. 40 Beavers to day.
> Monday 2nd. Raised camp and made the following courses before we came to Bear river vizt. S. 2, S.W. 6 and S. 29 miles, crossed the river and encamped a little below the crossing Place. The Country we came this day was barren as usual, but very uneven. Buffaloe and Antilope seen, some killed. The river is well furnished in Wild Fowls, such as

> Geese, Ducks, and Pelicans, trout of a small kind is also found here. 74 Beaver and a Pelican from the traps. Laurent and Beauchamp joined us this evening. Fine weather.[16]

Ogden's and Kittson's observations picture Winder in its native state considerably more foliated and better stocked with game than would be expected from its present landscape, illustrating the extent of overgrazing before the settlers came. The uneven terrain mentioned by the trappers has been largely leveled in recent times to accommodate irrigation.

Geologically, the physical areas of Winder represent vastly different ages. Little Mountain is composed of Cambrian and Precambrian rocks over 500-million years old, among which small deposits of gold, silver, and slate occur. On a hill contiguous to Little Mountain on the north, outcroppings of tuff and tuffaceous sandstone, which are associated with the Salt Lake Formation, dating from Oligocene times about 30-million years ago, are exposed along with conglomerates and a few samples of obsidian-veined lava. The soils of the clay hills and the valley surface were deposited by Pleistocene Lake Bonneville and Bear River.[17]

In the distant past Winder was a forested lakeland, surrounded by a rich and varied flora and fauna. Later, when high mountains formed in the Pacific Northwest blocking moist winds blowing in from the ocean, Winder, along with the rest of Cache Valley, became a grassland range for prehistoric horses, camels, and antelope.

About thirty-million years ago, volcanic activity convulsed Southeastern Idaho. The crust of the earth opened and spewed out lava across the land, and the fractured earth lifted its edges to form a

continuous east-west oriented range of rugged mountains. The present North-south configuration of mountains and valleys was formed later by subsequent structural faults and adjustments. Fault lines on both the east and the west sides of Winder can be followed easily and have been mapped. A series of hot springs from which flows the hottest ground water (77°C or 171°F) found in Cache Valley is associated with a fault zone at Battle Creek.[18]

Winder is part of a graben valley, with the foundation of the basal floor the same as the Bannock, Portneuf, and Bear River ranges surrounding it. Above the base, a layer of about eight feet of volcanic ash found in the valley fill is associated with a more recent activity which dates as far back as the late Miocene period. Above the volcanic ash, a higher layer consisting of Pliocene limes, deposited by a series of inland seas which periodically inundated the valley, represent the Salt Lake formation, which may or may not correlate with the Alpine formation of the lower Great Basin.[19]

At the onset of the Pleistocene epoch (the Ice Age), the climate of the region became more wet and cool. Evaporation decreased while greatly increased rains and glaciers in the mountains fed streams which were without outlet to the sea. Scores of small lakes formed in the valleys between the mountains, ultimately coalescing with others to create massive Lake Bonneville--named for an early nineteenth-century explorer, Benjamin Louis Eulalie de Bonneville--which eventually spread across a 19,750 square mile area, completely submerging Winder except for the peak of Little Mountain.[20]

The water level of the lake rose and fell, depending on the rainfall, until it reached 5,045 feet. It remained at a stillstand

for thousands of years, then sank to a level of less than 4,530 feet. A later rise brought the level to 5,135 feet (the Bonneville level) at which the water broke through Red Rock pass, north of Winder, and drained into Marsh Creek from where it joined the Portneuf and Snake rivers. The spillover lowered the lake to about 4,770 feet, at which elevation a long stillstand, called the Provo stage was maintained.[21]

The post-Bonneville history of the lake is written on Little Mountain, where at least six levels are delineated as wave-built terrances. These lineations represent minor stillstands of Lake Bonneville as it lowered from the Bonneville to the Provo level. They are pronounced on aerial photographs, but they are difficult to distinguish from the ground. Similar terraces are carved on Smart's mountain in Franklin, twelve miles to the southeast. The lower Stansbury level at 4,500 feet is buried under alluvium.[22]

Another study by Robert C. Bright, this one concerning Pleistocene Lake Thatcher in relation to Lake Bonneville, suggests that the final rise and subsequent spillover of Lake Bonneville was caused by a diversion of Bear River. Prior to 34,000 B.P., Bear River flowed north to join the Portneuf. The Bear River Range divided Cache Bay of Lake Bonneville from Thatcher basin, which drained into Bear River. Then a volcano deposited basalts which damned up the north end of the Portneuf gorge to create Lake Thatcher. About 27,000 B.P. the lake rose to an elevation of 5,445 feet and overflowed its southern rim. Concurrently, another lava flow diverted Bear River into Lake Thatcher. A southern outlet of Lake Thatcher cut a channel to form Oneida Narrows at least as deep as the

present gorge, joining Lake Thatcher's water to Lake Bonneville. Fed by Bear River, the level of both lakes reached 5,135 feet, causing Lake Bonneville to break through its northern extrimity at Red Rock pass and to recede to the Provo level.[23]

Diversion of Bear River into Lake Bonneville was important to Winder for other reasons. The river deposited a delta of fine material with a radial extension of over four miles, accounting for the bulk of sandy soils and gravel on the hill overlooking Bear River and at the south base of Little Mountain. In addition, the river raised the water level to a volume which allowed lake action to redistribute the valley floor. The Provo level is clearly discernible on a soil contour map of Winder which shows clay above the Provo level and loam below.[24] The Bonneville formation is over 500 feet thick in many places and consists mostly of the red deposits of the clay foothills. These deposits are colored by their iron oxide content. They were probably brought to Winder by the Bear River from the red Mesozoic and Tertiary conglomerates east of Bear Lake valley. The Provo level is thin and consists mostly of the finer material washed out of the Bonneville deposits. Lake action and, later, wash-offs removed much of the Provo soils from the flats in Winder and deposited them near Lewiston, Utah,[25]

The influence of the river is also evident in the soils along the bottom lands where the river cut through its delta as the lake receded below the Provo level. Repeated flooding of the valley deposited silts and a high ground water level sustained by seepage created swamps.[26]

Soil differences account for plant and animal distribution, creating conditions responsible for diversity in interests among human populations. The clay soils could not be irrigated because they did not absorb water. They produced only a few kinds of crops, mainly dryfarm wheat, and they attracted settlers who wanted to grow a cash crop requiring seasonal labor output. The loams allowed intensive farming of a wider variety of crops if irrigation water was secured. However, loams were thin in Winder and so low in nutrients that row crops did not do as well as in other areas, such as Weston, where the topsoil was deeper. The sandy soils around Little Mountain were ideal for sugar beets, melons, and berries, but they held water for very brief periods of time and required frequent irrigation.[27]

The economic interests of each settler hinged on the type of his soil, whether he raised cattle, grew wheat, or cultivated row crops. Some of the farmers could not operate without irrigation water, other could not use. A community of interests was difficult to establish under such conditions.

A brief consideration of the past and present environment is prerequisite to understanding community in Winder. Introduction of data pertaining to physiography, climate, and biota is not an end in itself, but it serves to set the background, to define boundaries, and to explain human use of the land.

Establishing the existence of a physical environment comparatively poor in natural resources suggests restrictions on economic and social advancement. The stark landscape and harsh climate in Winder inhibited the formation of permanent settlements, restricted

population size and growth, and discouraged close community ties. This held as true for prehistoric populations as for historic people. The first nomads in northern Cache Valley probably found Winder as unappealing as white settlers who came later. Both eventually learned to survive by adaptability, tenacity, and ingenuity.

Once the physical setting is understood, local activity takes on added meaning, clarifying the relationship of human responses to physiographic limitations and possibilities. The importance of temperature and rainfall to the development of community cohesion, the limitations placed on community development by broken topography, and the unity and disunity created by slough drainage, land leveling, fencing, and canal construction are more easily comprehended.

The lineations on Little Mountain indicate not only the levels of Lake Bonneville, but differences in soil depth and quality at various levels of altitude. They are an index to the places where wild currants grew and where people were most likely to settle first, to which locations were best for crops and which were suited to cattle, and to some of the reasons why certain settlers succeeded and others failed. Atypical rocks on the northwestern knolls identify an outcrop of the Salt Lake Formation, but they also designate a place where prehistoric peoples came to gather obsidian and other rare rocks for tools and weapons.

The uses of geography, geology, and climate in historical studies is well established. In local history they assume more importance because of the close relationship of the people to the land. Alan Rogers has stated,

> All history, and local history more obviously than many other branches of that study, concerns the inter-relation of people and place. The two have interacted on each other in a manner which is often hard to disentangle. . . . It is thus clear that, in history in general and in local history in particular, there is a dualism of people and place, . . .

Rogers states further that

> . . . every local historian must at some stage thoroughly examine the setting of his chosen subject. Its immediate topography--the soils, the physical features and the resources of the locality--as well as its wider context in the surrounding country side must form part of his brief.[28]

Predominant ecological determinism is not implied. Certainly, the response of the community to the environment was an important factor, but cultural aspects, the decisions individuals made, the ways people responded to crisis, and chance are equally, if not more significant in some cases. Causative relationships are usually complex in history. The English historian, John Cairns, asserted that "Clio has no answer, but only answers."[29] To single out any one factor as a fundamental cause of subsequent developments, more often than not, distorts accurate evaluation. The local historian must be aware of the multiple forces involved in his community and weigh the effects of each in determining why something happened or did not happen.

Notes

[1]See F. Ross Peterson, Idaho (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1976), p. 18; Sven Liljeblad, The Idaho Indians in Transition (Pocatello, Idaho: The Idaho State University Museum, 1972), pp. 14-22; Charles S. Peterson, "The Valley of the Bear River and the Movement of Culture Between Utah and Idaho," Utah Historical Quarterly 47 (Spring 1979): 194-214.

[2]Idaho Transportation Department, General Highway Map of Franklin County, Idaho, Scale 1/2 inch to 1 mile, 1974.

[3]Samuel G. Houghton, A Trace of Desert Waters: The Great Basin Story (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1976), p. 205.

[4]Marie Danielson, ed., The Trailblazer: History of the Development of Southeastern Idaho (Preston, Idaho: Daughters of the Pioneers, 1930), p. 10; Franklin County Citizen, Preston, Idaho, 8 February 1917.

[5]U.S., Department of the Interior, The United States Geological Survey, Topographic Map of the Banida Quadrangle, Franklin County, Idaho, 7.5 minute Series, 1969.

[6]Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, Minutes of Winder Ward, Oneida Stake, Idaho, 17 November 1907. Original spelling and punctuation are preserved.

[7]Geological Survey Map, 1969.

[8]These temperatures were taken from recordings made at a national weather station at Preston, not far from Battle Creek. See temperature chart, L. J. Bjorklund and L. J. McGreevy, "Ground Water Resources of Cache Valley, Utah and Idaho," Technical Publication No. 36, State of Utah Department of Natural Resources (Washington, D.C.: The United States Geological Survey, 1971), p. 5.

[9]U.S., Department of Soil Conservation, Soil Contour Maps of Franklin County, Idaho.

[10]Robert C. Bright is the son of Loran Bright, a native of Winder. Bright's pollen studies are of great significance in understanding the prehistory and the development of the populations in and around Winder. His findings conform to other pollen studies of the Great Basin and represent a wide departure from a previously accepted view based on the research of Ernst Antevs, which postulates, among other events, wide fluctuations in weather, including a long antithermal period of hot, arid conditions between 7,000 and 4,500 B. P. (before present). See Ernst Antevs, "Climatic Changes and

Pre-White Man," in "The Great Basin, with Emphasis on Glacial Times and Post Glacial Times," Bulletin of the University of Utah 38:20, Biological Series, 10:7 (1948), pp. 168-91; Robert C. Bright, "Pollen and Seed Stratigraphy of Swan Lake, Southeastern Idaho; Its Relation to Vegetational History and to Lake Bonneville History," Tebiwa 9 (Summer 1966): 1-47.

[11]For a more detailed discussion of the significance of climatic variations, see Jesse D. Jennings, "Prehistory of Utah and the Eastern Great Basin," Anthropological Papers of the University of Utah 98 (November 1978): 10-12.

[12]Soil Contour Maps of Franklin County.

[13]Jennings, "Prehistory of Utah," pp. 10-11.

[14]David E. Miller has mapped out Ogden's route in great detail, David E. Miller, ed., "Peter Skene Ogden's Journal of His Expedition to Utah, 1825," Utah Historical Quarterly 20 (April 1952): 168-170 ff.

[15]E. E. Rich, Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1824-25 and 1825-26 (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1950), p. 42.

[16]Ibid., p. 230.

[17]Bjorklund and McGreevy, "Ground Water Resources," Plate I.

[18]Ibid., p. 43.

[19]Geological information was taken from William Peterson, "Physical Description and Geology," in The History of a Valley, ed. Joel E. Ricks (Logan, Utah: Deseret News Publishing Co., 1956), pp. 5-13; Local specifics are from Bjorklund and McGreevy, "Ground Water Resources," Plate I; Robert C. Bright, "Pleistocene Lakes Thatcher and Bonneville, Southeastern Idaho" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1963), p. ii.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Bright, "Pleistocene Lakes," pp. 1-2, 130.

[22]Ibid., p. 17

[23]Ibid., pp. ii-iii.

[24]Soil Contour Maps of Franklin County.

[25]Bright, "Pleistocene Lakes," pp. ii, 15-16, 76-77, 80.

[26]Soil Contour Maps of Franklin County.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Rogers, Approaches to Local History, pp. 4-5.

[29]John C. Cairns, "Clio and the Queen's First Minister," South Atlantic Quarterly 52 (October 1953): 519.

CHAPTER III

OF ANCIENTS AND ANTIQUITIES

From all indications loose community development has characterized human populations of Winder from early prehistoric times. Little is known of ancient occupants, but archaeological remains and ethnological studies suggest that close group affinities did not evolve. Instead, the American Indians who lived in southeastern Idaho maintained nomadic lifestyles until Caucasian intrusion destroyed their social structure.

The thin density and the types of artifacts found in Winder confirm an absence of continuous aboriginal occupation. The best formed and preserved artifacts occurred at the site of the Battle of Bear River near the mouth of Battle Creek. From 1879, early settlers reported finding numerous human and animal bones, grinding instruments, projectile points, and digging tools along the creek, near the river, in crevices, in ravines, in swamps, and on the open ground surfaces. Many of the remains were turned up by plowing and other cultivation. Local residents associated these finds with the victims of the battle, but an undetermined number probably originated from earlier deposits. Farmers kept the articles that they found interesting in piles along fence lines or in barnyards until 1932 when the Daughters of the Pioneers collected rock and artifact specimens to build into a monument commemorating the battle.[1]

The monument exhibits an assortment of nicely-formed stone artifacts of various colors, compositions, shapes and sizes: manos, pestles, flat milling slabs, fleshers, scrapers, and one large white metete with a deep basin, a type of milling implement usually identified with the corn cultures of central and southern Utah, but rarely found in northern Cache Valley.

Regrettably, many of the artifacts in the monument are not of local origin. The monument committee solicited interesting rocks from any location. Each was to be accompanied by "a legend of the effort made in securing it, of the place from which it came, of historical significance, or what not." One rock came from as far away as the mines in Alaska. The primary purpose in collecting the stones was to represent families, clubs, societies, organizations, or communities in the monument.[2]

The rocks are not identified at the site of the monument, but the "legends" are on file at the Daughters of the Pioneers office in Preston, Idaho. Removal from their original location depreciates the value of those which are native to Winder, and drainage, leveling, cultivation, road construction, and railroad building in the places where the local artifacts were found hampers evaluation.

A less disturbed archaeological site is located farther north along Battle Creek in the vicinity of a spring in section 19, township 14. This site consists of an open hillside and both sides of the Battle Creek gorge for approximately one-half of a mile southward. The artifact distribution is thin compared to that

reported at Battle Creek and the implements are more crudely fashioned.

Private collections in Winder exhibit broken or whole milling slabs, most of which were taken from this site. The most common are of medium-grained natural abrasives, usually sandstone. They are almost flat and rarely over six centimeters thick, with a shallow milling area worn to a smooth polish with use. They vary in size from thirty-eight to forty-eight centimeters long and from twenty-four to thirty-one centimeters wide. Ordinarily oval or rectangular, they are not always carefully shaped or finished around the edges. One end is sometimes pitted to provide a small cradle for cracking seeds. As far as could be determined, the stone from which they were formed is not indigenous to Winder. It is of finer grain and lighter in color than native sandstones.

Manos are of the same materials, loaf-shaped, and of a size to fit comfortably into a small woman's hand (about 13-16 cm. long). No mortars and pestles are reported to have been found at this site.

On a dry, windy hillside about one-half of a mile above the creek, a thin distribution of obsidian chips and points was observed. This is in a never-cultivated area of sagebrush, native grasses, and cactus which is assiduously guarded by rattlesnakes and mosquitoes. Although the area is seldom visited, residents of Winder reported finding larger and more intricately formed flint and other stone points there in the past. These were less commonly found and more highly treasured by collectors than the obsidian points. The removal of larger arrowheads from the site obscures an accurate picture of the area.[3]

At this site the gorge is a wild tangle of brush, sinkholes, quicksand, and landslides. Before irrigation of the nearby farmlands caused extensive erosion, a series of at least four small caves, located on the east bank and several on the west side of the gorge, contained evidence of Indian occupation. Difficult to reach because of loose clay on the inclines below them and sinkholes above, these caves were seldom explored.[4] Once reached, they were barely high enough to permit a child ten years of age to stand upright. The rear recesses were smoke-blackened, seepage was evident in some, and frequent small ceiling cave-ins covered parts of the floors. Obsidian chips and points littered the floor surfaces and could be found two to three inches below. The third cave from the north contained broken pottery, cordage, and feathers, along with a few half-buried bones. Recent irrigation caused destruction of the caves, with the possible exception of the southernmost, which dredging of the water channel of the creek has made inaccessible.[5]

On the east rim of the gorge, people still find obsidian chips and points, and on the less precipitous west slope, tilling sometimes exposes obsidian chunks and milling tools. Recent casual observation revealed several manos and one 4 x 4 x 2 centimeter chunk of fractured obsidian.

The altitude of the hillside site where artifacts occur is slightly lower than the 5,076-foot apex and an estimated ninety feet under the Bonneville level. Thin lake-related deposits overlay the Salt Lake Formation, and small explsures of conglomerates, obsidian-veined lava, and other large stones associated with the Salt Lake

Formation can be seen. Obsidian deposits are rare in this part of southeastern Idaho. The only other obsidian-bearing rock found in Cache Valley is an igneous intrusion of essentially Hornblend dorite traversed with several dykes of obsidian, which lies eight miles southeast of Winder between Franklin and the divide north of Worm Creek. Small obsidian pebbles have been found along Marsh Creek to the northwest.[6]

On this hillside, obsidian chips and points, interspersed with small, rounded pebbles rest on the ground surface in circular breaks, measuring 1.5 to 2.5 meters in diameter, between the sage-brush.[7] The points are small and sometimes difficult to distinguish from the chips without close examination.

Nearby on the same hillside, two flat circular stones, 19 cm. in diameter, were discovered in close proximity to each other. They were well-shaped and weather-worn. The purpose for which they were used is not clear.

Artifact-bearing sites are not unique to Winder. Similar sites are common throughout the region. A. J. Simmonds, in his history of Trenton and Cornish, mentions an "Indian cave" which yields arrow points, pottery fragments, and charred animal bones. He also indicates that marshes near the two towns contain stone and flint artifacts.[8] Whitney has its Ramsbottom's gravel pit and other communities in Southeastern Idaho boast of similar sites, most of which have not been professionally investigated.

The large cave in Smart's mountain in Franklin is under excavation at the present time. Archaeology teams from Idaho State

University evaluated Weston Canyon Rockshelter, a few miles southwest of Winder, and a corresponding open hill site near Malad, both at elevations of about 5,000 feet in the late 1960s. The study reveals that two occupations at each site emerged at contemporary time periods. Radiocarbon determinations dated these sites at 7,000-5,800 B. P. and at 1,000 B. P. Evaluations suggest a close correlation to culture patterns common to the Bitterroot cultures of the eastern Snake River plain to the north.[9] The site at Winder is probably the same in essential respects as other nearby archaeological locations, but unless the area attracts scientific surveys, there is no way to be sure. The low density and typicality of undisturbed artifacts render the area insignificant to archaeological investigation.

The chances of identifying earlier sites in Winder are slim, but the eventuality cannot be ruled out completely. Although many anthropologists believe Kreiger's preprojectile stage was ancestral to successive cultures, no well-defined evidence establishes human occupation of the Great Basin prior to the lake Pleistocene period. The later Lithic cultures--Llano, Folsom, and Plano, the so-called big-game hunters--are significantly, but not heavily, represented in Utah and Idaho. Swanson documents eight known and seven reported Folsom sites in Idaho, the nearest of which is about seventy miles from Winder. Jennings mentions three similar sites in Utah, most of which occur on the shores of dessicated lake beds (blow-outs) or on terraces above streams. Clovis sites are more rare and Plano sites more common. The time period involved in both the Swanson and the Jennings studies, supported by numerous radiocarbon datings, ranges

between 13,000 and 5,000 B.P.[10] The earlier date corresponds to the time when Lake Bonneville was receding from its Provo level in Winder. The possibility of Lithic hunting sites on the northern shores of Lake Bonneville seems logical, but so far none have been identified.

The following stage of human development, designated as the "Archaic," is the earliest culture which can be identified at Winder. Beginning as early as 9,000 B.P. in some areas of Idaho, the Archaic culture coexisted with the Lithic for several thousands of years, and certain Archaic populations, such as the Shoshoni, continued into modern times.[11] The Archaic cultures of greatest significance to Winder were the Bitterrot groups of the Snake River valley, the Desert groups of Utah, and the Shoshoni of Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming.

Each of these cultures was characterized by a lack of community formation in its society. The people lived in a social order which the noted anthropologist, Robert Redfield, labeled as a "folk society." Largely devoid of formal organization and ruled by tradition, these groups lived in a highly individualistic existence. Loyalties to immediate family and to ethnic origin were strong, but community ties, when they existed, were weak.[12]

An expanding and diffuse population, a wide exploitation of resources, and a high mobility characterized the Archaic stage in the area. Implements for grinding wild seeds and small fruits, such as the crude milling devices found in Winder, identify the cultures as hunter-gatherers, who utilized all manner of wild seeds, nuts, roots, fruits, and berries along with insects, fish, certain rodents, game, and minerals. Their exploitation of the environment was almost

total and their adaptation was remarkable. Their knowledge of the land was wide and intimate. They manufactured baskets, textiles, weapons, and tools, but they did not practice agriculture. Complex political and social organization did not develop.[13]

Jesse D. Jennings, of the University of Utah, commenting on the stable, but not static, lifestyle of the prehistoric peoples of the Great Basin, observed, "Perhaps because of its broad and opportunistic subsistence base, the Archaic lifeway seems to have been highly adaptive and successful; it was also evidently conservative, showing change through time but never abrupt change."[14] When the Formative traits of Mexico spread north to blend with the Archaic cultures of the Great Basin, for some reason the diffusion of culture stopped before it reached Cache Valley. Although the environment in some places was as suited for agriculture as localities further south, domestication and gardening of maize, beans, squash, amaranth, and spices, along with specialization of labor, formation of religious cults, building of permanent residences, establishment of community living, and other attributes verging on a civilized state did not develop. It can be surmised that the prehistoric people of Cache Valley either rejected the Formative stage or that the stable nature of their society had not allowed the changes to occur yet.[15]

Conformation of the presence or absence in Winder of early Archaic populations, such as the Bitterroot or Desert Archaic cultures, awaits professional investigation and interpretation of artifacts and immigration patterns. Occupation by the Shoshoni is documented by ethnographic research conducted on-site by Julian H.

Steward for the Smithsonian Institution in the 1930s and by earlier research and observations from which he drew information.[16]

A prehistorical picture of the Shoshoni before 1850 was difficult to reconstruct. Their nonperishable possessions were so meager and unspecific to their culture that archaeological investigation could discern little evidence of their lifestyle. Except for certain types of small projectile points and distinctive pottery, remains of Shoshoni occupancy are similar to those of earlier Archaic populations and adjacent contemporary tribes.[17] Nevertheless, through a combination of methods, an overview has been constructed.[18]

Anthropologists propose two differing theories concerning the origin of the Great Basin Shoshoni. The first reflects the views of Jesse Jennings, of the University of Utah. In the absence of adequate evidence to link the Shoshoni to the earlier Desert Archaic culture of Utah, Jennings postulates that the Shoshoni probably immigrated from an ancestral home in southern California to the Great Basin sometime between 1200 and 1300 A.D. His opinion is supported by ethnographic accounts extant in a number of different Shoshoni groups in Utah and by glotochronology, which uses the extent of dialect divergence from a proto-Numic language of southern California to pinpoint the arrival of the Shoshoni in eastern Utah and Idaho at approximately 1200 A.D.[19]

Earl H. Swanson, of Idaho State University Museum, disagrees. His evidence and interpretations challenge the linguistic hypothesis that the Shoshoni were late migrants. Excavations in Idaho's Snake river valley provide evidence from strata formations which Swanson

interprets as a continuous link between the ancient Bitterroot culture and the Northern Shoshoni. Manufacturing practices and a cultural continuum extending over a period of 9,000 years show that the Bitterroot people were gatherers of plant foods and hunters of mountain sheep, deer, bison, and smaller game, with societal patterns essentially the same as those of the historic Shoshoni. Such evidence leads Swanson to believe that the Bitterroot culture was "the archeological expression of Northern Shoshoni prehistory."[20]

Regardless of origin, the lifestyle of the prehistoric Shoshoni can be inferred from historic life patterns. The relatively stable environment and the low level of complexity in the culture, as well as archaeological evidence, indicates that the prehistoric and the historic ways of life were basically identical.[21]

The most determinant aspects of the Shoshoni lifestyle prevented the formation of communities. Whereas brief grouping for tribal activities, which included animal hunts and drives, trade fairs, and warfare, promoted cohesion, the fundamental political, social, economic, and religious concepts limited the formation of community ties. Their associations were more of a societal than of a community nature.[22]

Simple, democratic, and peaceable, the traditional Shoshoni society centered on a marginal subsistence pattern dictated by adaptation to desert-plateau environments. An economy based on intensive use of every edible resource allowed no opportunity for the formation of structured social and poligical organizations. Confederacies of nations, clans, and moieties did not exist.[23]

For the sake of order, anthropologists refer to Shoshoni political organization in terms of bands, groups, and tribes, but they admit that the designations are artificial and sometimes misleading. The Shoshoni band consisted of a small, flexible population usually of closely related individuals who traveled together. There was no permanent office of leadership, and decisions were reached through concensus. When bands congregated together for the purpose of hunting, ceremony, trading, social intercourse, or protection, they formed a group and sometimes elected temporary leaders. After the purpose of grouping was accomplished, the people broke up into bands which retained little or no affiliation with the group. The Shoshoni tribe was little more than loosely-linked bands with a sense of ethnic and cultural affinity, held together by the same language and a notion of being alike.[24]

Their society lacked formally defined positions of leadership. No one person exercised power or authority over another. A kind of informal leadership sometimes developed if a person demonstrated proficiency in providing well for his family, if he behaved judiciously, or if he showed unusual skill in hunting. This person might be admired and accumulate a following, but he had no power to demand compliance with his wishes. He would only advise and persuade.[25]

No social stratification occurred. Everyone was equal and free to make his own decisions. Access to resources was limited by a person's ability. No one controlled resources, and each person's role in society demanded equal respect. A person's labor was under his own control. One person could not tell another what work to do, and no one demanded a percentage of the products of labor.[26]

Specialization of labor between families did not exist. Instead, each household supplied most of its own needs. Its members made and repaired its own tools, procured its own food, and performed most of its own religious functions. Male and female roles determined duties.[27]

The Shoshoni did not practice agriculture or domesticate animals for food. Maintaining a stable Archaic existence, like that of the preceding cultures, they foraged everywhere, never staying to live, to worship, or to grow in one place. Small patrilocal or bilocal units of five to thirty persons roamed on foot through a somewhat limited, but diversified, area, following a seasonal food-gathering cycle which coincided with plant maturation, game density, and personal desires. In spring, after gathering plants in the lower valley, they migrated gradually to higher elevations, gathering roots, seeds, berries, and nuts along the way. Pedestrian hunters killed limited numbers of deer, antelope, mountain sheep, elk, moose, and buffalo. The Shoshoni also caught grasshoppers, crickets, woodchucks, lizards, squirrels, beaver, otter, mink, and fish. Vegetable products provided the stable element of their diet, while meat furnished a sporadic, but necessary supplement.[28] From all indications, the northern Cache Valley Indians relied heavily on fish in the late winter and early spring when other sources of food were scarce.[29]

Survival hinged on an intimate knowledge of a multiple series of microenvironments and required frequent movement from place to place. Forced to carry possessions, the people traveled with as few as possible. They cached surplus provisions in places to which they

planned to return later in the year, retaining only the bare necessities of life--clothing, food, bedding, grinding and scraping utensils, hunting tools, and weapons. Occasionally, bands used dogs as beasts of burden; more often they did not.[30]

The Shoshoni did not recognize any form of land or resource ownership. Territories for hunting, fishing, and food gathering were undefined. Competition for vegetable foods was not necessary. In good years, seeds and berries fell to the ground more rapidly than they could be gathered and preserved. In poor years everyone went hungry. If food in one locality was not available, the band moved elsewhere.[31]

Lack of territoriality encouraged peaceful behavior. The Shoshoni did not war among themselves and tried to avoid their enemies if possible, but they repelled invading powers that threatened their autonomy or their access to resources. The close margin of survival left little time to develop the organizations and the weaponry necessary to successful warfare. When hostilities broke loose between tribes, fighting was sporadic, disorganized, and individualistic.[32]

Bands carried out raids more frequently. Aimed mostly at acquisition of wives or property, raids involved short-term attacks by small groups and often provoked retaliation.[33]

Individuals and families engaged in feuds frequently. More often than not, the conflicts concerned personal animosities arising from adultery, homocide, accusations of laziness, aggressive behavior, or sorcery. If participants did not make satisfactory reconciliations, feuding caused division of the band.[34]

The Shoshoni worked with obsidian, clay, and vegetable fibers. They fractured obsidian for a wide variety of scrapers, fleshers, projectile tips, and digging points. They manufactured a poor quality of pottery, but crafted fine basketry. Besides sandals and hats, they made light-weight baskets for carrying and gathering, and they used watertight varieties for cooking pots by filling the baskets with water heated by dropping in hot rocks.[35]

Wearing apparel, when used, included fringed aprons of milk-week fiber and basketry hats for women, skin breechcloths for men, and sometimes buckskin leggings and fiber sandals for both. In cold weather rabbitskin robes were worn. Ornamentation consisted of quillwork or marine-shell beads.[36]

In summers the people lived in caves or overhangs. Where none were available, they built domed huts made by setting sagebrush or willow branches in the ground at an inward angle and covering them with brush to form cylindrical shelters from four to ten feet in diameter. If the branches did not meet at the top, huts afforded little more than partial protection from the wind and sun. Domed huts of this sort were commonly used on sand dunes, knolls, or open hill sites, such as the one above the spring on Battle Creek.[37]

More substantial versions of the summer shelter, winter homes were constructed from four main willow or juniper poles with an undetermined number of ancillary poles and a covering of buffalo hide, brush, bark strips, grass, or willow matting. Sometimes a sweathouse served as a fraternal meeting place and as a lodging hut for unmarried males, but there is no evidence that it housed an organized fraternal

order. A menstrual hut, along with an elaborate set of taboos, was maintained for women.[38]

Sometimes bands grouped together in a winter encampment. Sagwich, a historic Shoshoni leader, told Mormon settlers that Battle Creek was a favorite winter camp site before the exceptionally cold weather and snows of over fourteen feet killed out most of the game during the winter of 1784-1785. In milder years the location had offered the advantages of fresh water, hot mineral springs, protection from harsh winter winds, river trout, beaver and otter, sagehens, jackrabbits, and a limited supply of other game. Scrub cedar provided firewood, but not in large quantities. Like other Shoshoni winter camps, the Battle Creek encampment fostered a limited number of activities to encourage community affinity, but the composition of the village changed constantly. Certain families cached supplies there early in the spring and returned almost every winter; others joined different camps and formed relationships with a variety of bands and groups. Winter activities which encouraged cohesion centered around fuel gathering, fishing through the ice of the river, gambling, and story telling.[39]

Religion was an individualistic concern. The relationship between humans and deity was considered private. Each person hoped to acquire a tutelary spirit, manifest in the form of an animal, plant, cloud, mountain, or another natural phenomenon, which came to him in dreams and bestowed special abilities, such as gambling luck, hunting skill, endurance or other attributes beneficial to himself alone.[40]

Beyond these general observations, available data are inadequate to support reconstruction of the religious system of the Shoshoni. Like a great number of primative religions, that of the Shoshoni is poorly understood. Past studies focused on segments of belief which compared easily with better-known concepts and social parallels at the expense of exposing the entire religious panorama. Increasingly, anthropologists realize the necessity of looking "at religions as complete ideational systems with their own structure of meaning," not as aberrations of better understood concepts.[41] Until more comprehensive research is available, the logic and structure of the Shoshoni value and belief system cannot be described or evaluated. However, it is evident that individualism, tolerance, and lack of group rituals worked against the development of strong cohesion within the society.

The people did not seal themselves off from other societies. They maintained constant cultural awareness of other peoples and places. Their wide food-gathering cycles brought them into contact with other tribes. Intergroup communication systems, chance encounters with traveling strangers, and traders from afar brought news and ideas. Small groups of Shoshoni traveled to the outside. Olivella shells found at sites dating as early as 8,500-5,500 B.C., 5,500-3,000 B.C., and 3,000 B.C. to historic times establish sustained contact with the Pacific coast. Intermarriage between members of different tribes also contributed to adoption of new ideas.[42]

Intertribal fairs held near the peripheries of the Shoshoni world supplied additional opportunities for contact with people from

the outside. Groups from a wide geographic area congregated at specified locations to trade, gamble, and perform ceremonies. The fairs afforded an occasion for social contact between different tribes and the exchange of information. A half-legendary fair connected with the annual salmon run on the Snake River and the harvesting of camas roots is said to be held as an unbroken tradition from ancient times to 1869. Nick Wilson, a white boy who spent several years living with the Shoshoni, describes a similar fair held every third year about the last of August at Deer Lodge, Montana, in which he estimated an attendance of 6,000 persons. After a frenzy of racing, dancing, gamlbing, and trading for almost one week, the fair broke up into small bands for ease of travel and foraging.[43]

From such contacts, the Shoshoni sustained considerable knowledge of distant peoples, adopting serviceable and attractive innovations from elsewhere. But, despite this frequent contact, diffusion of significant cultural tradition did not change basic societal patterns of the Shoshoni because, as Aiken states, "each tradition was maintained within and regulated by a distinctive concatenation of adaptive circumstances specific to its own geographic situation."[44]

No empirical data or adequate theoretical bases exist upon which to estimate the size of the population. A density of one person per thirteen square miles for northern Cache Valley, in comparison with an average of one person per fifteen and one-half miles for the Great Basin region, proposed by anthropologist A. L. Kroeber in 1934, is probably the most accurate appraisal. Kroeber derived his

estimates from informants' accounts, estimates of early writers, and informants' censuses, including several rough counts by Indian agents. The census figures are probably the best, but they were taken from 1870 to 1880, after the population had been drastically reduced by disease, war, and starvation, and after they were seriously dislocated from their former habitats. The statistics should be revised upward. In any case, they lack meaning for Winder because of the widely fluctuating occupancy. Sometimes Winder was altogether deserted. At other times, especially during some winters, as many as thirty families might have congregated at Battle Creek.[45]

Doty's count in 1866, which numbered the Northwestern Shoshoni at approximately 1,800 persons, was one of the estimates taken after the Battle of Bear River. If a controversial, but cautious, twenty-to-one hemispherewide historic depopulation rate, proposed by Dobyns in 1966, is applied to Doty's figures, a population of about 36,000 could be suggested as the number of Shoshoni available to visit Winder in small bands occasionally before 1700.[46] Of course, the relationship of such an estimate to actual occupancy cannot be determined. The structure of the population is equally impossible to reconstruct.

As tentative as the human prehistory of community in Winder seems to be, it lends depth and perception to the study of subsequent populations. It widens the overview and opens the door for comparing responses of differing populations to the physical environment.

The value of prehistory in this study supports the contention of English authorities that the inclusion of prehistory is a desirable part of reconstructing the local past. Finberg asserts that

local historians should "deal faithfully with all periods." Douch considers the subject important enough to merit an entire chapter in his book. Both point out that in addition to forming an integral period of a community's history, its prehistory furnishes valuable introductions and new avenues for investigation.[47] This is true in Winder, especially when research into prehistory revealed individualistic lifestyles and loose community development, traits held in common with succeeding populations.

Despite the worth of prehistoric studies in local histories, lack of temporal depth seems to be a common failing. Finberg decries "a foreshortening of historical perspective" as a distortion of historical proportion," and Douch notes the "frequent neglect of archaeological evidence" by local historians.[48]

The most common reason cited for the exclusion is scarcity of printed prehistorical material, but in both countries personal observation of the site, supplemented by examination of public and private collections and data from professional archaeological surveys, usually supplies more than enough material on which to base an adequate prehistory. Locating and using such materials sometimes seems to require experience beyond that of most historians, but if a meaningful history is to be produced, local historians must take the time to utilize these records. To what extent anthropological materials and methods are adopted depends on the needs of the study and the inclinations of the historian. In all cases, anthropological studies must remain subordinate to historical purpose.

In England archaeological evidence assumes prominence in prehistory because often it supplies the only specifics available.

Using material remains to reveal cultural patterns offers the advantages of greater abundance and less bias than using written records. Architecture, place names, and various kinds of earthworks are of importance in revealing the kinds of activity and change which took place in the past. Modern archaeology is of considerable use in supplementing historical records.

In Winder observation of artifacts at the site vindicated the emphasis placed on fieldwork by English local historians. Artifacts of the area could be seen in no other way because remains of prehistoric cultures were not exhibited in museums or written up in archaeological studies. For fear of disturbing the stratification and disturbing associations, excavation was not attempted. As suggested by Douch, surface artifacts were observed, and representative samples were described, drawn, photographed, and plotted on a geographical survey map. In this way, the study added to existing knowledge and contributed to the thesis without destroying evidence.[49]

Because of the close temporal proximity of aboriginal to historic populations, the archaeological evidence was used to support ethnographic studies, which were more specific and relevant to the prehistoric populations than the artifacts. The wide difference in time span between English and American prehistory allowed the use of an additional methodology.

Notes

[1]Danielson, History of Southeastern Idaho, pp. 50-52; Interview with John and Natalie Warrick, Preston, Idaho, 30 May 1979.

[2]Franklin County Citizen, 6 July, 13 July, and 4 August 1932.

[3]For discussion of evaluation distortion resulting from removal of large points, see Jennings, "Prehistory of Utah," p. 19.

[4]Only four of the residents of Winder who were interviewed knew of these caves. Of these, only one person besides the author had been inside them.

[5]Interview with B. H. Swainston, Winder, Idaho, 21 May 1978; Interview with Myrtle C. Swainston, Winder, Idaho, 19 February 1979; Author's on-site observations, Winder, Idaho, 29-31 May 1979; Recollections of the author.

[6]Peterson, "Physical Description and Geology," p. 6. Hornblend diorite consists of large crystals in a fine ground mass. Also Plate 1; Author's observations, 29 May 1979.

[7]The pebbles are mostly worn smooth, resembling beach pebbles.

[8]A. J. Simmonds, On the Big Range (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1970), p. 5.

[9]Earl H. Swanson, "Folsom Man in Idaho," Idaho Yesterdays 5 (Spring 1961); 34. The Bitterroot culture refers to a type of Archaic culture common to central Idaho between 8,000 and 1,000 B.P. or later.

[10]Jennings, "Prehistory of Utah," pp. 4, 17; Preprojectile sites are identified by the presence of edge-chipped pebbles as choppers and large ovoid or pear-shaped scrapers, which were bifacially chipped by percussion in an age before projectile points were manufactured. The identifying feature of the later Lithic sites is the discovery of delicately-fashioned lanceolate points, chipped along both faces to form sharp cutting edges. The most distinctive types of lanceolate points are the Clovis, Folsom, and Plano. Indicative of the Llano culture, the Clovis point is long and slim, fluted from the base only part way up the face, and is found with extinct fauna bones, such as those of the prehistoric horse, camel, and invariably the mammoth. The Folsom, usually dated slightly later, is fluted the entire length of the blade and is found ordinarily with the extinct long-horned bison (Bison antiquus); Swanson, "Folsom Man in Idaho," p. 26; C. Melvin Aikens, "The Far West," in Ancient Native Americans, ed. Jesse D. Jennings (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Company, 1978), Figure 4.2.

[11]Jennings, "The Prehistory of Utah," p. 29.

[12]Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," reprinted from the American Journal of Sociology 52 (1947): 273-80, in The Study of Society: An Integrated Anthology, 3rd ed., ed. Peter I. Rose (New York: Random House, 1973), p. 212. Redfield's model of the folk-society was built partly upon the lifestyle of the Shoshoni, one of the Indian nations who seasonally occupied Winder.

[13]Alvin Josephy, Jr., The Indian Heritage of America (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), p. 127.

[14]Jennings, "Prehistory of Utah," p. 4.

[15]Ibid., p. 5.

[16]Julian H. Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Groups," Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938), p. 219.

[17]Jennings, "Prehistory of Utah," p. 235.

[18]Ibid., p. 15.

[19]Ibid., pp. 81, 235.

[20]Swanson, "Folsom Man in Idaho," p. 34.

[21]Jennings, "Prehistory of Utah, p. 15.

[22]Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Groups," p. 237.

[23]Ibid., p. 246.

[24]Deward E. Walker, Jr., "American Indians of Idaho," Anthropological Monographs of the University of Idaho 2 (1973): 113.

[25]Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Groups," p. 247.

[26]Walker, "American Indians of Idaho," p. 113.

[27]Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Groups," p. 44.

[28]Jennings, "The prehistory of Utah," p. 246.

[29]Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Groups," p. 218.

[30]Until recently anthropologists thought the Shoshoni moved constantly, except during the winter. Newer studies suggest that semisedentary villages were more common than previously thought. (See Aikens, "The Far West," p. 171).

[31]Jennings, "Prehistory of Utah," p. 15; Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Groups, p. 254.

[32]Walker, "American Indians of Idaho," p. 14.

[33]Walker, "American Indians of Idaho," p. 121; Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Groups," p. 114.

[34]Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Groups," pp. 195, 238.

[35]Jennings, "Prehistory of Utah," pp. 235, 245.

[36]Josephy, The Indian Heritage of America, p. 128.

[37]Jennings, "Prehistory of Utah," p. 237.

[38]Walker, "American Indians of Idaho," pp. 76, 118, 124.

[39]M. R. Hovey, An Early History of Cache Valley (Logan, Utah: Utah State Agricultural College Press, 1938), p. 3; Josephy, The Indian Heritage of America, p. 128.

[40]Walker, "American Indians of Idaho," p. 128.

[41]R. M. Kessing and F. M. Kessing, New Prospectives in Cultural Anthropology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), pp. 310-312.

[42]Aikens, "The Far West," p. 165.

[43]Sven Liljeblad, "The Idaho Indians in Transition, 1805-1960," Special Publications of the Idaho State University Museum (1972), p. 18, 19; Elija Nicholas Wilson, Among the Shoshones (Salt Lake City, Utah: Skelton Publishing Company, 1910), pp. 25, 26.

[44]Aikens, "The Far West," p. 175.

[45]Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Groups," pp. 46-49.

[46]Francisco M. Salzano, "Genetic Aspects of the Demography of American Indians and Eskimos," in The Structure of Human Populations, ed. G. A. Harrison and A. J. Boyce (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 238-240, 248-249; H. F. Dobyns, "Estimating Aboriginal American Populations," Current Anthropology 7: 398.

[47]Finberg, Local History, p. 76; Douch, Local History and the Teacher, pp. 61-63.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Douch, Local History and the Teacher, pp. 64-65.

CHAPTER IV

OF EXPLOITATION AND RACIAL INTERACTION

The intrusion of Caucasian influence brought an abrupt end to the slow and distinct type of evolutionary community processes inherent to Shoshoni society. The kind of community patterns which might have emerged without interruption from outside influences will never be known, but from the few sources available, a slight trend toward more frequent grouping, closer organization, and stronger leadership seems evident.[1]

The first contacts with European culture only scratched the veneer of economic, political, and social life, leaving the core intact. Subsequent associations caused acculturation, near extinction, and removal from Winder. In a short span of slightly over 175 years, the Shoshoni passed through a sequence of culture-shattering changes which took them from primitive hunter-gatherers to horse-nomads to farmer-ranchers, a chain of events requiring millennia for natural evolution. In spite of their remarkable tradition of adaptability, the Shoshoni were not equipped socially or psychologically to cope with the new life which was suddenly thrust upon them.

By the early sixteenth century while still afoot, the Shoshoni had spread northward toward the Saskatchewan river and east to the Great Plains. Penetration of territories traditionally occupied by the Blackfoot, Crow, and other hostile tribes required congregation into larger, more organized groups. Although still essentially

peaceful, passively aggressive, and loosely affiliated, Shoshoni groups traveling outside of the Great Basin found election of war leaders, formation of warrior societies, and group participation necessary for their protection.[2]

Shortly after 1600, a splinter group, later known as the Commanche, remained on the plains permanently, moving slowly southward to become one of the "wild and uncivilized" groups of Indians on the periphery of the sedentary Pueblo villages in New Mexico. The Commanche acquired lost or stolen horses soon after the arrival of the Spanish colonists and introduced them to their kinsmen in southern Idaho sometime between 1650 and 1700.[3]

Integrating rapidly into the Shoshoni culture, the horse modified economic and political institutions drastically. With the horse, the Shoshoni extended their already expanded cycles more toward a hunting, than a gathering, society. They were able to transport larger burdens and longer lodge poles, accumulate greater wealth, and contact more peoples. They grouped with greater facility and formed closer loyalties to war and to hunting leaders.[4]

The northern Cache Valley Shoshoni, after wintering at Battle Creek, could begin their yearly cycle with fishing on the Bear River in the early spring, follow the game to the mountains, arrive at the Snake River valley in time for the salmon run, gather roots on the Camas prairies in midsummer, attend intertribal fairs, join other groups for the fall buffalo hunt, and still have time to winter back at Battle Creek or to visit relatives elsewhere.[5]

As travel to the Great Plains became more frequent, elements of the Plains cultures infiltrated their society. Skin parfleches

replaced baskets, buffalo hides covered tepees, and the people began wearing buckskin clothing. Their new life meant curing meating in large quantities, wearing ornaments and feather head-dresses at festive occasions, practicing certain ceremonies of plains origin, such as the Sun Dance, using the travois for transportation, and adopting other novel innovations. Living habits and political organization changed.[6]

During this period, the Shoshoni experienced greater wealth than they had ever known before, but the horse also brought new problems. War was uncommon among the Shoshoni until the horse allowed them to expand their territory far to the north, driving the Blackfoot deep into Canada and extending Shoshoni incursions into the hunting grounds of strange warlike tribes. Warfare was destructive to traditional life patterns of a people not prepared to meet it. Conflict meant greater attention to the manufacture of war implements, closer political organization, and a changed sex-ratio from a slight predominance of males to a majority of females in the population. War created problems, but it did not take place on a large enough scale to be a unifying factor.[7]

The advantage held by the Shoshoni reversed suddenly when the Blackfoot and other Rocky Mountain tribes acquired horses and firearms from eastern traders. The Shoshoni were forced to retreat back to their Great Basin boundaries and became frequent victims of horse-raiding parties.[8]

Another disadvantage of the horse was that it created an ecological imbalance. Increased hunting efficiency depleted game more

rapidly, and the horse exhausted vegetation quickly in an area where the plant density was already thin. Considering estimates of the horse population among the Shoshoni in Idaho to be one or two horses per person, the Shoshoni must have had to increase their mobility considerably to keep their horses fed. Some authorities think that the horse enabled the Shoshoni to hunt the buffalo in southeastern Idaho to extinction and destroyed certain semisedentary ways of life which may have been developing in some segments of Shoshoni society.[9]

One of the first social effects of the horse was to split mounted from nonmounted groups. People on foot could not compete with mounted hunters, nor could they keep pace with equestrian travelers. A social rift developed between the more affluent mounted groups and their pedestrian counterparts. The culture of the mounted Shoshoni became more complex with contact of other cultures, while the lifestyle of the foot Shoshoni absorbed changes more slowly. Some anthropologists detect lower, middle, and upper class divisions, but European class categories do not apply comfortably to Indian cultures. Apparent and real distinctions among the Shoshoni were unstructured and unsupported by tradition. They remained in effect only until nonmounted individuals or groups acquired horses.[10]

Following the horse, white men's diseases invaded the Shoshoni, spreading through the population and devouring the vitality of people who had no immunity to European pathogens. Entire bands were wiped out. Family ties weakened, and cultural patterns were disrupted. Disease constituted a major deculturation and fragmentation factor among the Shoshoni in the eighteenth century.[11]

Soon after 1700, the Shoshoni were joined by the Bannock, a band of Northern Paiutes from Oregon who had become mounted. The Bannock preferred to live and hunt with the Shoshoni over the company of their own pedestrian relatives. They traveled with various bands of Shoshoni, shared the same camps, and occupied the same territories. In common with the Shoshoni, they shared typological similarities to the earlier Archaic cultures. They were politically disunited, traveling in family groups of two to twelve individuals, which were occasionally joined by relatives or friends. Their culture was flexible enough to adapt to new social needs and economic necessities, yet strong enough to resist complete assimilation into the Shoshoni society. Intermarriage occurred frequently between the two tribes, but the Bannock managed to retain their ethnicity. Mormon pioneers in the 1860s reported that the Bannock were multilingual, speaking a northern Paiute dialect as their native tongue and Shoshoni and English as acquired languages. The Shoshoni did not object to the company of the Bannocks, but regarded them as different people. Physically, the Bannock were more slender and light-skinned than the Shoshoni.[12]

Early accounts picture the Indians of northern Cache Valley as unusually shy and impoverished. In 1833 Nathaniel Wyeth, the founder of Fort Hall, observed that they lived in caves and the mountains, retiring to their "inaccessible haunts" at his approach. Father Desmet, a Catholic missionary and early traveler in northern Cache Valley, described the Shoshoni in 1843 as "people deserving of pity." Their only lands were uncultivated and their "habitations are holes in

the rocks, or the natural crevices of the ground, and their only arms, arrows and sharp-pointed sticks." He reported seeing "two, three or at most four of them . . . roving over their sterile plains in quest of ants and grasshoppers, on which they feed." They were so timid that the appearance of a stranger sent them "vanishing like shadows" into their holes in the ground.[13]

Anthropologist Julian Steward evaluates such accounts as "gross exaggerations," made by observers who did not understand the Shoshoni way of life.[14] From all indications, the natives of upper Cache Valley lived better than many of their neighbors. They were mostly mounted and highly mobile. Caves and overhangs often provided better protection from the elements than the tepees or brush huts they sometimes used in the summer. Their diet was varied and adequate in good years, but in times of drought they frequently went hungry. Active trade over a wide territory brought them into contact with many different cultures.[15]

In some respects the people of northern Cache Valley were atypical of the rest of the Shoshoni culture. Their proximity to the Utes and other central Utah peoples allowed some diffusion of ideas and practices from the south, and their association with the Wind River Shoshoni in buffalo hunts to the western Great Plains brought them into contact with the Plains influences. They learned to extol bravery in battle, count coup, and accord successful warriors honor and power. They began to live in larger communities and organize themselves into composite band groupings. Because of their wealth in horses, they were able to draw from the annual salmon runs and the

game, birds, and edible plants in the Boise and Salmon River drainage basins. These differences distinguished them to some extent from the rest of the Shoshoni.[16]

Anthropological studies indicate that the most common occupants of Winder belonged to a single Cache Valley band which ordinarily wintered either along Battle Creek or at a village called Kwa'gun:ogwai (crane-house river) located above the confluence of the Logan and Little Bear rivers in Utah. In 1935 Steward identified this band as one of the seven winter camps of the Northwestern Shoshoni. His informant remembered only twelve families comprising this band in the late 1800s, but thought that they numbered a great many more before the Battle of Bear River in 1863. Their leader, or talker, as those who spoke for the group were called, was Wirasuap (Bear Spirit), possibly the man known to the Mormon settlers as Bear Hunter. Wirasuap was a contemporary of Washakie, an influential leader of the Wind River groups, and of Pocatello, talker of the aggressive Bannock Creek Shoshoni and a group of warlike Bannock. Wirasuap was older than either of them and well-respected by both, although he was more closely affiliated with Washakie. When his group occasionally wintered with Washakie at Bear Lake, the two leaders shared equal responsibilities.[17]

Actual identification of the Indians of Winder is not easy. A great number of bands visited Winder in their continual search for food and minerals. Besides the people following Bear Hunter, bands led by Lehi, Sagwitz, and Sanpits who normally ranged the Bear River valleys, and bands loosely affiliated with Pocatello, Washakie, and

a host of lesser-known leaders frequently camped at Battle Creek. All of these people had a poorly-developed grouping sense and a fluid band affiliation. They did not distinguish themselves by a special name. A family's tie to a certain band or leader was tentative and of unpredictable duration. Members could and did come and go whenever they pleased. Anyone dissatisfied with one leader was free to join another, and a band displeased with the conduct of a member or a family could ask the offender to leave.[18]

After considerable confusion and deliberation, Indian agent James Duane Doty in 1863 mapped the usual inhabitants of the Utah-Idaho border of Cache Valley under the designation of Northwestern Shoshoni. Later Steward classified the Battle Creek-Logan group as Pangwiduka (fish-eaters), but subsequent studies found difficulty in separating the Shoshoni into either territorial or dietary groups.[19]

The Shoshoni called themselves "ningive" (the people). Individuals traveled extensively in family units or in bands, and they adjusted their food habits to the place where they lived at the time. A band known as Pangwiduka or Hukandika (dust-eaters) while fishing along Bear River or walking across the flats might be referred to as Tihiyadika (deer eaters) in the Caribou mountains, as Agaidika (salmon eaters) when they speared fish in the Snake River, as Sonivohadika (seed eaters) when they gathered pine nuts, Kamodika on rabbid drives, or Kucundikas when they joined Wasakie to hunt buffalo in Montana. Their organization and their designation changed seasonally with their economic occupation. They were also known by terms which reflected another band's perception of them. For example,

Washakie's followers derisively called Pocatello's renegade band Saididig, meaning "dog eaters." Territorial and dietary designations were artificial classifications. Closer to reality is the concept that the Shoshoni of Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming, were all one people, characterized by a broad, but regular, mobility, a wide and varied diet, and loose political and social affiliations. Representatives of different Shoshoni groups told anthropologist Ake Hulkrantz on various occasions, "We are one people. There is no difference between us."[20]

With the arrival of fur traders and trappers, who moved in strong brigades through the Bear River valley from 1825 to 1840, autochthonous Indian trade changed focus. The fur trade introduced different economic bases for both cohesion and fragmentation. Barter with Caucasian traders for basic necessities loosened the individual's dependence on himself and his people, weakened kin relationships, eroded traditional forms of leadership, and infused competition for natural resources into the society. On the other hand, cohesion resulted if an ambitious leader gained popularity as a trading agent for consolidated groups.[21]

Except for a decrease in game, most of the Indians of Winder remained culturally untouched by the fur industry during the first few years. The mountain men employed their own trappers and moved through the area quickly, but by the time the traders left the Great Basin fifteen years later, the buffalo was gone and the smaller game species were seriously reduced. Depletion of the buffalo by the trappers, or by the hide market, created by the trappers, may have

been the reason for their extinction, or the cause may have been a change in the migratory habits of the buffalo. Because of the disappearance of the buffalo, salmon fishing excursions to the Snake River and hunting expeditions to the Montana plains became more vital to the Indians. As a result acute competition with Plains tribes for buffalo led to conflict.[22]

During the fifteen-year contact with the mountain men, the Shoshoni entered into an economic position which depended increasingly on trade with white men. The withdrawal of the trappers left the Shoshoni almost bereft of local game resources and of their major outlet for trade. Except for trading posts at Fort Hall, Fort Boise, and Fort Bridger, there were no trade outlets in the area.[23]

The first wave of American westward emigration over the Oregon Trail between 1843 and 1855 barely touched the Shoshoni of northern Cache Valley. The Bidwell party, the first and only emigrant train to pass through Winder, came in August when the Indians of the area usually had joined the Wyoming Shoshoni for their annual buffalo hunt on the headquarters of the Missouri River. In his journal, John Bidwell made no mention of Indians at Winder:

> Aug. 13th. after separating from the other party we traveled southerly down Bear River. We decided that we would stop and hunt in Cash Valley. On account of the hills which obstructed our way, we left the river. We found an abundance of ripe choke cherries. We struck the river again about 14 miles below.[24]

The party camped at Battle Creek and left the next morning without leaving any appreciable impact. Later in 1843 John Charles Fremont, of the Federal Topographical Engineers, viewed Winder from a high

mountain peak and subsequent reconnaissance parties visited the area, but, like the emigrants, they left little mark.[25]

Until this time the Shoshoni response to Caucasian influence had prevented any natural community development which might have otherwise taken place. Expediencies had caused artificial grouping and loyalties which upset traditional balances and created confusion, but which did not alter the fundamentals of Shoshoni society.

White occupation of Shoshoni lands, beginning with the Mormon settlement of Cache Valley in 1857, brought the Indians into more intimate contact with Euro-American civilization. The settlers introduced into the ancient culture new systems of organization, different religious concepts, physical novelties, different values, and social disaster.[26]

While the white population remained small and the settlers were almost as poor as the Indians, the two cultures coexisted in Cache Valley without serious conflict. Mormons preferred to feed, rather than to fight, the Indians and the Shoshoni were anxious to renew trade. There were few other settlers in the Shoshoni lands.[27]

As the influx of settlers increased and uncontrolled appropriation of Shoshoni wintering grounds and resources escalated pressure on the Shoshoni intensified. In exchange for feeding the Shoshoni, the settlers expected compliance with white standards of dress, marriage, and conduct, as well as peace. The settlers seemed totally indifferent to the necessity of maintaining the time-tested social-religious-economic balance.[28]

Soon the Shoshoni found themselves trapped in a difficult and dangerous transition between their quiet primeval rhythms and the

tumult of disturbing change. The native flora and fauna in Cache Valley was so far depleted that the Shoshoni economy deteriorated below a subsistence level. Jacob Hamblin, a Mormon missionary to the Indians, observed in 1862 that sheep and cattle grazing had reduced native seeds to the extent that the Indians were starving.[29]

Shoshoni requests for food in the settlements increased to the point that feeding an Indian population of over 300 became impossible. Resentments flared on both sides and they were intensified by an inadequate national Indian policy. Cattle and horse thefts increased. Requests for food became demands. Mormon settlers posted guards and formed militias. In May 1860, the Mormon leaders in Cache Valley wrote Brigham Young that during the last few months Indians had stolen over $1,500 worth of horses. Jacob Forney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, blamed Shoshoni dissatisfaction on their "naked and starving condition." Because of settler intrusion, the Shoshoni were forced to either "starve or steal."[30]

As the settlers displaced the Shoshoni in Cache Valley, another scene of the drama was enacted in the Snake River valley of Idaho. In 1860 travel along the Oregon Trail, which cut through the heartland of the Shoshoni, increased to as many as 300 wagons and "at least 7,000 head of stock each day." Wagon trains laden with food and supplies presented continuous provocation and irresistable temptation to starving Indians. Overland travelers often neglected to post guards and were reckless in dealing with the Indians. A few cases of indiscriminate killing of Indians who approached the wagons to grade triggered campaigns of revenge. One incident in the Goose

Creek Mountains involved two Flathead Indians who were shot on sight when they rode into an emigrant camp "to swap some buckskins." A nearby band of Shoshoni joined the surviving members of the Flathead party to attack the wagon train, killing five men and two women, plundering the supplies, and taking all of the horses.[31]

During the following years the list of Indian and white clashes lengthened. The discovery of gold on Grasshopper Creek in southern Montana on 9 July 1862 brought the situation to a climax. By early August, a flood of miners from Utah had crossed northern Cache Valley on their way to the new strike. Eager to furnish supplies, merchants followed the miners. Woodmansee Brothers, of Salt Lake City, sent ten wagons. In late November mail contractors completed a road from Utah to Montana over which the Woodmansee and other wagons returned to Utah loaded with gold. The road followed a course later used by the Utah and Northern Railway between Little Mountain and Battle Creek on the west side of Winder. The Deseret Weekly reported the road to be "an excellent one, with an abundance of feed and water."[32]

Quick to seize opportunity, Nathan Packer, from Franklin, built a ferry across Bear River within one-half of a mile from the Shoshoni winter camp at Battle Creek. A small settlement, later called Bridgeport, grew with the freighting business. All along the road miners and Indians clashed. Army contingents sent from Salt Lake City to punish the Indians met with no success. The Indians struck suddenly, then fled to the mountains to avoid the troops.[33]

In the fall of 1862, the Shoshoni, along with their Bannock allies, met in council at Bear Lake where they agreed to prevent

further encroachment on their resources. To enforce the decision, they posted a fortified base camp of 72 lodges and 600 warriors at the mouth of Battle Creek, and 40 lodges and 170 warriors a few miles away. After notifying "their friends, the Mormons" to remove their cattle from the Bear River valley and a church ranch located north of Poverty Flats, the Indians announced their intention of killing "every white man they should meet with on the north side of Bear River."[34]

At the newly-established army post at Fort Douglas in Salt Lake City, the commandant, Colonel Patrick Edward Connor, seethed under criticism against the army for its impotence in punishing the Indians. The Deseret News editor stated that he could not "recollect a single instance within the last ten years in which pursuit of the Indians has been successful. . . ." Connor had recruited his troops in California to fight with the Union forces in the Civil War. The men were eager to see action and were greatly disappointed when they were sent to Salt Lake City to control Mormons and Indians. When Connor received word of the Battle Creek encampment, he laid his plans and waited impatiently for a legal provocation to attack the Shoshoni.[35]

He did not wait long. On 9 January 1863 Shoshoni warriors accosted eight Montana miners at the Bear River crossing west of Richmond, Utah. The Indians robbed the wagons, took some of the horses, and shot a man named John Henry Smith. The miners obtained help in recovering the body from Marriner W. Merrill, Bishop of Richmond. Still stinging from threats made against him by a group of Indians led by Sanguich only a few days before, Merrill sent an urgent

request to the civil authorities in Salt Lake City for the arrest of Sanguich and other Shoshoni leaders.[36]

The death of Smith furnished the legal technicality required for the action already planned by Connor. The Chief Justice of the Utah Territory issued warrants for the arrest of Bear Hunter, Sandpitch, and Sagwitch on the charge of murder. He instructed Marshall Isaac L. Gibbs to make the arrests, but "anticipating no legal process could be served upon the chiefs named" the marshall prudently requested military assistance from the army. Connor later said, "I informed the marshall that my arrangements were made, and that it was not my intention to take any prisoners, but that he could accompany me."[37]

The Shoshoni at Battle Creek expected trouble. When they heard that the Californians were on their way, Pocatello and Sanpitch left for Montana with a large group of Shoshoni and Bannock who thought a direct confrontation with the army unwise. The remaining 600 were mainly Shoshoni of the Bear River country.[38]

On January 27, Bear Hunter, accompanied by a few others, visited the Mormon settlement at Franklin to demand wheat. Unable to obtain the amount he asked for, he returned the next day in time to see the infantry approaching town. After loading his wheat, he left quickly for Battle Creek to alert his people.[39]

At dawn on January 29, the Shoshoni saw Connor assemble his half-frozen troops on the south rim of the canyon. Led by the noted Mormon scout, Orrin Porter Rockwell, and a guide from Franklin, Connor's cavalry had out-distanced his infantry and artillery in a frenzied fear that the Shoshoni would escape them again.[40]

His fears were unfounded. The Shoshoni were waiting and anxious to fight. As was their custom in time of battle, the women and children scurried to hiding places in the willows and bullrushes. In case of defeat, escape routes were open to them along the river and up Battle Creek behind the camp.[41]

The Shoshoni had fortified their position well. Connor described it as follows:

> The position of the Indians was one of strong natural defense, and almost inaccessible to the troops, being in a deep dry ravine from six to twelve feet deep, and from thirty to forty feet wide, with very abrupt banks and running across level table land, along which they had constructed steps from which they could deliver their fire without being themselves exposed. Under the embankment they had constructed artificial courses of willows, thickly wove together, from behind which they could fire without being observed.[42]

The sophistication of their stronghold and the solidarity of their defense illustrates how far political organization and community action had advanced over the past fifteen years in response to hostilities between the Shoshoni and the whites. At Battle Creek, Connor encountered the most unified cooperative effort known in Shoshoni society.

The morning was clear and bitter cold. From the willows and rushes along the river, young Sagwich watched the army descend the incline and cross the river. Several warriors ran out of the Shoshoni camp waving the scalps of white women and challenging the troops to "come and fight."[43]

The opening phase of the battle went well for the Shoshoni. The infantry arrived and the troops attacked the fortifications unsuccessfully. Most of the white casualties took place during the

first exchange. Connor "sat almost motionless on his charger, within easy distance of the Indians' rifles, watching the progress of the fight and giving his orders." Realizing that he could not take the encampment by a frontal attack without great loss of life, Connor ordered flanking parties to advance above the ravine on each side, from where enfilading fire turned the stronghold into a death trap. With their escape route cut off, the Shoshoni ran to the mouth of the ravine, where hand-to-hand fighting broke out as they tried to retreat.[44]

Young Sagwich saw the Shoshoni warriors defeated, and his people--men, women, children, babies, and old men--shot or stabbed by bayonets as they tried to flee. Bear Hunter was shot while he was molding bullets at the campfire. He fell into the fire and was burned to death. Those who hid were hunted out and killed.

Amid sniper fire from the bank, Sagwich and his companions slipped into the river, swimming under water and breathing through hollow reeds between breaks in the ice. He was the only one of his group of children who escaped.[45]

Connor listed his casualties at twenty-three dead, forty-five wounded, and seventy-nine disabled from freezing. The number of dead Shoshoni varies with the source consulted. Connor stated that his men counted 224 bodies in the field:

> among which were those of Bear Hunter, Sagwitch and Lehi. How many more were killed than stated I am unable to say; as the condition of the wounded rendered their immediate removal a necessity, I was unable to examine the field.[46]

Connor reported that he burned seventy-two tepees and released 160 women and children. The army captured 175 horses, some arms, a large

quantity of wheat, and other provisions which were taken to Fort Douglas to be sold at auction.[47]

Other enumerations place the Shoshoni casualties closer to 400. The day after the battle teamsters from Franklin, who were engaged to carry the wounded soldiers back to Salt Lake City, counted 368 dead bodies, 90 of which were women and children. That number did not include those who were shot in the water and washed away by the river or those removed during the night by relatives. The number who escaped is unknown. They scattered and joined various bands. It is thought that survival of people belonging to the Bear River bands was extremely low.[48]

Although many of the citizens of Franklin deplored the unnecessary bloodshed, the typical reaction of most settlers was reflected by an entry in the Logan Ward records made early in 1863:

> We, the people of Cache Valley, looked upon the movement of Colonel Connor as an intervention of the Almighty, as the Indians had been a source of great annoyance to us for a long time, causing us to stand guard over our stock and other property the most of the time since our first settlement.[49]

Later some of the Mormons were willing and even eager to claim credit for the massacre. In 1877 Porter Rockwell was quoted as complaining about the lack of recognition for his role in the affair:

> Who was it showed General Connor how to lick'em and kept the army from freezin' to death? Me--old Port-- you bet. It was "Old Port" that won the battle and saved the lives. And what did he git fer it? A measly little old $500, from the U.S. Gov't.[50]

In 1905 Marriner W. Merrill, the bishop who sent for the troops, claimed responsibility for "the fight that forever ended Indian troubles in Northern Utah and Southern Idaho." The Logan Journal quoted him with the following statement:

> I am responsible for the fight at Battle Creek. I shall always regard it as one of the best things I ever did. It was costly, but it was necessary. Many brave soldiers were killed and wounded and two hundred Indians were slain, but that fight saved many hundreds of lives in the valley, and perhaps thousands.[51]

The same attitude still persists. When asked about the battle, one of Winder's former citizens volunteered, "Can you believe, there are people who are trying to put the guilt for the battle on us, when every one knows it was the Indians' own fault they were killed. It was them that made the trouble, not us."[52]

When Connor returned to Salt Lake City, he was given a hero's welcome. The Deseret News rejoiced that the Californians had "done a larger amount of Indian killing than ever fell to the lot of any single expedition of which we have any knowledge."[53] The army exhibited Bear Hunter's scalp at Fort Douglas and a large crowd attended the funerals of the dead Volunteers.[54]

On 30 July 1863 Patrick E. Connor, newly-promoted Brigadier General for his "outstanding success" at Battle Creek met with the Northwestern Shoshoni at Box Elder, Utah, to draw up a treaty of peace and amity. The ten bands concerned were represented by Pocatello, Toomontso, Sanpitz, Tasowitz, Yahnoway, Weerahsoop, Pahragoosohd, Tahkewtoonah, and Ormshee. Sagowitz, recovering in his sick "weekeeup" because of a wound inflicted by a white "fiend," agreed to the terms of the treaty.[55]

The government did not confine the Shoshoni to reservations immediately. Some of them wandered through central Idaho and southern Montana for twelve years or more before they settled into reservation life.[56]

Historian Brigham Madsen depicted the Battle of Bear River as "a natural and perhaps inevitable consequence" of interaction between "opportunistic white pioneers" and a starving Indian society.[57] His explanation may be too simplistic to describe the entire situation, but certainly the conflict resulted from an irreconcilable cultural clash in which neither side was able to adjust to the presence of the other. It was the most dramatic and catastrophic event in Winder's history. Its significance to the Shoshoni as a whole was that the ferocity and dispatch of the army utterly devastated the morale of the entire Shoshoni world. It proved the futility of trying to prevent expansion of settlement on Shoshoni lands. Its significance to Winder was that it brought an abrupt end to one kind of society in the area and opened the way for settlement to a radically different one.

The pattern of community among the historic Shoshoni of Winder moved through eight basic phases which correspond to the deculturation processes the population passed through:

1. a decided trend toward grouping and selection of leaders, accompanied by expansion of subsistence cycles to include southern Canada and the western Great Plains

2. an interrupted natural-evolving community development which was replaced with a community adaptation to accommodate the horse. This new adaptation contained both cohesive and divisive elements.

3. a major fragmenting caused by disease

4. community bonds and subsistence patterns disturbed by dependence on the fur trade

5. grouping for safety and, at the same time, confusion and divisions resulting from culture-shattering influences introduced by white settlers

6. displacement and poverty created by confiscation of Shoshoni lands

7. suspicion and division created by negligent government Indian policies

8. near annihilation and removal from Winder

In dealing with the history of community among the Shoshoni in Winder, the geographic unit of study had to be expanded to accommodate the fluctuating and shifting conditions. Community ties were so weak as to be imperceptible at times, and boundaries were meaningless. It was necessary to study the population in a regional physical setting and to determine the effects of outside influences. The population set was studied from an internal viewpoint, which required frequent movement from the specific to the general, then back to the specific, repeated many times. This is an approach preferred by Alan Rogers for his own local history studies, and it proved particularly appropriate for this chapter. It illustrates the necessity of relating inside and outside influences and events to each other.[58]

Notes

[1]Ted Warner, "Indians: Myths and Realities," Brigham Young University Forum Aedress, Provo, Utah, 5 March 1980; Eleanor Burke Leacock, "Introduction," in North American Indians in Historical Perspective, eds. Eleanor Burke Leacock and Nancy Oestreich Lurie (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 18.

[2]Liljeblad, "The Idaho Indians in Transition," pp. 14-17; Robert F. Murphy and Yolanda Murphy, "Shoshone-Bannock Subsistence and Society," University of California Publications, Anthropological Records 16: 295.

[3]Murphy and Murphy, "Shoshone-Bannock Subsistence and Society," p. 295.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Walker, "American Indians of Idaho," p. 72.

[6]Liljeblad, "Idaho Indians in Transition," p. 15.

[7]Leacock, "Introduction," p. 22.

[8]Murphy and Murphy, "Shoshone-Bannock Subsistence and Society," p. 295.

[9]Walker, "American Indians of Idaho," p. 72.

[10]Ibid., p. 117.

[11]Murphy and Murphy, "Shoshone-Bannock Subsistence and Society," p. 300; Liljeblad, "The Idaho Indians in Transition," p. 8.

[12]Ibid., p. 296; Brigham D. Madsen, The Bannock of Idaho (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1958), p. 19.

[13]Henry R. Schoolcroft, Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of The United States, Part 1 (Philadelphia: 1851), pp. 220-221, quoted in Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Groups, p. 219; P. J. DeSmet, Letters and Sketches: With a Narrative of a Year's Residence among the Indian Tribes of the Rocky Mountains (Philadelphia: 1843), reprinted in Twaite's Early Western Travels 27 (Cleveland: 1906), pp. 165-167, quoted in Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Groups," p. 219.

[14]Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Groups," p. 219.

[15]Ibid., p. 219; Jennings, "The Prehistory of Utah," p. 237.

[16]Walker, "American Indians of Idaho," pp. 14-15.

[17]Ake Hultkrantz, "The Shoshones in the Rocky Mountain Area," in Shoshone Indians, ed. David Agee Horr (New York and London: Garland Publishing Company, 1974), p. 198; Steward, "Basin-Platcau Aboriginal Groups," p. 218.

[18]Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Groups," pp. 218-219; Hultkrantz, "The Shoshones in the Rock Mountain Area," p. 182. Examples of expulsion from the band can be found in Wilson, Among the Shoshones, pp. 39, 114-115. The spelling of Shoshoni names varies from one account to antoher.

[19]U.S., National Archives, James Duane Doty Map, 1863; Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Groups," p. 218; Hulkrantz, "The Shoshone in the Rocky Mountain Area," p. 195.

[20]Hultkrantz, "The Shoshones in the Rocky Mountain Area," pp. 78, 182, 190-198, ff. 22; Wilson, Among the Shoshones, p. 30. Saididig may be a corruption of Saididika. Phonetically, the two are almost identical. Certain vowels and consonants vary with dialects.

[21]Leacock, "Introduction," pp. 21-22.

[22]Liljeblad, "Idaho Indians in Transition," pp. 21-22.

[23]Ibid.

[24]M. R. Hovey, "Before Settlement," in The History of a Valley, ed. Ricks, pp. 27-8.

[25]Ibid., p. 28.

[26]Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Groups," p. 14.

[27]Ricks, The History of a Valley, pp. 48-49.

[28]Liljeblad, "The Idaho Indians in Transition," p. 30.

[29]Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Groups," p. 14.

[30]Rickas, The History of a Valley, pp. 48-52; Brigham Young, "Manuscript History," 10 July 1851, L.D.S. Historical Department; "U.S. National Archives, "Jacob Forney to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Great Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, February 15, 1859," Utah Superintendency, Roll 899.

[31]Deseret Weekly, 27 September 1860: U.S., Office of Indian Affairs, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1860 (Washington, D.C.: 1864), p. 38.

[32]Deseret Weekly, 15 November 1862.

[33]Edward Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City and its Founders, (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Juvenile Instructor Press, 1899), p. 289.

[34]Deseret News, 10, 31 December 1862.

[35]Deseret News, 28 January 1863, 11 February 1863.

[36]Ibid.; Logan Journal, 31 December 1905.

[37]Deseret News, 11 February 1863.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Quoted in Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, p. 285.

[43]Ibid.; Deseret News, 11 February 1863.

[44]For detailed accounts of the battle, its causes, and its consequences, see: The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. L, Pt. I, pp. 182-187, which contains Connor's account of the battle; Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, pp. 283-290; Brigham D. Madsen, The Bannock of Idaho (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1958), Oregon Trail, 1859-1863," Utah Historical Quarterly 35:3-26; Deseret News, 11 February 1863; Fred B. Rogers, Soldiers of the Overland: Being Some Account of General Patrick Edward Connor and His Volunteers in the Old West (San Francisco: 1938) pp. 71-76; Franklin County Historical Society, "The Passing of the Redman" (Preston, Idaho, 1917).

[45]Address of Sagwich at the dedication ceremonies of the Battle Creek Monument, 5 September 1932, as remembered in interviews with Alice Taylor Talbot, Winder, Idaho, 12 March 1980 and Myrtle C. Swainston, Winder, Idaho, 27 October 1977.

[46]Quoted in Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, p. 286.

[47]Ibid.; Deseret News, 11 February 1863.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Historical Department of the L.D.S. Church, Logan Ward Records.

[50]Quoted in Yvonne Merrill Young, Cache Valley: A Guide to Northeastern Utah (Logan, Utah: Herald Printing Co., 1970), p. 4.

[51]Quoted in the Logan Journal, 31 December 1905.

[52]Interview with Leona Winger, Salt Lake City, Utah, 4 October 1977.

[53]Deseret News, 4 February 1863.

[54]Ibid.

[55]James Duane Doty to Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 10 November 1863, Roll 901. Brigham D. Madsen, "The Northwestern Shoshoni in Cache Valley," in Cache Valley: Essays on Her Past and People, ed., Douglas D. Alder (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1978), p. 29.

[56]Hultkrantz, "The Shoshones in the Rocky Mountain Area," pp. 260-261.

[57]Madsen, "Shoshoni-Bannock Marauders," p. 4.

[58]Alan Rogers, "Local and Regional History," Regional History Newsletter 3; np.

CHAPTER V

OF SETTLEMENT

In 1890 Winder presented a bleak aspect to prospective settlers. Removal of the Shoshoni had overcome a primary obstacle to settlement, but the lonely, hostile environment remained. Secluded from the rest of Cache Valley by the gorges of Battle Creek and Bear River, Winder was bare and isolated with poor soils and a harsh climate. In the summer south winds parched and cracked its surface, in the winter driving blizzards tortured its empty wastelands, and in the spring flash floods from the foothills eroded its landscape.

Potential settlers faced a sun-baked terrace riddled with dry washes, a river bottom mostly covered with swamps, and a grazed-out range of clay foothills. The land was able to support sagebrush, jackrabbits, coyotes, rattlesnakes, and little else. The climate was too dry and the growing season too short to support subsistence farming without irrigation, and, except for a few small springs along the inclines above Bear River, the only cold surface water flowed deep in the creek and river gorges from where it could not be brought up to irrigate the arid flatlands. Little wonder that Winder was one of the last locations in Cache Valley to be occupied permanently. As long as nearby land was still available in more desirable locations, settlers avoided Winder's desolation.

When settlers finally came, it was in response to the speculative mood of Cache Valley's "Golden Age," when new innovations and ideas entered the Mormon society.[1] Several regional factors contributed to the settlement of Winder: the Montana freight trade from 1862 to 1869; the coming of the railroad in 1878; the opening of the area to homestead in 1870; the popularity of dryfarming at the turn of the century; the beginning of canal construction; the depression of the 1890s; and the pressures of overpopulation in Cache Valley.

The first permanent settlers, mostly second generation Mormon families with strong loyalties to ecclesiastical authority and to extended family groups, came from established Cache Valley communities in Utah and Idaho--Hyde Park, Lewiston, Fairview, Weston, Franklin, and Preston. They came for a variety of reasons, all more related to individual gain than to the establishment of permanent homes or, as in the case of their colonizing fathers, to building a Mormon "Zion." Their move away from cooperative living reflected a departure from ecclesiastical control of politics and the economy, accompanied by a "change in the concepts of property and enterprise from orientation around group needs and requirements" to a preference for private property and enterprise.[2] As a result, the diverse interests, scattered settlement patterns, absence of common goals, sense of impermanence, and retained attachment to home social environments made community organization in Winder difficult.

Most of the settlers who came before 1890 were temporary. A few cattlemen built herd cabins along the river and at Roscoe, but

none of them stayed. Land speculators claimed land on the flats, then abandoned it when other areas opened to homestead. Residents of temporary outposts at Bridgeport, Battle Creek, and Dunnville arrived and left with the enterprises which employed them.[3]

Settlers occupied Bridgeport, the earliest of these outposts, from 1862 to 1879. Bridgeport grew up around the Nathan Packer ferry to accommodate freight wagons traveling from Utah to the gold fields in Montana. In 1865 five families lived at the location and nine more joined them the next year. In 1870, following the construction of a toll bridge at the site, the population fell to six families.[4]

The residents lived in dugouts or crude log cabins with dirt floors and sod roofs in much the same fashion as people in outposts throughout the valley. A branch of the Mormon church held services on a more or less regular schedule, but a formal school did not open. The settlers clustered their cabins together near the ferry, they worked closely together, and some of them were related, all pointing to a tightly-knit and interdependent population. However, workers probably left after short terms of employment at the ferry to find better opportunities elsewhere. Mobility in northern Cache Valley was extremely high at this time. Occupation of the area was only beginning and people were not sure where they wanted to settle or which occupation they wished to pursue.[5]

The ferry conducted a lively business. An estimated three-or-four-thousand tons of freight crossed the river annually during the first few years and increased when gold strikes spread from Montana into the Snake River valley and the Caribou mountains of

Idaho. By 1869, a mail and overland stage station had opened at Bridgeport, two or more coaches stopped each week, horses were changed on the coach, and meals were served.[6] With such an active traffic across the ferry, the residents came into contact with a wide variety of personalities and ideas.[7] The extent to which they assimilated new concepts is unknown.

After the railroad reached Battle Creek in 1878 and most of the freight moved by rail, Bridgeport became a ghost town. When the bridge washed out a few years later, all that remained was a few deserted cabins, portions of the bridge abutments, and a road which led to the river and disappeared onto the flats on the other side.[8]

As the ferry service on Bear River reached its peak, livestock ranches at Roscoe began to expand. One of these, the Church Ranch, started as a cooperative enterprise of the Franklin ward. Later, the central church in Salt Lake City took over its operation. A number of commercial livestock concerns and smaller ranchers followed the church to the location.[9] The largest of these, Stoddard and Potter, from Farmington, Utah, and the Roscoe Stock Company, origin unknown, allowed their herds to range freely across the foothills and meadows from Cottonwood Creek on the north to Bear River on the south, depleting native grasses and allowing extensive erosion to develop. While trade with the gold fields flourished, beef and mutton from the area brought premium prices, and dray animals--horses, mules, and oxen, bred at these ranches--remained in high demand.[10]

Harsh winters plagued the location. Sheep moved south for the winter, and cattle and horses came in from the open range to feed in

sheltered areas. The snow was usually deep. Fredrickson recorded that in 1874:

> James and Fred Atkinson, brothers, Weston boys, got the contract to carry the mail from Franklin once a week to Soda Springs. They got along all right until Christmas, and after that they would not use their horses any farther than Roscolt's place on Battle Creek. They had to use snow shoes the rest of the way.[11]

Only a few herders remained at the Church Ranch during the winter.

In the 1880s Francis (Frank) Armstrong, mayor of Salt Lake City, became manager of the Church Ranch. He supervised the ranch mostly in absentee while hired herders did the actual work. His son-in-law, William S. M. Bean, who owned a ranch in northwestern Winder in 1907, may have been one of the employees. Armstrong was an influential man in Winder, not only for his role in building up the Church Ranch, but also because he constructed two reservoirs to store spring run-off water for the cattle when Battle Creek was dry. Called Strongarm One and Strongarm Two, in a play on Armstrong's name, these reservoirs still operate as part of the Twin Lakes system.[12]

Sometime before the confiscation of Mormon church assets by the Federal government in 1890, the church transferred at least 3,300 acres of the property and a number of livestock to Armstrong in payment of a debt. A record of this transaction has not been found, but the older residents of Winder knew of the transfer and the Oneida county tax assessments from 1890 to 1905 confirm that Armstrong was the proprietor of the lands known as the Church Ranch.[13]

Armstrong died in 1899. His widow, Isabella, patented a homestead claim of 160 acres adjacent to the ranch, bought land from the Roscoe Stock Company, and continued to operate the ranch until it

was sold in 1905. No records indicate that other persons claimed land or formed any kind of community in Roscoe at this time.[14]

Temporary settlement on the site of the old Shoshoni camp at Battle Creek began in the late 1860s. A traveler to "the scene of Connor's battle with the ill-fated Bear Hunter and his scallawag band of northern braves" in May of 1868, wrote that the "bleached skeletons of scores of noble red men still ornament the ground, and one can almost imagine he feels the influence of the departed still hanging around the battlefield."[15]

Perhaps the atmosphere kept settlers away, but it did not bother herders. As early as 1867, herders built cabins at the location. Because the government did not extend the Homestead Act to the area until after the land office opened at Oxford in 1870, these people came as squatters on the land. Actually, they thought they were still in Utah. They paid taxes to the Cache County assessor in Logan and were enumerated with Cache County in the 1870 census.[16]

In advance of the railroad, John Winn, a Mormon polygamist, built a permanent log home at Battle Creek in 1877. His brother, Joseph, and a Mr. E. Brockway built residences nearby later in the same year.[17]

The arrival of the Utah and Northern railroad in January transformed Battle Creek into a boom town overnight. A general store, operated by Charles Paul, from Preston, an amusement hall, two saloons, other shops, and about fifteen dwellings were erected. Most of the residents built their homes and businesses along the west side of the tracks facing the railroad yards and buildings, which were

along the east side.[18] Community services were mostly absent. Local housewives conducted private schools, but neither a Mormon ward nor a township government was organized.[19]

Determining the exact size and structure of the population is difficult because of high mobility and lack of records. The 1880 census gives a fairly clear picture of the populace at one specific and vital time in the town's history, but it cannot be considered accurate in every detail because the enumerator listed the people of Battle Creek with those of Oxford, making the line of demarcation between the two populations uncertain. If the people listed on the same day, together with known residents of Battle Creek, were living in the same locality, the population of Battle Creek in 1880 was 142 persons. The characteristics of the population are shown on Tables 1, 2, 3, and 4 on the following pages. Notable are the high average age (38.2 years) of the heads of households, for a new town, the variety of places of birth, and the low number of single men, laborers, and railroad employees for a railroad town. Compared with Peterson's description in the next paragraph, the population is lower and the occupations of store keepers, saloon operators, hotel owners, etc. are missing. Apparently, Battle Creek had not reached the peak of its population or its activity by 1880.[20]

First a terminal and supply depot for extending the line, Battle Creek later became a station stop and a division point. The life of the town revolved around the train schedules: serving meals to passengers, loading freight, adding extra cars, repairing engines, and caring for the railroad yards. A station house, a post office, a

TABLE 1

POPULATION STRUCTURES OF BATTLE CREEK, 1880

Age in Years	Males	Females	Total
0-9	26	24	50
10-19	12	27	39
20-29	14	8	22
30-39	4	5	9
49-49	7	5	12
50-59	3	3	6
60-69	1	1	3
70-79	1	0	1
80-89	0	0	0
Over 90	1	0	1
Total	69	73	142

SOURCE: U.S., Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880 Population Schedule of Oneida County, Idaho, pp. 17-18.

TABLE 2

FAMILY STRUCTURES IN BATTLE CREEK, 1880

Number of families	25
Number of polygamous families	3
Number of unmarried heads of families	
female	3
male	3
Number of extended families	4
Boarders	2
Average age in years of heads of families	38.2

SOURCE: U.S., Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880 Population Schedule of Oneida County, Idaho, pp. 17-18.

TABLE 3

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF BATTLE CREEK, 1880

Farmer	5
Keeping House	24
Stock Raiser	2
Rancher	1
Lumberman	1
Logger	1
Freighter	1
Bridge Builder	1
Telegraph Operator	1
Railroad Station Keeper	1
Railroad Hand	1
Laborer	5

SOURCE: U.S., Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880 Population Schedule of Oneida County, Idaho, pp. 17-18.

TABLE 4

BIRTH PLACES OF THE RESIDENTS OF BATTLE CREEK, 1880

U.S.		Other	
Idaho	19	Canada	1
Illinois	2	England	9
Indiana	1	Ireland	1
Iowa	2	Norway	6
Mississippi	1	Scotland	1
Missouri	1	Sweden	5
Nebraska	2	Wales	2
New York	4		
Ohio	1		
Pennsylvania	1		
Tennessee	1		

SOURCE: U.S., Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880 Population Schedule of Oneida County, Idaho, pp. 17-18.

telegraph station, and a dormitory for railroad workers were built. The railroad activity is described by Baltzar Peterson, an eye witness, as follows:

> Shops, and a Round House with stalls for eight engines were installed. A Depot, two water tanks, R.R. Hotel, and R.R. tenant House were maintained. Water pipe lines were installed replacing the hand pump system. Large stocks of lumber were always in the yards, much of which came from the Cotton Wood Canyon north of the old Church Ranch; much of this timber was sawed with the old over-head hand saws and hauled from Cotton Wood Creek to Battle Creek by teams and wagons. The tie boom in the river was always full of ties which were floated down to Mink Creek and Bear River. Large coal bins (Company property) were to the east of the tracks and Indians, Chinese, and white trancient labor was generally employed there in the yards.[21]

The railroad kept extra locomotives to pull both north-and-south bound trains out of the Bear River valley.

When completed, the Utah and Northern was the longest narrow-guage railroad in the world. It ran 466 miles from Ogden, Utah, to Garrison, Montana. From Franklin it crossed the Preston flats; entered Battle Creek from a steep incline on the south; climbed the northern bluffs, following the creek along its western course; gained the plateau by means of a trestle, and traveled north along the foot of Little Mountain.[22]

From an isolated outpost, Battle Creek became a point from which residents could travel to the gold fields in Montana or to Salt Lake City in less than twenty-four hours. The railroad featured discounts to those who wanted to attend Mormon Conference in Salt Lake City in April and October. Telegraph communication was available to anyone along the line.[23]

Referring to a ride on the Utah and Northern, Editor Fisk of the Helena Herald described the train traveling at fourteen to eighteen miles an hour. Admitting that he had sided with those who had called it a wheelbarrow line, he stated that he had "changed his views radically," and that it was a fine train. However, the line required high maintenance because of washouts and snow drifts on the fifty-mile stretch north of Battle Creek. People of the area considered it a mixed blessing because accidents along the open tracks were common. Animals, employees, children, and framers, unaccustomed to watching for the trains, were frequently injured or killed.[24]

In 1886 the railroad moved its division point, along with buildings and employees to Eagle Rock. The Winns and a few other families stayed. With the boom days of Battle Creek over, its citizens returned to agriculture and ranching for their living. When the Union Pacific changed its main line to run through the west side communities of Clifton, Dayton, and Oxford in 1890, the people of Battle Creek were left without public transportation and communications.[25]

The extension of the Utah and Northern lines in 1878, spawned another railroad town at Winder. Called Dunnville, in honor of Washington Dunn, a railroad engineer, the terminus served as a rail construction base for a short time. Here much of the freight changed from rail to wagon, and the town thrived until the terminus moved north a few years later.[26]

Throughout its brief and colorful existence, Dunnville was known as a "wide-open town." Frame buildings and tents, erected as stores, boarding houses, blacksmith shops, and other businesses, also housed saloons. Nathan Smith, a settler of the area, operated one "good-sized boarding house and several smaller ones" with eating and drinking facilities in each. A Mr. C. Lewis also owned large and small hotels. Rumors still persist of riotous activities and violence--including murder--taking place at Dunnville.[27]

One of the largest businesses was that of Fred J. Kiesel, a prominent business man from Ogden, who opened a wholesale-retail grocery and freight line in a spacious tent. A letter from Dunnville to the Deseret News dated 30 April 1878 stated:

> a number of business men from Corinne and other places have their canvass stores erected and are doing quite a business here. Kiesel and Co., from Corinne, have their forwarding house there and are doing an immense business in the freight line and other operations.[28]

The market for butter, eggs, cheese, vegetables, and meats reached enormous proportions. No community facilities or activities are recorded.

A few hardy settlers, Joseph Allen, Nathan Smith, Oscar Sonnekalb, James House, and William Sant, filed homestead claims and planted crops. When the terminus moved north, Allen and Sant stayed, but the others sold or abandoned their land and moved on. About 1900 another group came, plowed, planted, and harvested for a few years, then sold to newcomers.[29]

The sense of impermanence evident at each of the four temporary settlements in Winder discouraged formation of community

ties. The significance of temporary settlement to community development lay in introducing the area to people who later came back to stay. Among those associated with the railroad who eventually settled in Winder were the Carters, the Johnsons, Jack Murdock, the Fuels, George Shaffer, the Pauls, the Bosworths, and others.[30]

Attitudes of tentative settlement continued as a homesteading era began. Early settlers moved in, filed homestead claims, erected some sort of a shelter, and perhaps cleared enough land to plant a minimum crop.[31] If the land did not suit them, they moved elsewhere after one or two plantings. If they felt the land offered possibilities, they stayed long enough to patent their claims. Most of them came as individuals or as small related groups, each person choosing the 160 acre tract of land which appealed most to him and his family. Very few considered permanent occupation until after 1900.[32]

John Winn is credited with being the first permanent settler in Winder. A native of Bedford County, Tennessee, he joined the Mormon church and lived for a short time in Illinois. He came west with the Mormon migration, then moved frequently, residing in Salt Lake, Cache, Iron, Beaver, and Sevier counties. Early in 1877, after hearding cattle along Bear River for ten years, he filed a homestead claim at the Oxford Land Office and built a modest home near a small spring at the mouth of Battle Creek. He was fifty-three years old and had three families and two wives. The 1880 census of Oneida County, Idaho, shows John with wives Elizabeth and Eliza A., and sixteen children, from three to twenty years of age, living at the same

residence at Battle Creek. John was illiterate, but some of his older sons could read. Elizabeth, Eliza, and the younger children could both read and write. Some of the children had attended school within the year.[33]

The land they settled was poorly suited to agriculture. Only small plots of alfalfa and grain could be planted between the swamps, but along the sun-exposed northern banks of the river valley, the settlement was protected from winds which swept over the tablelands above. With help from a trickle of spring water, plantings of berries, melons, and vegetables supplemented a living derived from cattle.

Before his death in 1899, John Winn moved back to Richfield, Utah, leaving some of his married children at Battle Creek. George Carter, Thomas and Edward Fuell, Thomas Paul, John Murdock, Daniel Martin, Horace Eldridge, and Joseph Allen were homesteading claims, and others had bought land in the vicinity. Kin relationships centered around the Seamons and the Winn families, but did not extend to all of the residents. It was a unifying factor as long as interests remained similar.[34]

Poverty Flats, the barren shelfland between Battle Creek and the Church Ranch, was claimed gradually, beginning in 1892. In April of that year, three brothers--Rosel, Green, and Caldwell Taylor from Fairview, Idaho--stopped at Johnny Faylor's home in Clifton on their way to the Salmon River valley to search for land. Because of the critical overpopulation problem in Cache Valley, the Taylors could not find land and employment at home.[35]

Already despondent at the prospect of living so far away from their parents and friends, the brothers learned with considerable interest that a large land area remained available for homestead across the hill to the east. Crossing Little Mountain and the Battle Creek gorge, they found a sagebrush flat which they rationalized was not too different from the lands owned by their family in Fairview. Ignoring the poor agricultural prospects of thin soil, arid climate, and water inaccessibility, they cleared a few acres, filed homestead claims, and returned to Fairview where they made preparations to occupy Winder during the planting and harvesting seasons. The Corbridge brothers from Preston, also interested in land on Poverty Flats, filed claims at the same time.[36]

Green and Alice Taylor were among the first settlers to live permanently on Poverty Flats. Their daughter, Merelda, born 9 February 1894, was the first white child born on the flats. How long before this date the Taylor family had lived continuously in this place has not been firmly established.[37]

Even to dryfarm homesteaders Winder seemed primitive. Life was particularly difficult for women and children. Alice Taylor helped her husband grub sagebrush off an acre of land and planted a few potatoes. She lived in a tent for over five years and cooked outside except on the coldest days. Sometimes Green left home for weeks at a time to work as a teamster while Alice, with several small children, kept track of their cattle and hauled water for household use and the garden from a spring on Battle Creek, more than one mile away. Throughout these difficulties, observers reported that

she furnished grace and amenity to her tent house with the few materials available.[38]

When Alice moved into her new log house "she thought she was in Heaven." The structure measured about eighteen feet long, twelve feet wide and ten feet high. It consisted of one room and had two windows curtained with muslin. At one end rose the fireplace made from stones dug out of the potato patch and held together with crude mortar. A canvas dust cover, made from the tent, formed a ceiling to catch dust and particles of dirt which fell from the sod roof. A kerosene lantern hung from the rafters, and a plank floor, the best feature of the house, according to Alice, prevented rattlesnakes from entering.[39]

Visitors came infrequently. Usually they were welcomed with enthusiasm. An exception occurred when an Indian, "one of the former inhabitants of Battle Creek, materialized out of nowhere" to ask for food. Alice remembered being terrified for fear that he planned revenge for the massacre twenty-five years earlier, but he left immediately after eating without harming them.[40]

The remainder of the land on the flats was claimed gradually by settlers from Hyde Park and Lewiston, Utah, and Fairview and Preston in Idaho. Some of the new arrivals, such as Rosel Hyde, were relatives or friends of the Taylors. James Johnson, Joseph Johnson, and Joseph Roper from Hyde Park, in partnership "for the purpose of carrying on a general farming industry and conducting other business extensively," settled in Winder as part of their business venture.[41] Other settlers from Hyde Park--William Hawkes,

Erastus Lamb, Simpson and Ima Thurston, James, Joseph and Robert Daines, and John Follett and his sons, Frank, William and Orion--were related to the Johnsons and each other by birth or by marriage into the family of Suel Lamb of Hyde Park. Gilbert and Isaac Bright, Robert Bosworth, Peter and Junius Jensen, George Shaffer, and Charles Hobbs also came early.[42] All of them practiced dryfarming, but some hoped to irrigate their lands in the near future.

These people formed a progressive and cooperative settlement core, but it was a restless one. Green Taylor and James B. Jensen (heir to the Peter Jensen estate) lived in Millville, Utah, for several years in the early 1900s. The Folletts maintained primary residence in Hyde Park. William Hawkes, Joseph Daines, Robert Daines, and Charles Hobbs spent most of their time in Preston. The Johnsons, with interests throughout the county, alternated living in Winder with residence in other places. Isaac Bright's wife refused to live in Winder, and Jemima Davis, after losing twins in a difficult childbirth, was discontented on Poverty Flats.[43]

Permanent settlement of the Church Ranch area came in 1905 when the Armstrong property was subdivided and sold. The Logan Journal reported on 2 February 1905, that after a heavy snow storm on the preceding day the property was sold by auction:

> Quite a company of Loganites went up to Preston on Sunday, and from there proceded to the old "Church Ranch" which is being cut up and offered for sale. They looked over the land with a view to purchasing, as it is being disposed of quite cheaply and upon favorable terms.[45]

O. A. Crockett and J. (probably Junius) Jensen, land agents from Preston, and the Condie Brothers, cattlemen from Croyden, Utah, were the principle purchasers.[45]

Crockett and Jensen subdivided their 1800 acres into smaller farms and offered it for sale. On 9 February, a Logan Journal reporter wrote that the land was "selling fast and a new settlement of thrifty, industrious people is springing up."[46] On 18 February, the Journal reported:

> Attorney A. W. Hart is busily engaged this week attending the partition of the Armstrong ranch, which has been cut up into small holdings, and thus one of the old landmarks of this section of the country passes away and will live in its history. This used to be known as the Church ranch.[47]

The Condie brothers moved to Winder to run their portion of the ranch. At least some of the cattle were sold separately. For example, twenty-five head of "thoroughbred yearling cattle, Durham stock from the Armstrong herd . . ." were purchased by Robert Hull of Whitney.[48]

Among the new settlers, in addition to the Condie brothers, were James Dawson, Junius Jensen, the Johnson brothers, and the Hopkins, Young, Clayton, and Chapman families. They erected homes, fenced portions of their properties, and planted wheat, alfalfa, and gardens in preparation to stay.[49]

Sociologists have long recognized the close relationship between rural settlement patterns and community development. In general, the more concentrated the settlement, the stronger the unifying forces. The three major patterns of land, in the order in which they encourage cohesion, are identified as follows: (1) the nucleated village, conspicuous in England, in New England, and among religious groupings throughout the world, where homes and yards are located on village lots from which farmers travel to and from their

fields to work; (2) the line village, common to France, which is a compromise between isolated farmstead and nucleated village, permitting residence on the farm without imposing isolation, and which is arranged in a pattern where homes and yards are built on one end of elongated farms along a highway or other transportation artery; (3) the isolated farmstead, predominate in rural America, on which homes and barnyards are built on the farm itself.[50]

The most meaningful pioneer study of Mormon settlement patterns was conducted by sociologist Lowry Nelson. Nelson found the ideal rural Mormon settlement to be organized on a village pattern similar, but not identical, to that of early New England towns. Mormon settlements were supervised closely by the church hierarchy to accommodate communal living, to insure religious orthodoxy, and to prepare a society for the millennial reign. The nucleated village plan was particularly suited to the Great Basin environment because it provided physical protection, promoted social solidarity, and facilitated subsistence agriculture.[51] Although the frequency with which directed nucleated settlement occurred, particularly north of Salt Lake City has been somewhat effectively challenged by Wayne L. Wahlquist in the study of settlement processes in the Mormon core are, Nelson's model is useful in analyzing the settlement patterns in Winder.[52]

By the time permanent settlement of Winder began in the 1890s, Mormon settlement patterns had changed to accommodate new attitudes and practices. Homesteading and dryfarming contributed to a wide disperstion of homes, while declining Mormon control of political and

economic affairs altered concepts of how and where communities should be established. As more desirable locations became overpopulated, settlement pushed into numerous marginal areas, such as Winder, in Utah and southern Idaho, and into more remote areas in the Great Basin. As early as 1879, the Logan Leader observed:

> Northern Utah is fast increasing in population. Every year witnesses marked changes in this respect. Cities and villages become more densely populated; and waste and lonely places become settled and improved. These additions are made by the constant stream of immigration flowing here from other nations, and by the rapid growth of resident families. With such increase come the desire and apparent necessity to enlarge the field of settlement. Every man feels that he must have a home; and this honorable and independent settlement leads him to seek a locality where the advantages of water, soil, climate and extended country are possessed. It is not enough that he can secure a small farm in some settled section, but he must make for himself a home where there are few to crowd him into any given space. As proof of this, many of the new comers, as well as the old settlers, are making their way northward, beyond the fertile vallies of northern Utah and southern Idaho, and are seeking to establish themselves at very distant points--in the Snake river country and other places.[53]

In the marginal areas where larger acreages were required to provide a living, line villages or isolated farmsteads predominated.

The trends of late nineteenth-century Mormon settlement applied to Winder. The isolated settlement pattern dominated at first, but by 1907 a shift toward line village became evident. Of the twelve families at Battle Creek, seven lived along the main road, two on the northern incline of the river valley, one near the site of Bridgeport, and two on the sand delta at the base of Little Mountain. On Poverty Flats, nine lived along the road, three west of Battle Creek, and seven in the clay foothills. At the Church Ranch area, seven lived along the road and three lived on isolated homesteads.

In the northwest corner three families resided on isolated homesteads, completing a total of forty-four families, twenty-three of which were located along the road and twenty-one on isolated homesteads. People were beginning to move onto the main road for convenience in travel and community formation.[54] The settlement cores were spaced approximately two miles apart, falling below a mean for Mormon hamlets of 2.8 miles in 1860 and 3.5 in 1890 as recorded by geographer Wayne L. Wahlquist in his study of settlement processes along the Wasatch front.[55]

A period of home building indicated an intention to stay. Alonzo Corbridge built the first frame house in 1904 and James Daines constructed the first house with a shingled roof in 1905. Most of the permanent settlers enlarged their cabins or built larger log houses. All of the improved housing occurred along the main road.[56]

In each settlement people began to exhibit a sense of belonging. This was manifest in referring to their settlement by a specific name, by improvement of community facilities, and by loyalty to the group. The people of the northern section called their area "Roscoe," those in the center referred to their neighborhood as the "Flats," and those of the southern section continued to call their community "Battle Creek." Still, only about one-third of the land owners of Winder lived in the community.[57]

Each neighborhood was too small to sustain community facilities. In 1905 Roscoe, Battle Creek, and the Flats combined to construct a school building where church services were also held and in 1907 they formed a Mormon ward.[58]

Despite some discontent and hardships, Winder continued to grow. As the community took form and people continued to move in from the isolated farms, they began to pool labor, tools, and horses to dig ditches, construct fences, plant trees, harvest, and participate in some community projects. Whereas previously the main bonds holding people together were based on family relationships, working together to improve the quality of life created friendships between related and unrelated neighbors.[59]

An interesting settlement pattern developed in the northwest corner of Winder near the site of the defunct railroad town of Dunnville. Between 1907 and 1910 thirteen young families from southern Idaho and northern Utah moved to the location and renamed it Richfield at first, then later Banida--a contraction of Bannock and Oneida--because the settlement straddled the boundary of the two Idaho counties.[60]

The settlers of Banida, Lorenzo Anderson, Robert C. Geddes, Hugh L. Geddes, Jared Jensen, William Patterson, Jed Miles, Ernest Dixon, James D. Taylor, William Randall, Don Baxter, Heber Allen, Ezra Allen, Lewis Allen, and their families were said to be "very congenial."[61] Their children were near the same ages and they shared common interests. In an undirected autonomous community action they laid out village blocks where they built homes and outbuildings and housed animals. Farms, usually 160 acres, were located outside the settlement. A general store, a blacksmith shop, a farm machine repair service, a post office, a school, and other services were established in the nucleus. Through continued community cooperation, it was not

long before telephones and electric lights were installed. The community took pride in itself, its unity, and its identity. It cooperated to improve its services and living conditions. For a few years Banida met with the Winder Ward, then in 1911 they organized their own ward and became a small separate entity.[62]

In Winder all three of the basic settlement patterns occurred. This diversity was possible because of the comparatively large area involved, the assorted physiographic features, and the variety of interests among settlers. Unfortunately, not enough studies of the region are available to determine the typicality or atypicality of the diversity, but the experience at Winder supports Wahlquist's conclusion that "a recognition of diversity and the role of individualism in Mormon settlement is essential to . . . a clear understanding of the settlement process . . ." and that shared similarities "should not obscure the differences and variety that also characterized the process of settlement. . . ."[63]

The settlement processes in Winder were complex. Settlers came for a wide variety of reasons and with varying expectations. The tendency toward line village formation shows intent toward community formation, but convenience was also a big consideration. Lack of community ties between neighborhoods contributed to Banida's separation from Winder, but distance from community facilities was an important factor. Kin relationships supported neighborhood settlement and cohesion, but, as will be shown in succeeding chapters, family solidarities emphasized conflicting interests between neighborhoods.

The settlement experience in Winder differed decidedly from that of English rural populations. Differences in time, space,

situation, and attitude separate settlement societies too disparate to allow parallel procedures. As in the treatment of Winder's prehistory, the time factor alone precludes use of English methodology. In most instances rural settlement in England took place in a prehistoric age. In the absence of documentation, archaeological evidence and techniques are substituted for direct evidence and regional generalities are assumed.[64]

Conversely, direct evidence of Winder's settlement, both temporary and permanent, is readily accessible. Various aspects were recorded and remembered. Such archaeological remains as the railroad grade, the freight road, and log cabins supplement the account, but they are not the principal sources of information. Specifics are available for reconstruction, leaving regional trends to provide vital background material for comparisons.

Notes

[1]Leonard J. Arrington, "Transition to the Modern Era 1880-1910," ed. Ricks, History of a Valley, p. 205.

[2]Ibid., pp. 206-207. See also Klaus J. Hansen, Quest for Empire (Lincoln, Nebraska; University of Nebraska Press, 1967).

[3]Ricks, History of a Valley, pp. 66-69.

[4]Ibid.,; U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Population, Cache County, Utah, Bridgeport. The census of 1870 lists six families living in six separate residences and a total population of twenty-nine. They were Joseph S. and Hannah Nelson with four children, Edward and (?) Nelson with three children, William J. and Eliza David with three children, Nathan and Mark Packer with two children, Thomas and Louisa Mendenhall with two children, and George and Polestia (?) Mendenhall with one child and Emily Haus, age 17, a D. (dish) washing servant. All of the adults except Emily were born outside of Utah, and the children, ranging from eight years of age to five months, were born in Utah. All of the men listed their occupation as farmers, and the women, again excepting Emily, as keeping house. The occupational designations probably indicate that the residents claimed land at Bridgeport or elsewhere and considered their work at the bridge as either secondary to farming or temporary.

[5]Ibid.; Danielson, History of Southeastern Idaho, p. 50: Jensen, Manuscript History.

[6]Ibid.: L. Kay Edrington, "A study of Early Utah-Montana Trade, Transportation and Communication 1847-1881" (Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959), pp. 131-132. Unfortunately, typical of the perverse nature of preserved accounts, nothing remains to describe the station or its activities, but the coach was described in detail. It was enclosed, was fairly comfortable, had upholstered seats and two small windows on each side. It could accommodate nine passengers inside and two outside on the driver's seat, and was held up frequently by highwaymen and Indians on the road beyond Bridgeport.

[7]Trade with Montana altered Cache Valley's economy. Before 1862 money was scarce. Barter and script served as the common mediums of exchange. Families produced food for their own needs or for local markets. The sudden demand for produce in Montana provided the first major source of cache income into the valley and for alternative occupations unrelated to farming.

In Franklin, Logan, Corinne, and as far away as Salt Lake City, freighting companies formed, general stores opened, and farmers increased their production. Many farmers outfitted wagons to join the commercial freighters along the Montana road. The freighters required thousands of dray animals and employed hundreds of men. In

1865 William G. Nelson, of Oxford, sent a wagon train driven by his sons, Edward, William, John, and Alexander, to the boom towns of southern Montana. Another independent freighter, Henry Head, wrote that his father, William, settled east of Preston where

> . . . we raised 90 head of oxen at our new home on the North Meadows. We used these oxen to freight grain and merchandise to and from Corinne, Box Elder County, to Montana. Nine yoke of oxen and three wagons were considered as one team for one man to handle. We trailed the wagons. At our new home we planted small fruit trees in 1867 and shade trees in 1869. We milked a rather large number of cows, and made butter and cheese. We sold large, fat beef for six dollars. (The Herald-Journal, Logan, Utah, Pioneer Progress Centennial Edition, 1959).

The Heads continued freighting until 1879, hauling brick, molasses, clothing, hardware, and at one time sixty barrels of whiskey. Peter Christiansen, a farmer of Weston, operated on a smaller scale. He "rigged up an eight mixed mule and horse team and two wagons and went freighting from Corrine to Montana." (Fredrickson, History of Weston, p. 26).

As these accounts indicate, freighters used horses, mules, and oxen, sometimes harnessed together, to pull the wagons. No set number of animals were hitched to a lead, but a "eight-mule hitch" was a common unit. Three wagons strung behind the teams were capable of carrying over eight tons. The road to Montana was a fairly easy grade. At the steeper slopes, wagons were taken up the inclines individually. Often ten to thirty units joined together to form a train.

During the 1860s freight reached a value of between one and one-half million and two-million dollars annually. After Christmas in Montana's first lean winter of 1862, the price of flour zoomed to $125.00 per hundred weight and eggs to one dollar each. In 1865 flour purchased in Utah for a few dollars a bushel sold for $25.00 in Montana during the summer and rose to over $100.00 in the winter months when Idaho Blizzards made passage through the snow difficult. (Leonard J. Arrington, "Railroad Building and Cooperatives 1869-1879," in Ricks, History of a Valley, p. 171; Edrington, "Utah-Montana Trade," pp. 131-132).

[8]Ricks, History of a Valley, p. 66.

[9]The first domestic cattle had come into the area from Fort Hall in 1849 on the recommendation of Captain Howard Stansbury of the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers. Although Stansbury reported the area as an ideal place to winter cattle, unusually severe weather, and possibly Indian hunters, depleted the herd by one-half the first winter. As a result, the idea of using Cache Valley for grazing government cattle was abandoned after one season.

One of the smaller ranchers was Joseph Phillips from Kaysville, Utah. At the age of twenty-one years in 1883, he took his father's sheep on shares "with a view to carrying on an extensive sheep

business, and brought them to Oneida county this state, and ran them there for four years, mostly in the northern part of the county at the head of Battle Creek and vicinity. In 1887 he leased the sheep to another man, and returned to Kaysville and rented his father's farm." Described as a "progressive, enterprising and progressive man," he came back to Idaho in 1891, bought a farm southeast of Preston, and grazed a flock of his own sheep in and around Winder. (James E. Hart, Progressive Men of Bannock, Bear Lake, Bingham, Fremont and Oneida Counties, Idaho (Chicago: A.W. Bowen and Co., 1904), p. 532; James Ira Young, "The History and Development of Franklin, Idaho, During the Period 1860-1900" (Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1949), p. 43).

[10]Danielson, History of Southeastern Idaho, p. 57; Baltzar W. Peterson, "Historical Scrapbook of Preston and Vicinity" (Preston, Idaho: Microfilmed by Utah State University Library, 1955), p. 94.

[11]Interview with Edward P. Talbot, Winder, Idaho, 27 October 1977; Interview with B. H. Swainston, Winder, Idaho, 14 October 1979: Fredrickson, History of Weston, p. 26.

[12]Ibid.; The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Genealogical Archives, Family Group Sheet of Francis Armstrong and Isabella Siddoway.

[13]Ibid.; Oneida County Courthouse, Malad, Idaho, Archives, Tax Assessment Books, 1890-1907.

[14]Franklin County Courthouse, Preston, Idaho, Clerk's Office, Homestead Patent Book, p. 510; Ibid., Abstract of Deeds, Book 1; Logan Journal, 2 February 1905. If the people of the Church Ranch did not form an attachment to the area, the horses did. When the ranch was sold in 1905, the dealer who purchased the horses sold many of them to people on his way to Salt Lake City. A number of these horses, easily identified by the "FL" or the swastika (actually crossed Zs for Zion) brands, belonging to the Church Ranch, escaped their new owners and returned to Roscoe. They formed a sizable herd of wild horses, which retreated to an area in the Oneida Narros, called Lago, as permanent settlers came to Winder. These "Lago" horses were sometimes captured by the young men of Cache Valley for saddle horses (Interview with B. H. Swainston, 15 October 1978).

[15]Deseret News, 16 May 1868.

[16]Danielson, History of Southeastern Idaho, p. 67.

[17]Ricks, History of a Valley, p. 67; L.D.S. Geneaological Archives, Family Group Sheets of John Winn; U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Population, Oneida County, Idaho, Oxford Precinct, pp. 17-18.

[18] Under the direction of the Mormon church and John W. Young, a Utah promoter and son of the church leader, Brigham Young, construction of the Utah and Northern line had halted at Franklin for four years awaiting adequate capitalization. Much of the freight for Montana and central Idaho was shipped to Franklin on the railroad, then shifted to wagons for the rest of the trip. Funding was so shaky after the Panic of 1873 that the enterprise changed hands several times before Jay Gould, the New York financier, became interested in the venture. Gould visited the area, found the existing survey through Oneida Narrows impractical, proposed a new route through Battle Creek and Winder, and with his usual dispatch arranged for a transfer of the property first to himself, then to the Union Pacific which he controlled. It was the kind of deal for which he had already become notorious--Gould profited handsomely while everyone else lost. Mormon investors, paid ten cents on the dollar for their interests, were so happy to be relieved of their stock and so anxious to benefit from the construction and trade expected to result from the completion of the railroad that they did not complain. The workers and small contractors from northern Cache Valley did not view the transaction quite the same. Although they were supposed to be paid forty cents on the dollar, the few who collected considered themselves fortunate. Many of them worked for almost two years without compensation. William Nelson stated that he, with a hired man and two teams, had earned $317.00 on railroad construction for which he "had not at this date received one cent. . . ." (Nelson, "The Life of William Nelson.") For a more detailed treatment of the Utah and Northern Railroad issues and construction, see Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 283-289; Arrington, "Railroad Building and Cooperatives," pp. 172-186; Robert G. Athearn, Union Pacific Country (Chicago, New York, and San Francisco: Rand McNalley and Company, 1971), pp. 237-263.

[19] Peterson, "Historical Scrapbook," p. 94.

[20] U.S., 1800 Population Census of Oneida County, pp. 17-18.

[21] Peterson, "Historical Scrapbook," p. 94. Andrew Quigley, William Homer, Charles Croshaw, and C. Butterfield were engaged in the lumber business in the area (Fredrickson, History of Weston, p. 32; U.S., 1880 Population Census of Oneida County, Idaho, pp. 17-18).

[22] The Utah and Northern R. R. Time Table No. 8, Logan Leader, Logan, Utah, 30 October 1879.

[23] Arrington, "Railroad Building and Cooperatives," p. 185; Interview with B. H. Swainston, 14 October 1978. The railroad grade can still be followed along Winder's western boundary.

[24] The Butte Miner, Butte, Montana, 19 February 1879; Logan Leader, Logan Utah, 16 April 1880.

[25]Ricks, History of a Valley, p. 67.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Ibid.; Danielson, History of Southeastern Idaho, p. 144.

[28]Deseret News, 13 May 1878.

[29]Ricks, History of a Valley, p. 79.

[30]Danielson, History of Southeastern Idaho, p. 83.

[31]The first shelters built were usually dugouts. B. H. Swainston remembered seeing a dugout near the site of the present Winder Reservoir. "It was the only one I ever saw. All but that one were destroyed before I came here," he stated. (Interview with B. H. Swainston, Winder, Idaho, 31 October 1880).

[32]Ricks, History of a Valley, p. 78.

[33]Ricks, History of a Valley, p. 67; L.D.S. Archives, Family Group Sheet of John Winn; U.S., 1880 Population Census, Oneida County, Idaho, pp. 17-18; Homestead Patent Book, Franklin County, Idaho.

[34]L.D.S. Archives, Family Group Sheet of John Winn; Homestead Patent Book, Franklin County, Idaho, p. 11.

[35]Interview with Alice Taylor Talbot, Winder, Idaho, 15 October 1978.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid.; The Homestead Patent Book shows that Rosel and Green Taylor finalized their claims in 1899, George and John Corbridge in 1901 and 1903, and Caldwell Taylor not until 1907, long after others who came later. A number of sources confirm their settlement in 1892. Failure to meet the five year continuous residence or the improvement requirements probably explains the delay in issuance of patents.

[38]Alice Taylor Talbot, 15 October 1978.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Hart, Progressive Men, p. 256.

[42]Family Group sheets of the people involved, L.D.S. Church Archives; Form E and other Ward Records of Winder Ward, L.D.S. Historian's Office; Patent Book of Franklin County, pp. 33, 244, 275, 277, 218, 282, 295, 298, 300, 332, 376, 413, 414, 428, 544, 545, 552, 582, 587, 588, 589, 590, 625, 631.

[43]Interview with Alice Taylor Talbot, 15 October 1978.

[44]Logan Journal, 2, 9 February 1905.

[45]Ibid., 9 February 1905.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Ibid., 18 February 1905.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Interview with Shirley Palmer, Preston, Idaho, 31 May 1979.

[50]Lowry Nelson, The Mormon Village (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1952), p. 4.

[51]Ibid., pp. 25-53.

[52]Wayne L. Wahlquist, "Settlement Processes in the Mormon Core Area, 1847-1890" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1974), pp. 308-311.

[53]Ibid., p. 174; Logan Leader, 9 October 1879.

[54]Jensen, Manuscript History, Map of Proposed New Ward.

[55]Wahlquist, "Settlement Processes," p. 293.

[56]Alice Taylor Talbot, 15 October 1978.

[57]Interview with Alice Taylor Talbot, 14 October 1978.

[58]Jensen, Manuscript History.

[59]Interview with Alice Taylor Talbot, 14 October 1978.

[60]Ricks, History of a Valley, p. 79.

[61]Ibid.

[62]Interview with B. H. Swainston, 14 October 1978.

[63]Wahlquist, "Settlement Processes," p. 311.

[64]Richard Bradley, The Prehistoric Settlement of Britain (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), pp. 1-3.

CHAPTER VI

OF POPULATION AND THE ECONOMY

In most respects, Winder is not a satisfactory unit for attempting population studies. The available statistical data are far too limited to allow confident analyses of matters which require precise answers, and standard demographic procedures have not been devised for small, unstable populations. When applied to a residential set as small as that of Winder, sophisticated mathematical techniques either lack relevance or tend to distort reality. Before scattered, rural populations can be studied effectively, different questions should be designed, different equations developed, and different norms set.[1] In Winder, population characteristics can be studied in only a most elementary fashion.

This is unfortunate. Conclusions in local history need to be based on more than impressionistic data. Statistical approaches add dimension by probing neglected, but significant, aspects of human experience and by suggesting fresh avenues of historical inquiry. Properly applied, demographic techniques can test generalizations, correct inaccuracies, and extend understanding of relationships between various historical facets of the past.[2]

In the last two decades, the use of demography in local history has increased significantly. The extent of its advance is illustrated by comparing earlier local histories, such as Hoskins'

The Midland Peasant (1959), which does not use demographic procedures, to Spufford's Contrasting Communities (1974), which exploits statistical material to nearly its potential in an attempt to reveal the vital characteristics of the population.[3] In the United States, a striking contrast can be drawn from two studies of Boston, Oscar Handlin's Boston's Immigrants (1941) and Stephen Thernstrom's The Other Bostonians (1973). Handlin's work centers on narrative, bringing in statistics to establish and support conclusions, whereas Thernstrom bases his text on discussion and evaluation of statistical tables.[4]

Quantitative studies such as Thernstrom's have attracted wide attention in recent years and have gained substantial prestige.[5] A rash of local histories which dwell extensively on quantitative methods has emerged. One of these, Immigrant Milwaukee 1836-1860 (1976), uses thirty-seven tables and fifteen figures to depict accommodation and community in a frontier city.[6]

Complexity of presentation accompanies the increased emphasis on statistics. Pie-graphs, pyramids, histograms, logarmithmic graphs, and rolling averages often replace simple graphs. Rates and ratios displace crude data. Mathematical equations adjust probability of error, and evaluations are complicated.[7]

Of course, limitations attend this approach. As Alan Rogers has observed:

> Very real danger for the historian lies in this use of the machinery of the sociologist. For history is not a laboratory in which the social scientist of today can try out his techniques of analysis and find the answers to preconceived problems. A series of arbitrary, narrowly-defined questions

> imposed on the local history of the community will not produce either a true or satisfying description of the past. Whole aspects may well be overlooked because the categories did not fit them.[8]

The historian should remember that statistics are only one means of historical analysis and that they should not be emphasized over other methods of inquiry. Demographic methods are only tools to accomplish historical purpose, not ends in themselves. Nevertheless, the choice of method should be left to the preference of the historian. There is no inherent contraindication to using a well-organized, broad line of statistical inquiry as long as it contributes to the overall understanding of the population set under consideration, especially if the historian is adept in demographic procedures and the data is adequate.

The size of the community is the first population characteristic of Winder which can be studied. An aggregative data series exists from 1863 to 1980, a longer period of time than for neighboring communities. From this data, a dynamic picture of population size can be drawn (see Figure 1). The statistics used in this graph are derived from estimates, recorded accounts, ecclesiastical data, and census enumerations. They are far from uniform and they vary in accuracy, but they are the best existing sources and, if the population size is to be examined, they must be used. As Rogers has noted, referring to English aggregative statistics, the local historian "can go on the whole time . . . stressing the inadequacies and the failures of source material, so in the end . . . he decides that there is no point in using it at all," but since it is the only

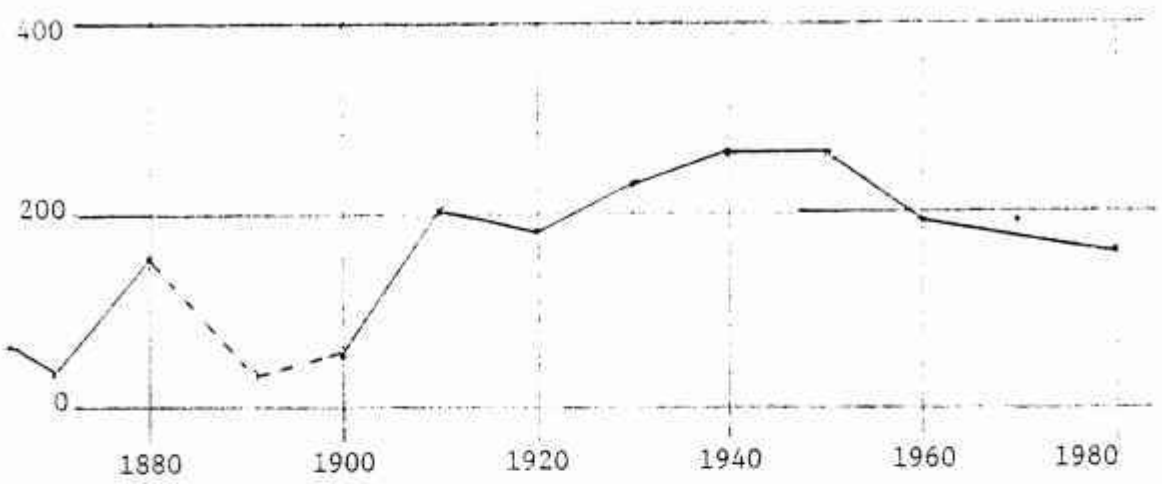


Figure 1. Population Patterns in Winder.

SOURCES: Danielson, History of Southeastern Idaho, p. 50; U.S., The 1870 Population Census of Bridgeport, Cache County, Utah; U.S., The 1880-1950 Population Censuses of Oneida and Franklin Counties, Idaho; L.D.S. Historian's Office, Winder Ward Records.

data he has, the historian works with it, aware of limitations and noting deficiencies.[9]

This graph shows considerable fluctuation in population before 1910, including a population rise from 1862 to 1865 and a subsequent decline by 1870. In 1885, the population had climbed to 150 persons, after which it fell rapidly. Between 1900 and 1907, Winder experienced rapid growth. From 1910 to 1950, the population ranged between 160 and 266 persons, a size thought by some sociologists to be particularly suited to community development.[10] After 1950, the population declined steadily.[11]

Actually, changes in population, along with the reasons and the results of those changes, are more important to the study of community in Winder than size.[12] Clearly, the early fluctuations indicated on the graph reflect alternate periods of settlement and depopulation: that is, the rise and decline of Winder's first settlement at Bridgeport, the birth and death of Battle Creek, and the most intensive permanent settlement phase between 1900 and 1907.

After 1910, reasons for changes in population are more difficult to identify. The decline from 1910 to 1920 corresponds to a decade of financial stress related to the construction of the Oneida Irrigation canal and to the difficulty in securing adequate irrigation water. The steady rise between 1920 and 1940 could be the result of natural increase or of in-migration after the irrigation situation was settled. During World War II and the construction of a Mormon ward chapel, the population leveled off. Following the nationwide movement of youth from the farm to the city, Winder experienced a

steady decline from 1950 to the present. In each case, events happening concurrently suggest the causes of population change, but temporal parallelism does not always establish cause. Literary sources and oral interviews are often needed to supplement the findings of quantification.

Figure 2 compares population change in Winder with trends in surrounding communities. Here again, the source material is not ideal, but it is adequate to show the comparison. The population changes which appeared dramatic on the previous graph, become less startling in a comparative context. An understanding of community in Winder depends on this comparison because the graph shows greater changes in Banida and Dayton where community affinities and action were more marked than in Winder, implying that factors other than community ties, probably economic conditions, influenced population trends to a greater degree.[13]

Civil birth, death, and marriage records for Winder are not available and the ecclesiastical records are not accurate enough to base population rates upon. Census records are not available for constructing age-sex structures. A type of family reconstitution, using the family group sheets at the genealogical archives of the Mormon church, is helpful in providing a better insight into the community, but the sampling of families (34) is too small for statistical compilation.

Among the useful information furnished by these records is the birthplace of 203 persons living in Winder between 1907 and 1915. As shown by Table 5, birthplaces varied considerably, which may account for some of the differences in interests.

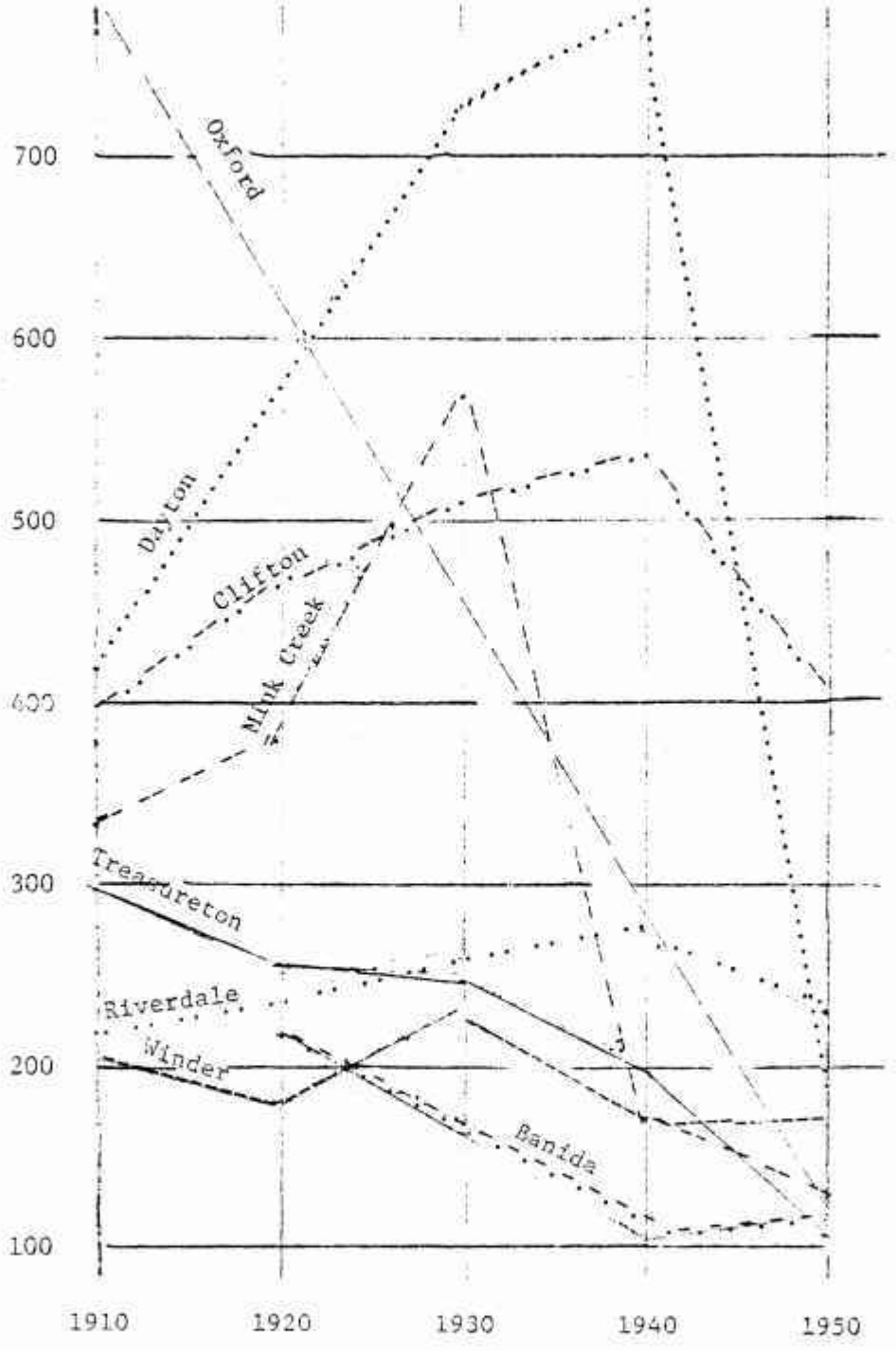


Figure 2. Comparison of Population Trends Between Winder and Surrounding Communities

SOURCE: U.S., Census of Population, Oneida and Franklin Counties, Idaho, 1910-1950.

TABLE 5

BIRTHPLACES OF A SAMPLE OF 203 PERSONS LIVING IN WINDER BETWEEN 1907-1915

Utah	72	Iowa	1
Battle Creek	13	Tennessee	1
Other places in Idaho	72	Illinois	1
Florida	4	England	8
Pennsylvania	1	Denmark	4
Alabama	1	Sweden	2
Missouri	2	Scotland	1
Minnesota	1	Place of birth not recorded	19

SOURCE: Winder Ward Records.

There were no recorded illegitimacies, only one instance of premarital conception, and twelve divorces. The size of the family averaged 10.26 persons, but this figure indicates the total family size, not the number of persons who lived at home at a specific time while the family resided in Winder.[14]

One of the most prominent characteristics of the population was high mobility. A study of the event places--places of marriage, births, and deaths--on the family group sheets helps to establish the migration habits of the families. For example, James Jensen, a farmer and school-teacher, was born in Goshen, Utah County, Utah. His wife, Jane, was born in Scotland. They married in Salt Lake City, Utah. Their oldest daughter, Marie, was born in Byron, Big Horn County, Wyoming; their son, Lloyd, in Preston, Idaho; and their four younger children in Winder. James died in Preston. The family group sheet shows five moves. There were probably more.[15]

Another schoolteacher, John McClurg, was born in Idaho. He married his wife, Martha Jane, at Malad, where they lived for two years. His second and third child were born at Weston, the fourth at Oakley, the fifth at Elba, the sixth at Weston, the seventh at Dayton, the eighth at Winder, and the ninth at Preston, completing eight known moves.[16]

The family group sheets, supplemented by the ward records, indicate that before 1940 the majority of movement in and out of Winder took place among whole family groups. Afterward, out-migration by young adults became a significant factor in population loss.

The exodus of young adults caused the age level of the community to rise. Winder became a community of middle-aged men and

women, then with the passage of time, of the elderly. In 1915, less than 1.2 percent of the population was over fifty. In 1940, only 5.7 percent were fifty or older. After 1940, no statistics are available with which to calculate exact figures, but birth dates of the persons who remained in Winder indicate that the percentage of persons over fifty rose significantly as mechanization and high capital requirements for farming decreased opportunities for rural youth.[17] The high incidence of nonfecund women reduced the probability of replacing the population.

The reasons for moving were mostly economic. The youth moved because the economy could not absorb the number of children reaching maturity. The high number of births in a marginal agricultural area where large acreages were necessary to provide adequate support for families, caused overpopulation stresses. When most of the children in a family stayed in Winder and the farm of their parents was divided among heirs, a low standard of living resulted.[18]

Families also moved for economic reasons. For the movers, mobility was an outward manifestation of individualism. They perceived mobility as a method of achieving a better economic position in life. This was not a new experience for those who moved into Winder and stayed for only a short time. The records show that the majority had moved several times before and after living in Winder. These movers represented a diffuse element in the community which was not absorbed into the stable, integrated core. Mobility contributed to a community whose primary orientation was divided between dispersion and centrality. In the midst of constant movement, the stable

core designed its social life around the mobility. The links of community became strongest among those who planned to stay.

Between 1900 and 1920 the people of Winder fancied themselves on the brink of prosperity. Cache Valley's golden age, which had brought progress and comforts to the better established villages near Logan, was spreading to the outer settlements. Lewiston, Weston, Dayton, and Preston enjoyed a period of phenomenal growth, while the smaller communities of Mink Creek, Treasureton, and Swan Lake supported general stores and services such as blacksmith shops and harness makers.

Caught up in a regional tide of expectation, the residents of Winder were confident that their opportunity would arrive at any time. In church meetings, leaders spoke of a future when there would be "at least two or three wards on this flat and good schools as there are in the larger towns today."[19] William Shuldberg, one of the more optimistic, predicted that business buildings would line the main streets of Winder from Battle Creek to Roscoe.[20]

Periodically, anticipation heightened in Winder as mining probes brought up samples of gold and silver ore, as business promotions promised an influx of people and money, as heavy wheat production followed an unusually moist season, or as canal construction offered prospects of quick profits from sugar beet production. Unfortunately, such dreams were based more on wishful thinking than on actual potential. Winder possessed neither the economic, ecological, nor social resources to achieve market town status.

Although the expected industry and business failed to materialize, people relinquished their hopes with reluctance.

Alternating between expectation and disillusionment, they continued to cling to individual interests, waiting for outside enterprise to bring prosperity, instead of organizing to accomplish attainable goals. Their absorption with personal aspirations at the expense of community cooperation left them vulnerable to frustration and exploitation.

In the early years mining, resort promotion, and canal construction kept excitement high. Between 1900 and 1910, three small mining operations--a small slate mine at the peak of Little Mountain, Levi Gifford's gold and silver mine at the foot of the hill, and Jacob J. Lovhaug's shafts into the west bank of Battle Creek gorge--opened and operated for a few years. Other than to raise the hopes of the people of Winder, the mines left little impact. The slate deposit was soon exhausted, Gifford took only a few loads of ore out of his mine each summer, and the Lovhaug mines did not produce commercial yields.[21] Still, the success of mining in locations east of Franklin and in other places in Cache Valley kept the hope of a rich strike alive in Winder.[22]

As much as any other commercial enterprise attempted during the financial expansion of Cache Valley from 1900 to 1920, the hot springs resort at Battle Creek illustrates the speculative fervor of the times. Intended as a health and recreation retreat for the wealthy and prominent from outside Winder, the hot springs was developed first before 1905, but little is known of its earlier days.

The people of Winder thought that the hot springs offered distinct economic promise. Health spas were popular among the

wealthy and the location of the springs was impressive. The springs flowed from a geologic fault at the historic stie of Bridgeport, near the battleground of the Shoshoni massacre. The mineral water, available to heat swimming pools and buildings was the hottest ground flow in Cache Valley. The resort lay along Bear River, then navigable by small barge from south of Logan to Riverdale. The property encompassed a large tract of choice river bottom land and a now defunct island near the river's bend. A reasonably good graded road ran down the hill from Preston, and a railroad station at Dayton was only a few miles away.[23]

In 1906 Sanders and Sanders from Farmington, Utah, leased the island park and the hot springs. By summer the resort was "doing a rushing business" with one thousand visitors on a single day. On Mormon Pioneer Day, the twenty-fourth of July, most of the nearby wards held their annual celebration at the springs. The management furnished automobile transportation, still a novelty in itself, to the area day and night. It also offered a $500 purse, more than several years' net income for most of the people of Winder, at the recently-constructed race track. The spa served beer under "restrictions," but the managers assured the local populace that drinking would "not be offensive to teetotalers" and that "no intoxicants at all" would be sold when youth groups were present.[24]

On Friday and Saturday, 18 and 19 October 1907, a sportsman's jubilee attracted horse owners from as far away as Ogden, Nampa, Malad, Payette, and Pocatello. The sprinter of Senator Fred DuBois from Malad won the one-mile dash; Sogahee, a Logan filly, took the

harness event; and Vigilanti Jim, owned by Joe Dives, a Preston pool hall and saloon operator, won "three straight heats" from Rondo, the pride of Ogden. Brigham Young College of Logan won the basketball game, and the "happy carnival" closed with a dance on Saturday night.[25]

In April of the following year while probing for drinking water on the island, a drilling company struck a geyser which shot hot water "some sixty feet into space." The oddity attracted huge crowds, reportedly contributing "much to the future growth" of Winder.[26]

The sporting crowd brought Winder a sense of sophistication and adventure that lifted expectations in a time of ailing farms and mortgage forfeitures. For a few years the resort was an object of hope and pride, then as the novelty wore off, a matter of concern and embarrassment. With time the resort deteriorated into a roadhouse. It gained an unsavory enough reputation to prompt Bishop Green Taylor to warn the people of Winder from the pulpit against the "evils of resorts and swimming pools" and to encourage "all to be becoming in such places."[27]

In 1913 the island gusher still spurted water five feet high, reportedly "throwing water . . . hot enough to boil eggs" at the rate of sixty gallons each minute. A chemical analysis, which was made to quiet rumors that the unpleasant odor of the water indicated the presence of poisonous materials, proved to the satisfaction of the promoters exactly the opposite, that the waters held "healing properties" to cure liver, kidney, and other ailments. The chemical composition included chlorine, calcium, sodium, potassium, and traces

of magnesium, sulfates, iron, and half-bound carbonic acid (thought to be the agent responsible for the odor).[28]

In 1916 a group of Preston businessmen formed a $30,000 corporation for improving the resort. The officers claimed that Washakie, Bear Hunter, and their predecessors from early prehistoric times had known of the curative properties of the springs. As modern proof of the healing virtues of the water, they cited the near miraculous healings of an eminent (but unidentified) physician of Preston and of his numerous patients. In addition to the mineral content already mentioned, they claimed newly-discovered radium in the water was mainly responsible for the supposed cures. Elaborate plans outlined the development of 350 acres into a large campus with horse and automobile races held regularly on the level land at the curve of the river and "natural circled" boat races conducted around the island. A tree-lined boulevard, Panama locks, a commodious hotel, indoor and outdoor swimming pools, private baths, and outside sleeping porches were included in the blueprint. A huge Babylonian garden with hanging plants, bubbling fountains, lounging grounds, lovely walks, shady bowers, flowery nooks, and cozy seats was proposed. Limited drainage was necessary, an interurban railroad was planned, and a state highway would be routed through the property. The people of Winder and Banida would benefit tremendously.[29]

Slight possibility of realization accompanied these ostentatious plans. The promotion met with indifference and intermittent entrepreneurship for the next twenty-five years. Eventually the buildings fell into disrepair and were torn down. Even during its

best years the resort probably did not meet expenses. The people of Winder realized little profit from its erratic operation. Only a few were employed by the management and the proceeds did not filter into the local economy.[30]

Small business ventures in Winder enjoyed no better success. A service station and small grocery store opened by Alice and Edward Talbot in 1941 and later sold to Marion Bennett was not supported by the community. A sugar beet dump at Battle Creek operated for a short time and a pea vinery constructed in the 1960s lasted only for the few years that the farmers in Winder grew peas.[31]

Agriculture was the only permanent business in Winder. From the start dryfarming in the foothills was a successful venture. Because the wheat crop required only a few months labor in the late summer, dryfarming was a good complement to irrigated acreage in more fertile areas elsewhere. While a few members of the family cared for the irrigated farm, the others could harvest wheat in July, burn stubble and weeds in August, plow and plant in September on the dryfarm, then return to their permanent residence in time for school and the winter social season.[32]

Many dryfarm tracts produced as much as twenty bushel of wheat per acre. An article in the Deseret News claimed:

> Even at the prevailing low prices of grain these dryfarms have been profitable this year. This fact will be more apparent when it is remembered that it costs much less in labor to produce a crop from a dry than an irrigated farm. In cultivating the former there are no canals to repair, no water taxes to pay, no irrigating to be done, and the areas sown may be very large. Many farmers in northern Utah and southern Idaho this year declare that "dry farms" have been more profitable than "wet" ie irrigated ones.[33]

TABLE 6

WHEAT: YIELDS PER ACRE AND PRICES,
IDAHO AND UTAH, 1896-1915

Utah			Year	Idaho		
Yield Bushel	Price $	Value $		Yield Bushel	Price $	Value $
26.5	.68	18.02	1896	24.5	.65	15.92
21.0	.68	14.28	1897	22.0	.70	15.40
28.0	.54	15.12	1898	31.0	.51	15.81
20.7	.53	10.97	1899	24.2	.50	12.20
20.9	.55	11.50	1900	20.8	.46	9.57
20.5	.70	14.35	1901	21.2	.61	12.93
21.2	.76	16.11	1902	22.1	.70	15.47
22.6	.80	18.08	1903	21.1	.75	15.82
26.6	.86	22.88	1904	22.9	.80	18.32
26.4	.67	17.69	1905	28.2	.66	18.61
27.4	.65	17.81	1906	24.4	.60	14.64
28.8	.74	21.31	1907	25.3	.67	16.95
26.5	.85	22.52	1908	28.2	.74	20.87
25.9	.90	23.31	1909	27.8	.87	24.19
22.2	.84	18.56	1910	22.6	.72	16.27
22.3	.70	15.61	1911	30.7	.66	20.26
25.7	.75	19.28	1912	28.6	.66	18.88
24.2	.73	17.67	1913	27.6	.63	17.39
25.0	.86	21.50	1914	26.2	.87	22.79
25.7	.86	22.10	1915	28.0	.80	22.40

SOURCE: George Stewart, "Wheat." U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bulletin 511, pp. 14-15.

Because their annual stay was brief, the dryfarmers did not become active members of the community.[34]

In the more arid climate of the flat, dryfarms did not produce well. Farmers planted wheat and alfalfa, but yields were small. Irrigation was necessary to make these farms produce enough to support families. When Harold Swainston moved to the flat in 1924, he had no irrigation water for his farm. In his life history he wrote:

> . . . the crops were not very good. A first crop of hay was grown and if there was enough rain during the summer the grain was helped out but never did have a high yield. . . . In the years that followed I bought shares of water from the Amalgamated Sugar Company and some from people that had shares to sell. Finally I had fifty-two shares of water.[35]

Swainston's experience was typical of the problems shared by other farmers.

Irrigation interests provide a prime example of the diversity of economic concerns in Winder. In the foothills grain farmers could not benefit from irrigation. These people concentrated on improving dryfarm techniques, on procuring modern planting and harvesting machinery for their large acreages, and on controlling erosion.

Drainage, not irrigation, was the problem of many of the people owning land on the river bottom. By redirecting Battle Creek into a large ditch and rechanneling the river, they drew water off part of the land, but they did not achieve adequate drainage for the rest of their property.[36]

Other lands in Winder needed irrigation desparately. Roscoe, the flat, the dry portions along the river, and the sand bar at the base of Little Mountain required water to grow the crops which would

bring prosperity to Winder. The people in these areas shared a common need for irrigation water, but their interests were divided between two major irrigation projects and several small ones.

The farmers at Battle Creek had built a small ditch which brought water from Bear River at Riverdale along the north bank of the river valley. This ditch provided adequate irrigation to the farmers of Battle Creek. In 1899, a project organized under the name of the West Cache Canal Company traded irrigation shares to the owners in exchange for the ditch. Enlarged and extended, the West Cache canal conveyed water forty-five miles to 17,000 acres of land in Cornish, Trenton, Newton, Lewiston, and Amalga in Utah. The farmers under the ditch at Battle Creek were given enough water, but breakthroughs occurred frequently in the unstable alluvial soil of the banks. Construction and maintenance costs drove assessments up so high that some of the farms, one of which was that of John Bench, were sold for taxes.[37]

A few of the farmers held interest in private irrigation systems. In the Roscoe area people irrigated from water stored in the two Strongarm reservoirs and a small reservoir built by the Condie brothers. The Swainston and Johnson brothers owned a water right in the clay foothills which they planned to develop, but they delayed construction of a dam too long and lost their claim in a lawsuit to the Twin Lakes Canal Company. This reservoir was later enlarged to form the Winder reservoir, a large storage facility which provides a greatly increased water supply to Winder. Advised of the future advantage to themselves of the Twin Lakes company

developing the site, many of the people of Winder supported the Twin Lakes in their suit. This caused alienation of the original owners from the community.[38]

The Oneida Canal, a forerunner of the Twin Lakes company, eventually brought water to the flat. It was the most ambitious irrigation project ever attempted in Cache Valley. The main canal was thirty miles long. It carried 300 second feet of water from Mink Creek across the Roscoe area of Winder in an inverted siphon to irrigate 13,000 acres in the west side communities of Dayton, Clifton, Weston, and Linrose. In addition to the canal and the siphon, the system, when complete, incorporated a series of seven reservoirs, including the Strongarm, Condie, and Winder reservoirs in the clay foothills, a large storage facility in Treasureton, and the Twin Lakes at the northern extremity of Little Mountain. Construction of the Twin Lakes required building two earth filled dams 1,183 and 1,585 feet long.[39]

The project was organized by the Oneida stake of the Mormon church. Each ward concerned was assessed a work quota and bonds were raised to hire engineers and to purchase equipment. A participating farmer using one team of horses was credited fifty cents a day toward the ward assessment and workers earned $1.25 daily plus a tent and meals. Women were assigned or hired to cook for the crews. Preparing dinner for a single day required mixing bread in huge tubs and roasting one-half of a beef.[40]

A Logan Journal reporter visiting Preston in 1904 wrote the following:

> While at Preston today called at office of Oneida Irrigation District. Through the courtesy of Directors Adelbert Henderson, Arthur W. Hart and Stephen Callam obtained the following information.
>
> The Oneida Irrigation District includes 31,000 acres of the best lands in the north end of Cache Valley, and these lands are included in the district, and are bonded at a rate of about $10 per acre for the completion of a canal of sufficient size to irrigate said land. The Board of Directors levy an assessment annually against the lands with the same authority to collect as county officers have to collect county taxes, and with the money raised the interest on the bond issue is paid and the surplus is laid away to pay off the long time bonds as they fall due. If the assessments be not paid the lands are sold for the payment thereof. Although construction work has only been going on during the present year there has been over $50,000 of construction work on the canal thus far completed. Great praise is due the farmers of the north end of the valley for their untiring efforts to build a canal at such a great cost, especially when it is known that nearly half of the bonds that the district issued were purchased by the farmers themselves. This is the fourth irrigation district organized in the state of Idaho and the State engineer in his biennial report to the Interior, made special mention to the fact that all of the proceedings for organization of the irrigation district and the issuing of bonds, had been regular and that all voting had been practically unanimous. The farmers are looking forward with great anxiety for the time to come when these lands will be under an irrigation canal as they claim the lands will then be worth from $50 to $75 per acre.[41]

In spite of favorable early reports, construction of the canal was a major divisive force in Winder. Looking back at the problems it created, the people who remember this episode concede that the canal was probably worth the trouble it caused, but they agree that the canal construction was a difficult period in Winder's history. Many are reluctant to discuss the issues entailed. Because of differences in opinion, church involvement, and bitter resentments, the subject remains sensitive. Before the project was finished, the canal company moved in and out of receivership, accompanied by scandals, lawsuits, church courts, and bankruptcies, causing loss of farms,

expressed and repressed ill-feelings, human misery, and sacrifice. The best people can say concerning the canal was that it caused less havoc in Winder than it created in Dayton.[42]

Most of the people in Winder were against bonding the project from the start. "Winder voted against the bond, but the west side communities out-voted us," one resident recalled.[43] In 1908, shortly after the Winder ward was organized, William Shuldberg spoke in church of the canal assessments, expressing his "desire that something will come to relieve us of this burden so we can keep our homes."[44] To meet work quotas, the people of Winder frequently neglected their farms and were separated from their families. The work was dangerous. A number of fatalities occurred. Although none of the people of Winder were injured seriously, the danger to which the men were exposed created stress and worry.[45]

Of greater concern was finding the money to meet escalating assessments. As construction continued, the financial condition of the canal company worsened. Second series bonds were followed by a third and fourth series, each requiring payments on the interest and principal.[46] The magnitude of financial indebtedness on individual farmers is shown in the delinquent notices for 1912. When wheat sold for less than one dollar per bushel, Isaac Bright's assessment totaled $506, Green Taylor's was $164, and Joseph Roper's was $300.80.[47] This was beyond their ability to pay. Debts accumulated. Some tried to farm with only a few hours of water each week, while others mortgaged their property to bring more water to their land. The majority felt that Winder was not allotted enough water to make

the purchase of shares cost effective. The canal company sold shares to people in Winder with the understanding that water could be turned onto the flat only after the west side communities had used all they required. In the dry months of June and July when irrigation needs were greatest, very little water was left for Winder.[48] The reason for this inequity is not clear.

To add to the problems, an audit of the books of the Oneida Canal District about 1905 disclosed that over $500,000 could not be accounted for. Rumors circulated through the county that funds of the company were being diverted to the private use of officers. George C. Parkinson, treasurer of the district and president of the Oneida stake of the Mormon church, was blamed for the shortage, and other officers were accused of allowing fraud to occur with their knowledge. Because of his repeated protests that he was innocent of any wrong-doing and because of his position in the local church, many people in Franklin county were reluctant to prosecute Parkinson. The people of Winder were divided on the issue. Some thought that a stake president should not have to account for the money and others felt that he should be required to pay the money back. In December 1908 the Logan Journal, which consistently supported Parkinson, reported at an Oneida Stake conference with over eleven hundred people in attendance that "the authorities of the church locally and in general were unanimously sustained, although it was plainly noticeable that a goodly number refrained from voting at all, owing to the intensity of feeling adverse to some of the officers."[49]

One year earlier at the conference in 1907 Francis M. Lyman, one of the Mormon Council of the Twelve, had "made some explanatory

remarks . . . relative to rumors current in relation of Prest. Geo. C. Parkinson and the Oneida Irrigation District." He had counselled "wisdom, patience, and judgement touching the investigation . . ." declaring "his firm belief in the honor, integrity and faithfulness of Prest. Parkinson and . . ." asking the people "to withhold their verdict until all the evidence was in."[50]

In Winder, Stake High Councilman Rephi Clemens "spoke of the large debt on the Oneida irrigation district and the rumors about the Leading men of the Stake." He admonished the people that they "should be very careful not to inquire the character of our brethern and also be united in finishing the ditch."[51]

With church officials supporting Parkinson and the Oneida canal funds still missing, the issue became one of either supporting church authority or trying to recover the losses. Those who were least financially affected usually sided with those who contended that the Stake President should be supported whatever use he had made of the money. Those threatened with increasing debt tended not to be so forgiving. Some were openly outspoken, but most assumed a "wait and see" attitude.

The matter dragged on until on July 26, 1910, when a suit to recover over $500,000 was filed by Joshua Adams, newly elected president of the Oneida Canal District, in the Fifth Judicial District Court of Idaho against the former officers--A. D. Henderson, President, A. W. Hart, secretary, and George Parkinson, treasurer--on grounds of fraud, misappropriation of funds, and other misconduct. In the extended litigation Joseph F. Smith, President of the Mormon

church, was appointed impartial referee, and prominent law firms from Boise and Salt Lake City represented the principals. In 1913, the court ruled in favor of the defendants, finding that Parkinson had invested the funds of the canal company unwisely, but seeing no evidence of fraud. Several church courts also found the defendants innocent.[52]

While the courts were considering the legal ramifications, a solution to the financial situation of the canal was found. The bondholders agreed to relinquish their bonds to the farmers in exchange for one-half of the acreage of each bonded farm. Not all of the farmers deeded their property to the bondholders, but enough agreed for the deal to go through. When Hugh Geddes of the Oneida Stake Presidency read the proposal in Sacrament Meeting in Winder and asked for an immediate endorsement, Bishop William Shuldberg consented and urged the people to sign. First Counselor Thomas Palmer endorsed the proposal, feeling it was right to obey the advice of the stake leaders. O. A. Follett, the second counselor to the bishop, hesitated. He thought people should obey the counsel of the local church authorities, but he wanted to consider the proposition.[53]

It is not known how many of the farmers in Winder agreed to the proposal. At least some of the property was turned over to the bondholders, who sold it to the Amalgamated Sugar Company. A few of the farmers were able to buy back their land from Amalgamated. Others mortgaged to pay their debt without relinquishing their property.[54] Later, with the help of the Amalgamated officials, the

Oneida Canal company reorganized under the name of the Twin Lakes Irrigation Company and adopted better business practices to prevent a repetition of its problems.[55]

In Winder, where farming already teetered on the economic margin, reduced acreage was a major disadvantage, lowering family incomes already strained by high water assessments, taxes, and mortgage payments. Smaller farms meant proportionately higher production and market costs, less chance of improvement and mechanization, and lower standards of living. The Oneida Canal problems considerably decreased Winder's slim chances of attaining prosperity and improving community cohesion.

Regardless of the position individuals took, the conflict and financial distress caused by the canal created a wide gulf in community feeling. In June 1912, the ward teachers reported "some bad feelings" and O. A. Follett noted "a lack of interest in the ward."[56] The social scars of the canal controversy remained for many decades, manifesting themselves in distrust and lack of cooperation. Attendance at church decreased, enthusiasm languished, community association suffered, and unified action was impossible.

In 1910, a limited supply of water from the Oneida canal permitted farmers to begin growing row crops. At first very little water was available and with an initial purchasing price of $80.00 per share and a high annual assessment, it was very expensive. When the first water came, the ground was alarmingly dry. George Bennett told of watching in dismay as bubbles formed in the ditch and the precious water gurgled as it sunk into the ground at the beginning of his first water turn.

Sugar beets were the main irrigated crop. For Winder, beets were a tremendous gamble which seldom paid adequate returns. The soil was too hard and thin, the weeds too thick, the wind and sun too drying, and there was never enough water.[58] Harold Swainston recalled:

> I grew beets but never had good tonnage. Our ground was too heavy and too weedy. I grew them quite a few years in spite of the difficulties. Not counting my labor, one year I netted $32.00 from my crop. Having the privilege of buying pulp because I grew beets was one reason I continued to grow them. Each winter, once a week, I drove by sleigh to the factory for beet pulp to feed the cows. The cows milked better by feeding them pulp and it also saved on the hay. It took all day to get a load.[60]

At first farmers in Winder delivered sugar beets to a dump at Battle Creek by wagon and a four-horse team. Later the sugar factory moved the dump from the original site to William Swainston's property at the south end of the flat. In the late 1930s trucks were hired to haul beets directly to the factory in Whitney.[61]

Because growing sugar beets was labor-intensive, the large families in Winder were kept occupied. They planted seed in rows by horse-drawn equipment, thinned young plants when they reached three to four inches high, weeded at regular intervals, and flood irrigated as often as water was available. Sugar beets required almost constant attention from May to October harvest, when they were dug, topped, piled, and loaded by hand. An acre produced approximately enough beets to fill one wagon bed.[62]

Other irrigated crops included spring wheat, barley, alfalfa, and later, peas, cabbage, and silage corn. Harold Swainston wrote:

> Peas were not profitable as they froze and if not careful I could over water them. Cabbage was a good crop for several

> years, then the company made a policy making it difficult to harvest them due to limits on delivery.[63]

Peas and cabbage were contracted to California Packing Company.

Aside from the impact of the Oneida canal, the economy of Winder paralleled that of other agricultural communities in the region. From 1900 to 1914 farm profits fell below those in other sectors of the economy. Through World War I, wheat prices rode the inflationary spiral to a peak of $3.50 per bushel. In 1917 the farmers geared up sugar beet production to benefit from a worldwide sugar shortage, but they realized only fair profits when President Wilson froze sugar prices. By November 1921 the sugar market was glutted, and the price of wheat fell to 98 cents per bushel. As the national economy revived from the postwar recession, farm prices remained low. During the 1920s repeated depressions without complete recovery left the people of Winder disadvantaged. National and regional setbacks affected the already undermined economy of Winder severely. For the people of Winder the Great Depression of the 1930s climaxed two decades of financial frustration.[64] By this time most of Winder's economic illusions were gone.

Harold Swainston wrote that his family was among the poor during the depression. "Money was so hard to come by as there was no sale for anything."[65] Still they did not go hungry or cold. At the mills they exchanged wheat for flour and wool for blankets. They hauled firewood from the canyons, produced milk, a few eggs, and occasionally meat on the farm. Their parents in Preston supplied them with vegetables and second-hand clothing. Swainston continues:

> We had a cream check each week. I sold a pig to my brother, Heber, for $5.00 and wished he would buy more of them. Grain was thirty cents a bushel. Eggs were ten cents a dozen. . . . I wore a new pair of overalls to Church for a while to save my suit. Others were doing the same.[66]

The 1930s also brought severe climatic conditions. The people of Winder ward reported in March 1932 that:

> The people of this Ward have experienced this year one of the most severe winters in twenty years, the snow being about three feet on the level. The roads were closed to automobile traffic. High school students who were attending the Preston High School were brought to school in sleighs for about two months.[67]

Farmers shoveled paths to their barns through drifts that extended above their heads. They kept cattle and horses stabled. Grade school children walked to school on crusted snow that covered fence posts. The following winter brought similar conditions. The bishop wrote:

> The ward experienced another severe winter. Roads were closed to auto traffic. The High School students were unable to get to school for several days and had to be transported by teams for several weeks. At the present time [March] there are large snow drifts to go through getting to Preston. The people of the ward generally have plenty of feed for their animals.[68]

The effects of the depression no sooner eased than a severe drought set in. On June 30, 1933, the ward reported:

> The wheat in this district is suffering from the hot dry weather. The web worm has been discovered in this vacinity, and they are doing much damage to the sugar beets.[69]

A year later they stated:

> The drouth conditions are very serious at the present time. There is no water coming on the Winder flat, sugar beets and alfalfa are suffering intensely. The first crop of alfalfa which is now harvested is about one-half normal.[70]

National relief plans of the New Deal came to their aid about 1935. A few of the men worked on W.P.A. road construction, and some

families took advantage of other government programs. On March 31, 1935, the report to the stake disclosed:

> at the beginning of the winter season the feed condition for livestock seemed very critical, but owing to the government programs in buying part of the animals and loaning money for purchasing feed, and the comparatively mild winter to date there has been very little suffering or loss.[71]

Before 1942 the majority of resident-owned farms were under 160 acres, some as small as forty acres. Farmers tilled crops by hand or horse power. Only a fortunate few owned tractors or trucks. People grew a variety of crops, and limited specialization to dryfarms. They kept horses, cows, sheep, pigs, and chickens. William Swainston's twenty-four dairy cows constituted a respectable herd; under twelve was more common. Cows were milked by hand, and the milk was strained into ten-gallon metal cans which were cooled in watering troughs until a dairy-employed milk man arrived each morning to transport the milk to the condenser in Preston.[72]

With little mechanized equipment, farmers relied on trading labor and employing youth from the community during harvest. Young people in Winder earned most of their spending money, bought their clothing, and paid school expenses out of money earned on neighboring farms. Although employing youth and trading work promoted social interaction, they were more forms of economic barter than of cooperative effort.[73]

Beginning with World War II, the farmers who weathered the depression and the drought began to prosper for the first time. They were able to buy tractors, machinery, larger acreages, and water. By 1950 about 1,500 shares of Twin Lakes water was used for irrigation

in Winder. If they desired to do so, men, women, and the youth could supplement incomes by seasonal factory work in other locations or by producing eggs. They improved fencing, farm buildings, and dwellings.[74]

Now another set of problems faced the farmers, the most pressing of which was an acute labor shortage during the summer. Young adults abandoning farms to work in cities, left an aging population with inadequate help. The employment service assisted by bringing in German war prisoners and Mexican nationals during the war. Afterward, migrant farm workers came to help with the harvest. When increased labor regulations and rising minimum wages caused expenses to run too close to profits, farmers turned to specialized production, mostly to dairy farming which they could conduct largely by individual effort.[75]

Wheat and dairy farming proved to be the industries best adapted to Winder. The climate, the terrain, and the resources were favorable for these crops. Mechanization, consolidation of farms, and sound business practices made operation more profitable.[76]

Over a period of eighty years, agriculture in Winder shifted emphasis from dryfarming to row crops to dairy farming. The economic outlook remained marginal until the farm economy improved during World War II.[77] Failure of people to realize their expectations was the result of unrealistic hopes, lack of adequate resources and capital, acreages too small for the climatic and soil conditions, excessive irrigation costs, repeated regional and national depressions, and failure to reconcile diverse interests to cooperate in promoting progress and preventing exploitation from regional demands.

Diversity in interests and economic difficulties did not produce cohesion. The people of Winder responded to financial stress by pulling away from each other instead of working together to alleviate their condition.

Studying the effect of Winder's economy on cohesion depends heavily on depicting the pressures of regional and national trends on the community. The approach of viewing outside developments from within provides a perspective essential to local history. The people of Winder did not live in a vacuum. Their dependence on specialized aspects of their farming activities rendered them especially sensitive to market fluctuations and demands for their produce. Financial setbacks, such as those related to canal construction and depressions, devastated the farmers perhaps to a greater extent than in some of the surrounding communities because the people of Winder had not accumulated adequate reserves to survive extended periods of hardship. Showing how national and regional developments affected Winder frees the study from parochialism, while at the same time establishes the separate character of local history as a discipline. Instead of emphasizing the significance of local developments on sweeping movements and generalizations, the viewpoint from within treats the impact of national and regional history on the local populace.

Notes

[1]David Hey encountered similar problems in his study of Myddle, see, Hey, An English Rural Community p. 208.

[2]E. A. Wrigley, "Parish Registers and Population History: I," Amateur Historian 6:146.

[3]W. G. Hoskins, The Midland Peasant (London: Macmillan and Co., 1957); Spufford, Contrasting Communities.

[4]Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants: A Study in Acculturation (New York: Atheneum, 1941); Stephan Thernstrom, The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973).

[5]Laurence Veysey, "The 'New' Social History in the Context of American Historical Writing," Reviews in American History 7 (March 1979): 8.

[6]Kathleen Neils Conzen, Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860 (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1976).

[7]For example, Ibid., Figures 1, 6, 7, 8, 11; H. J. Dyos and A. B. M. Baker, "The Possibilities of Computerising Census Data," in The Study of Urban History, ed. H. J. Dyos (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968), pp. 110-111.

[8]Rogers, Approaches to Local History, p. 8.

[9]Alan Rogers, Lecture at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 25 June 1980.

[10]The relationship of size to cohesion is not well established. Charles Fourier's widely accepted theories specified at least 1,500 persons to "harmonize conflicting temperamental differences." The Israeli kibbutz chooses an ideal size of from 250 to 500 persons. The Hutterites in the United States divide farm communities when they reach 200. Mormon wards rarely exceed 600. A sociologist of modern communes, Rosabeth Kantor numbers the limits of community in the lower hundreds. See Robert V. Hine, Community on the American Frontier (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), pp. 22-23.

[11]Danielson, History of Southeastern Idaho, p. 50; U.S., The 1870 Population Census of Bridgeport, Cache County, Utah; U.S., The 1880-1950 Population Censuses of Oneida and Franklin Counties, Idaho; L.D.S. Historian's Office, Winder Ward Records.

[12]Wrigley, "Parish Registers and Population History: I," p. 148 notes that the same is true of English communities.

[13]U.S., The 1880-1950 Population Census of Oneida and Franklin Counties, Idaho.

[14]L.D.S. Genealogical Archives, a Sample of Family Group Sheets of People Who Lived in Winder.

[15]Ibid., The Family Group Sheet of James Bendt Jensen.

[16]Ibid., The Family Group Sheet of John Nicholas McClurg.

[17]Winder Ward Records.

[18]Hedin, History of Winder Ward, p. 4; Sample Family Group Sheets; Winder Ward Records; Interview with B. H. Swainston, 27 October 1977; Interview with Barbara Bennett, 12 March 1980.

[19]Address of Taylor Nelson, Winder Ward Minutes, 27 July 1919. Nelson's reference to the schools in Winder must have been sourly received. The people of Winder considered their schools equal or superior to any others in Franklin County (Interview with Harriet Palmer, Preston, Idaho, 12 March 1980).

[20]Interview with B. H. Swainston, 24 November 1980.

[21]Interview with Carol Stocks, Winder, Idaho, 26 May 1979; Interview with Barbara Bennett, 12 March 1980; Interview with B. H. Swainston, 27 October 1977. Jacob J. Lovehaug's Christian name was Joachim I. H. Jacobson. Lovhaug was a nickname which he used most of the time (Fredrickson, The History of Weston, pp. 61, 63, 66.

[22]Arrington, "Transition to the Modern Era," pp. 236-238.

[23]Logan Journal, 21 July 1906.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid., 22 July 1907. DuBois' victory could not have pleased the people of Winder. Largely through his efforts, the Mormons of Idaho were disfranchised under the Idaho Test Oath, which, as a matter of interest, is still officially in effect, but is not enforced in Idaho. DuBois was also a leading force in prosecuting polygamists in Oneida County.

[26]Ibid., 23 April 1908.

[27]Winder Ward Minutes, 29 June 1919.

[28]Franklin County Citizen, Preston, Idaho, 5 September 1913.

[29]Ibid., 23 March 1916

[30]Interview with B. H. Swainston, 24 November 1980.

[31]Interview with Edward P. Talbot, Winder, Idaho, 12 March 1980.

[32]Arrington, "Transition to the Modern Era," p. 208.

[33]Deseret News, 6 October 1894.

[34]Interview with Gustave Hedin, 12 March 1980.

[35]B. H. Swainston Life History of Bertram Harold Swainston, 1980, Copy of Manuscript in possession of author.

[36]Interview with B. H. Swainston, 27 October 1977.

[37]Ibid.; Interview with Edward P. Talbot, 12 March 1980; Tax Assessment Records of Oneida County, 1906; Logan Journal, 11 February 1911.

[38]Interview with B. H. Swainston, 27 October 1977; Interview with Harriet Palmer, Preston, Idaho, 12 March 1980; Interview with Anna Condie, Preston, Idaho, 12 March 1980.

[39]Minutes of the Twin Lakes Canal Company, Preston, Idaho.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Logan Journal, 13 August 1904.

[42]Interview with Shirley Palmer, Preston, Idaho, 26 May 1979; Interview with Gustave Hedin, 12 March 1980; Interview with Edward P. Talbot, 12 March 1980; Interview with Alice Talbot, 12 March 1980.

[43]Interview with B. H. Swainston, 27 October 1977.

[44]Winder Ward Minutes, 16 February 1908.

[45]Logan Journal, 2 May 1905, 21 October 1905.

[46]Preston Booster, 24 March 1912; Franklin County Citizen, 22 August 1913.

[47]Ibid., 8 August 1913.

[48]Interview with Edward P. Talbot, 12 March 1980.

[49]Logan Journal, 12 December 1908, 24 June 1913.

[50]Ibid., 5 December 1907.

[51]Winder Ward Minutes, 12 April 1908.

[52]Logan Journal, 13 August 1910, 24 June 1913; Franklin County Citizen, 27 June 1913, 26 July 1913, 22 August 1913.

[53]Franklin County Citizen, 22 August 1913, 18 March 1915; Winder Ward Minutes, 24 March 1912.

[54]Franklin County Abstract of Deeds, Book A.

[55]Franklin County Citizen, 28 June 1917, 28 August 1919.

[56]Winder Ward Minutes, 23 June 1912, 8 August 1912.

[57]Ibid., Attendance Records from 1910 to 1918.

[58]Gustave Hedin, History of Winder Ward; Interview with Barbara Bennett, 12 March 1980.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Interview with B. H. Swainston, 27 October 1977.

[61]Ibid.

[62]Ibid.

[63]Swainston, Personal History, pp. 17, 18.

[64]Thomas G. Alexander, "From War to Depression," in Utah's History, pp. 463-467; Interview with Edward P. Talbot, 27 October 1977.

[65]Swainston, Personal History, pp. 17, 18.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Jensen, Manuscript History of Winder Ward.

[68]Ibid.

[69]Ibid.

[70]Ibid.

[71]Ibid.

[72]Interview with Anna Condie, 12 March 1980.

[73]Interview with Myrtle Swainston, Winder, Idaho, 27 October 1977.

[74]Hedin, History of Winder, p. 2.

[75]Ibid.

[76]Ibid.

[77]For a study of economic change in Franklin County, see Phillip A. Langdon, "Social and Economic Change in a Small Town Undergoing Long-term Population Loss: Preston, Idaho, 1940-1973" (Master's thesis, Utah State University, 1977).

CHAPTER VII

OF SOCIAL CONCERNS

The social characteristics of the population, as well as economic conditions and population trends, affected cohesion. Daily activities, traits of families and households, living standards, provisions for health care and poverty, and the nature of leisure, learning, and thought, all reveal the character of community.

In Winder, as in other rural communities, farming was a way of life in addition to being an occupation. The daily activities of the people revolved around the farm and the family. Routinely, children--male and female--worked in the fields with their fathers and helped with chores. Women cared for the house, the garden, and the poultry, but during planting and harvesting, when men frequently worked sixteen hours each day, women fed the animals, milked the cows, and occasionally worked in the fields.

Unless they had business elsewhere, people left the farm only to shop or to attend church and recreational events. Opportunities for primary, face-to-face contacts, considered essential by sociologists for close community development, came infrequently and encounters were more apt to be casual than intimate. As a general rule, the frequency and intimacy of contacts depended on the distance people lived from each other and whether or not they were related.[1]

Family structure in Winder conformed in most ways to the time and the region. The nuclear family of mother, father, and children predominated. Families were large, geographic mobility was high, and the age level of the population climbed steadily upward. This pattern was fairly typical of neighboring communities.[2]

The same was not true of housing. In Winder the quality of housing fell below the county average. The economic retardation which was associated with irrigations problems emerged before the settlers in Winder became affluent enough to construct adequate dwellings. As early as 1907, William Shuldberg predicted, ". . . the bonds we are now under will hold us back in improving our homes."[3]

Economic distress in the community continued through a series of rural depressions until after World War II. As a result, the average house in Winder before 1940 was smaller and more simply constructed than those in the surrounding rural areas. With a few exceptions, lack of water prevented people from landscaping their lots and poverty precluded home improvement.[4]

A profile of housing in Winder compared to that of surrounding communities in 1940 is shown by Table 7 on the following page. Note that Winder ranked fourth in the number of persons living in each dwelling and highest in percentage of houses with more than 1.51 persons per room, indicating that families were of average size compared with families in the rest of the county, but that homes were smaller. Falling only behind Dayton, the percentage of homes in Winder without indoor bathrooms and of persons living in rented houses was next to the highest. The census does not give the number

TABLE 7

PROFILE OF HOUSING IN WINDER, 1940

	Banida	Clifton	Dayton	Mink Creek	Riverdale	Treasureton	Winder
Population	102	532	774	500	271	195	266
Dwellings	26	125	172	99	55	48	61
Persons per dwelling	3.9	4.3	4.5	5.1	4.9	4.1	4.7
Number reporting	23	114	170	99	52	42	58
Number of dwellings with more than 1.51 persons per room	4	27	49	17	9	13	19
Percent of dwellings with more than 1.51 persons per room	17.4	23.7	28.8	17.2	17.3	31.0	32.8
Number of owner occupied dwellings	18	89	112	94	53	38	44
Percent of owner occupied dwellings	69.2	71.2	65.1	95.0	96.4	79.2	72.1
Number of tenant occupied dwellings	5	25	58	5	2	4	15
Percent of tenant occupied dwellings	19.2	20.1	33.7	5.1	3.6	8.3	24.6
Number of vacant dwellings	3	9	2	0	0	4	2
Percent of vacant dwellings	11.5	7.2	1.2	0	0	8.3	3.3
Number reporting	25	124	158	99	48	45	59
Number needing major repairs	13	49	29	43	15	12	.
Percent needing major repairs	52.0	39.5	18.4	43.4	40.0	27.7	.
Number with no private bath	20	99	134	68	6	1	49
Percent with no private bath	80	80	85	69	13	2	83

SOURCE: U.S., Department of the Census, Census of Housing 1940, p. 335.

of dwellings needing major repairs; however, interviews indicate that well over one-half of the houses in Winder needed repairs or replacement in 1940.[5]

Winder was one of the last communities in Franklin County to acquire graveled roads, telephone service, and electricity. Although poverty was the main reason, resistance to modernization also seems to have been a factor.[6]

Before 1938 people found traversing roads to Winder a problem. In the early days freight wagons and stage coaches floundered in mud up to the hubs of their wheels after rain or snow. The famous Montana trade route, running west of Battle Creek gorge, was abandoned after the railroad left Winder in favor of more direct routes to the flat. The new roads ran circuitous routes up the hill from Battle Creek, and the county found that they required grading after spring runoffs and each storm.[7] Driving a wagon in the summer and a sleigh in the winter provided the usual methods of conveyance. When Orion Follett arrived in Winder, riding in a surrey with a fringe on top, people considered him wealthy.[8]

After 1920 increased use of the automobile and the necessity of busing high school children to Preston generated increased interest in improving the roads. The county graveled the roads, but the contractors kept them in poor repair. In the fall of 1938, the government build U.S. Highway 91 through Winder, providing adequate transportation facilities for the first time. Since then the county has surfaced some of the auxillary roads.[9]

Through a cooperative community effort, telephones came in 1911, culminating a four-year private campaign waged by William

Shuldberg. People in Battle Creek and Roscoe had applied for telephones as early as 1905, but without the support of residents on the flat, neither of the two telephone companies which were franchised in Preston would install the phones. People in Winder could not agree on which, if either, of the companies to patronize. When Oneida Telephone went out of business and Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph purchased the interests of Rocky Mountain Bell, the problem was solved. The people of Winder built and maintained the lines, and the company installed telephones in many of the homes. William Swainston served without pay as trouble-shooter until the company hired a full-time maintenance man.[10]

Working with Banida, the residents of Roscoe brought electricity to their homes in 1929. For fifty cents per residence, the rest of Winder could have installed the power lines to their homes at the same time. Those living Battle Creek were willing, but a number of people on the flat were opposed. William Swainston was one who did not want electricity. His daughter, Harriet, stated, "Dad opposed electricity in Winder. He considered it an unnecessary expense. He felt that we did not need it. Of course, after the power came he liked it fine."[11] Much to the delight of the women, but against the wishes of almost one-third of the men, power eventually came in 1935. Much of the opposition came from "men who dreaded the large outlay of money their wives would demand for electric appliances."[12]

The nearest facilities for health were in Preston. Largely isolated from other communities in their struggle with nature, the

earliest settlers turned to each other and to home remedies in times of emergency and need. Health problems common in Cache Valley took on frightening aspects to homesteaders separated from the comfort of parents and physicians. Exposure to deadly epidemics of diptheria, cholera, and smallpox during infrequent visits to outside towns were particularly feared. Once contracted, these diseases caused a high percentage of death. Of the seventy-seven deaths recorded in Oneida county between June 1, 1879, and June 1, 1880, thirty-seven were caused by diptheria, all among children thirteen years of age and younger.[13]

Physicians introduced vaccination for smallpox into Cache Valley before 1890, but its use was by no means universal. Tuberculosis, bronchitis, pleurisy, influenza, croup, and other respiratory maladies caused 10 percent of the deaths. Childhood diseases, especially scarlet fever, were considered dangerous enough for confinement in bed and quarantine. Typhoid fever struck the family of James Daines as late as January 1907.[14] Undulant fever, the mysterious wasting-away disease, was not yet associated with contagious abortion in cattle. Mosquitoes bred in the swamps along Battle Creek and Bear River. Flies swarmed between manure piles and food which was often left uncovered. Woodticks carried Rocky Mountain spotted fever; horses transmitted encephalitis; infected rabbits, skunks, and rodents spread other diseases. Violent injury associated with careless use of tools, fire, and animals occurred occasionally. Privation and infant deaths took sizable tolls. Drowning in Bear River was another danger. Childbirth caused as much as 1 percent of

the deaths.[15] Limited crop and garden production resulted in vitamin and mineral deficient diets.

Almost every home possessed a family doctor book, invariably kept beside the Bible, which contained remedies for all common ailments and a section in the back for medical recipes and cures, often collected by the family over several generations. The Preston newspaper kept the populace informed of current patent medicines available at the drug store and served a supportive role in medical education by faithfully reporting the progress of epidemics and suggesting cures.[16]

Folk medicine was not commonly practiced. Although several informants spoke of the use of asefetida bags, of splitting open live rabbits, or of applying dirty socks, they could not cite specific instances of people using these remedies. By 1905 patent medicines, rest cures, and quarantine were more in vogue.[17] For childbirth, women usually went to the home of a relative in one of the more settled communities where medical help was available.[18]

The family sent for the doctor only in the danger of imminent death. As elsewhere, the term "doctor" applied loosely to a wide variety of healers, ranging from homeopaths to physicians. A Doctor Sullivan, who practiced medicine in Oxford, was described as exhibiting little evidence of "even a lick of schooling," and "no better than a horse doctor."[19] In contrast, Allen Cutler, M.D., of Preston, was a college graduate.

The three leading physicians in Preston, Doctors Canfield, States, and Cutler, advertised their services in the Preston paper.[20]

As horse and buggy doctors, they practiced their art mostly in the patient's own home. After receiving a call to an outlying settlement, they drove at break-neck speed to arrive in time to save the life of the victim or to attend his death. Customarily, a messenger met them about midway to their destination with a team of fresh horses and a report on the patient's condition. Oscar Seamons, who lived along the road at Battle Creek, always kept horses ready for emergency riders to Preston and the doctor's return rush to points north.[21] An old time resident of Oxford remembered a typical operation performed by Allen Cutler:

> He used to drive out to Oxford with a team and wagon even in the middle of the night. Sometimes it used to take him all night to get out there. . . . I remember when he took out Ollie Olsen's appendix right on the kitchen table. It took him a lot longer to get up and around, he was sick the whole summer, but he was allright.[22]

The influenza epidemic struck Winder in 1918 and again the following year, causing the death of six infants, one two-year old child, an unknown number of miscarriages, and considerable extended illness. In the 1918-19 school year, Roscoe school closed from September to January. Battle Creek school did not open until the middle of February. On February 23, 1919, Sunday services were held for the first time since September. "A large turnout" was reported, but the bishop, still in bed with the flu, was unable to attend. More severely ill, Marion Lindhart spent several weeks in the hospital at Pocatello. During the influenza emergency, people helped each other until they fell ill themselves. The doctors at Preston were completely occupied at hastily set-up emergency clinics across the town.[23]

The availability of professional medical care improved after the automobile came into common use. Doctors, speeding at thirty-five miles per hour, arrived at their destination in a shorter period of time, and sometimes people traveled to clinics when they were ill. Public health personnel immunized children at school for the most common serious diseases.

Care of the poor was left to self-help or to the church. In general, people preferred poverty to formal charity. However, they were not usually offended by gifts of food or of outgrown clothing. Relatives frequently shared produce and meat among the needy of their family. If people needed expensive medical care, surgery, medical appliances, or eye glasses, the women's Relief Society helped. In one instance, they sent Wendall Winger, a crippled child, to Primary Children's Hospital in Salt Lake City for corrective treatment.[24]

Recreation was an important part of community life in Winder. Meant to unify and to foster fellowship, leisure time activities often exposed underlying social tensions which seldom surfaced as vividly in other circumstances.

Of all recreational activities in Winder, dancing rated first in popularity. Held as often as once each week during the winter, Friday night dances attracted all ages. Older people danced with the youth and taught schottisches, polkas, and waltzes to the children. When the children became tired they wrapped up in coats or blankets and slept on benches. Musicians from outside the community came so that everyone in Winder could dance if they desired to do so.[25]

Sometimes during the evening, refreshments were served. Frequently church auxillaries sold ice cream and cake to raise money.

Occasionally, "character balls" were held, requiring dancers to come in costume. "Weight dances," during which a man paid "a penny for each pound" weighed by the lady of his choice for the privilege of sharing her basket of food, were highly successful.[26]

For many years Anna Condie's father was floor manager of the dances. He prepared the food, arranged for orchestras, took tickets, and quieted "roudies." Until her late teen years, Anna often became "sleepy and cross before the dance was over, but she always begged to be allowed to go to the next dance." She does not remember dancing, she "just watched."[27]

Participation at dances was limited mostly to a tight social core of people living on the flat. If people from Roscoe or the outlying farms attended, they were not drawn into the festivities. Unlike Anna, they were seldom satisfied at being relegated to the social fringe. Strangely enough, few of them banded together to form separate social circles. Instead, they vented their resentment by not attending community recreational activities and by refusing to cooperate in community projects.

Wedding showers offered the same kind of recreation to the same group of people. The shower differed little from a typical dance, except that relatives from outside attended and the newlyweds were showered with gifts at the end of the dance.[28]

Chickarees and watermelon busts, alias chicken stealing and watermelon theft for the purpose of supplying food for a party, created excitement for restless adolescents. Usually the victim was apprised of his impending loss in time for him to provide easy access

to his chicken coup or to pile ripe melons near the gate to his field to prevent trampling of the vines. Otherwise considerable damage resulted. Other parties, such as oyster suppers, card parties, and surprise birthday parties, were held. All types of parties occurred more frequently among groups on the flat than among those living in Roscoe or Battle Creek.[29]

The same social groups dominated participation in sports. The spirit of athletic competition became particularly keen among members of the Talbot family and their relatives, the Taylors and the Bennetts. Once each week on Saturday afternoons, and sometimes more often, they met at the school grounds to hold a family track meet. This emphasis on sports created considerable expertise among those who participated. Winder frequently won county baseball championships.[30]

Playing softball also became a popular recreational activity. In the spring and fall older school children spent their lunch hours and recesses playing work-up. If one of the men came in from the fields to referee, the children chose up sides for a few innings. Teachers joined in, sometimes becoming so caught up in the enthusiasm of the game that they extended the noon hour until two or three o'clock in the afternoon.[31] Winning became so important that only the oldest and most experienced children were allowed to play. Interest in sports was an integrative force in the community. Monopoly of active participation by a few families created jealousies and hard feelings.

In music, too, the people tried to establish community when they gathered for social or religious affairs. Group singing and

impromptu musical renditions provided popular pleasure for those who took part. Spirited western tunes, plaintive folk ballads, and millennialist hymns conducive to dramatic harmony appealed to them most. Lee Talbot played the harmonica and the musical saw, one or two old-timers played the fiddle, and a few women knew two or three hymns they could play on the organ. All of the musicians played by ear. Formal musical education was considered neither necessary nor desirable. If a child possessed musical talent, the gift would manifest itself in time, if not, pretentious music lessons would not improve the situation. When Harriet Swainston moved to Winder in 1911, she was the only person in Winder who could read music.[32]

Intellectual children and those talented in arts found little outlet for self-expression. Whittling and stylized sketches of people or farm animals were encouraged by some parents as harmless pastimes, but formal study of art or painting, like the study of music, was not considered wise. People in Winder identified the fine arts with aristocratic prestige and patronized luxury which was foreign to their experience and taste.[33]

College education fit into the same category. The study of history and literature, except for the intent of teaching, was viewed with particular suspicion because, in the opinion of the people of Winder, it fostered certain traditional evils associated with intellectualism.[34]

Thomas Condie, an early settler and rancher at Roscoe, took the precaution of sharing his enthusiasm for history discriminately. While visiting the Condie home as a ward teacher in the early 1920s,

Harold Swainston noticed Condie's collection of books on the history of Africa. Many years later Swainston recalled:

> After we finished our teaching, I took my companion home since he expressed distaste for history of any kind. Then I hurried back to talk with Tom Condie. He was surprised by my fascination with his favorite subject. He taught me African history until past midnight, after which he urged me to borrow the books in which I was interested until I had mastered their contents. We shared an interest in English literature as well. We didn't get to see each other often. I wish we could have spent more time together. There were very few people in Winder who had graduated from the eighth grade.[35]

On the other hand, debates attracted considerable interest. One debate in 1917 was mentioned in the Preston paper:

> A debate was held here on last Thursday night, question Resolved, "That will power is more essential in life than opportunity." Miss Marvel Taylor and Mrs. Lizzie Bennett argued for the affirmative and Miss Celesta Bright and Mrs. Sara Shuldberg for the negative. The debate was considered a very good one, with the affirmative the winner.[36]

People enjoyed watching and participating in drama, particularly in musicals and two and three act plays, in which both the youth and adults took part. A production usually played once at Winder, then it traveled to other communities.[37] The school presented programs at Christmas time and at the end of the school year. Almost everyone attended whether or not members of their families participated.[38]

Private schools, which were conducted in homes, provided the earliest elementary education in Winder. About 1882, Esther Winn invited the children of Battle Creek to join in the classes which she conducted for her own family. She continued the service without compensation until Ida McCoy opened a tuition-supported private school

in Charles Paul's general store. After the railroad left, not enough children remained to conduct formal classes, but as people began moving back after a few years, regular schedules resumed.[39]

Winder built its first tax-supported school house in 1905 at the edge of the flat above Battle Creek. The building stood approximately equidistant from the center of each settlement in a compromise to accommodate the children of both areas. Constructed of cement block with a bell tower extending above the roof in front, the school measured about fifteen by thirty feet. It served the community for school, church, and a community center for fourteen years. About 1933 Edward Talbot tore down the building and used the blocks to build a home.[40]

Lillian V. Perkins remembered walking to the Battle Creek school from her family's home at the hot springs--over two miles each way--during the 1905-06 school year. "There was one room and one teacher," Mrs. Perkins recalled. "The teacher was J. G. Nelson--Straight-finger Nelson, he was called."[41]

The boundaries of Winder encompassed two separate school districts, the Battle Creek district (number 18), which included Battle Creek and most of the flat, and Roscoe district (number 20) which served the northern portion of the flat and Roscoe. From 1905 to 1910 the people of Roscoe district sent their children to Battle Creek school on a tuition basis or they boarded them with relatives in Preston or in Richmond, Utah, during the school year. About 1910, the Roscoe district began holding classes in a log house in the area. In 1914 Roscoe built a three-room building of red

brick with money derived from the sale of bonds. Thomas Condie, a rancher and a retired school teacher who lived in the neighborhood, instructed the students.[42]

Roscoe and Battle Creek schools operated concurrently from 1910 to 1919. When the enrollment fell below the state requirement of six students, Roscoe district either transported its children to Battle Creek school or recruited students from families whose property lay in both districts. Among those from the flat who attended Roscoe school were the Jensen children, who walked up Battle Creek to school, and the Swainston children, who preferred the teacher at Roscoe.[43]

The two school districts received funds from three different sources: the state reapportionment fund, the county reapportionment fund, and the special school tax levied on property in the respective districts. State and county funds arrived regularly twice each year, but the special tax came in sporadically as people paid property taxes. An elected Board of Trustees, consisting of a chairman and a clerk, handled the funds, cared for the school, and hired teachers. For the school year 1913-14, Battle Creek district received $207.30 from the county fund, $183.50 from the state fund, and $1,185.84 from the special tax, a total of $1,576.64. Expenses included books, repairs, fuel, incidentals, and the teacher's salary. Grace McLaughlin was paid $75.00 per month for instructing eight grades. The school term lasted seven months, November through May. The teacher received pay only for the days she taught. Christmas and other holidays were deducted from her salary. Albertie Griffeths

had earned $70.00 per month the previous year. These salaries compared favorably with those of other school districts in Franklin county.[44]

In Roscoe district, Thomas R. Condie received $70.00 per month and taught six months during the year. Roscoe school could not afford to stay open for a longer period of time because it received a total fund of $738.04, out of which it bought coal to heat the building, paid $250.00 each year to the company which held the bond, and paid the teacher's salary.[45]

The boundary between the two school districts created a social demarcation line. The area served by Roscoe school represented a more intellectual group interested in higher education and in improving living conditions. Predominately wheat farmers and cattle ranchers, the people of Roscoe were more financially secure, better housed, and better dressed. Battle Creek school represented a group more conservative and community oriented, among which social ties within the group were more important than outside interests. The "we" feeling, a term used by sociologists to denote cohesion, and the resistance to "invaders" entering the group was stronger than that at Roscoe.[46]

Attempts to centralize the districts created controversy. For convenience, because of a perceived intellectual superiority of the teacher at Roscoe, and because they preferred separation from the flat, the people of Roscoe clung to their school. Residents on the flat worked for consolidation for the advantage of combining the funds of the two.[47]

By 1919, the installation of Utah Power and Light's huge electric power towers had increased the tax base of Battle Creek

district considerably. The lines ran from the power source at Oneida Narrows diagonally across Winder to Salt Lake City, crossing so much land in Winder that more than one-third of the district's school taxes were paid by the electric company.[48] Increased funds allowed the trustees to advertise bids for a new school house in June 1919, and by the end of the school year the building was in use.[49]

Constructed at a central location on two and one-half acres near Bert Bennett's property, the Winder School was designed by C. H. Gundersen, architect, in a similar manner to the split-entry homes of today. It was of buff brick and faced west with all of its windows facing the same direction, except for those in the upstairs hall. People approached the front door from a flight of cement stairs buttressed in brick and concrete. From a narrow front foyer, a broad staircase, flanked by substantial banisters, led upstairs to a wide hall which extended to the rear of the building and provided access to two classrooms. Narrow stairways on each side of the staircase led to a single room on the lower level.[50]

A folding partition which swung down from the ceiling divided the auditorium from a classroom. A cloakroom and a closet to house the Delco dynamo adjoined the stairways. The space under the staircase was used for coal storage. Highly polished woodwork and floors contributed to the interior decor. Large coal-burning stoves furnished heat and the self-contained electric system supplied light. Like its predecessor, the Winder school doubled as a church building and as a community center.[51]

School board members tried to employ teachers whose views were acceptable to the community. In this way they preserved

political conservatism and religious orthodoxy. Humility, simplicity, morality, and the superiority of rural life over urban living were cherished values of the community not to be undermined by liberal thinking.[52]

Scarcity of housing in Winder made hiring suitable teachers difficult. Unless a house was vacant, the three teachers, usually two females and one male principal, either boarded with a family in the community or drove to Winder from another locality. The quality of education depended on the ability of teachers and on the attendance of students. Teachers frequently held back boys one or two grades because they stayed out of school to help with farm work.[53]

The Roscoe school closed in 1919. Its students attended school at Winder school with their tuition and transportation furnished by the Roscoe school district. The two schools consolidated in 1926, after which the Winder school operated on adequate funds until 1932. During the depression taxes came in slowly or not at all. Utah Power and Light company tried to suspend its payments until after the financial emergency. Newly graduated from normal school and unemployed, Wilma Swainston taught for almost one year without pay. Parents were faced with the possibility of having to buy books and supplies for their children until court action forced Utah Power and Light to resume school tax payments.[54]

Traveling a distance of six-to-twelve miles to the nearest high school at Preston discouraged the majority of students from continuing classes beyond the eighth grade. Shirley Palmer was one of the few who desired secondary education enough to make the trip.

> Education was important to me. I traveled twenty miles on horseback each day. Teh trip took two hours each way, and I had chores to do before I went to school and after I got back home. I felt going to school was worth the trouble, but most of the people my age did not agree.[55]

The James Jensen and Thomas Condie families moved to Preston during the winters to allow their children to finish their education.[56]

Winder eventually solved the problem about 1920 by purchasing the first school bus in Franklin County. The bus transported grade children to Winder school as well as taking high school students to Preston. Other school districts in the county soon followed suit. In addition, Mink Creek, Glendale, and perhaps other schools added ninth grades to their local curriculum. By 1924, almost all of the students who completed grade school attended high school for at least one or two years.[57]

The Franklin county school consolidation movement, beginning in the 1940s, created considerable difference of opinion in Winder. Convinced that their children received more personal attention and greater opportunities to participate in activities at the local school, most of the parents on the flat resisted sending their children to school in Preston as long as possible. A group of younger parents felt that education and social opportunities in Preston were superior. Unable to reach a compromise acceptable to both factions, Winder school maintained its program until 1957, after other districts had joined the East Side school system, not because the majority preferred Preston schools, but because salaries rose so high after the war that the district could no longer afford to hire teachers.[58]

The loss of its school struck a major blow to community in Winder. Consolidation, in effect, not only dissociated education

from the community, but it accelerated the process of shifting social centrality from Winder to Preston. The base of community interaction, once focused on personal contact at the school house, moved and broadened into a county context.[59]

A much winder circle of acquaintance and experience opened to both children and parents. Music, voice, dance, and swimming lessons became necessary to make the children of Winder acceptable to their new peers. Families revised schedules to accommodate cub scout and F.H.A. activities. Little League replaced family baseball. Higher education increased farm management skills and social opportunities. Modes of dress and speech changed, altering the self-image of the community. The poor-but-humble attitude no longer applied to people catapulted into a competitive social system. Screening out liberal teachers could not reinforce the almost religious tenor of conservatism, and people began to question the value of farm life in maintaining moral integrity and religious conformity. In short, the social reliance of people in Winder on each other lessened and much of the intimacy of community life was lost. The released dependence on local education for social interaction began a realignment of habits, loyalties, attitudes, and values.[60]

In summary, examination of the social concerns of Winder reveals a set of social forces working for and against community. The disjunctive processes of family solidarity and the desire of neighborhoods for autonomy opposed the conjunctive processes of socialization. The interaction between these forces did not manifest itself in well-defined forms, but in a mixture of forms, so that the same situations produced both cohesion and alienation. For example, the

Friday night dances which brought participants closer together, also pushed those who were not drawn into the activities farther away from a feeling of belinging. The net result was to create a core of cohesion on the flat surrounded by a fringe of dissociation.

The study of the social concerns of Winder views social aspects of the community in terms of the everyday processes which affected a cross-section of the population. It deals with all types of people in Winder--ordinary people as well as the leaders, women as well as men, and children along with adults. Because a variety of human beings made up the society, one group is not more important than the other. This perspective brings a clearer, more intimate understanding and a closer sense of participation, which is of particular significance to the study of small populations. As Finberg observed, history is

> . . . "about chaps," and local history brings us nearer to the common run of chaps than any other branch of historical study. It gives us, in the language of the films, a close-up of them on their farms and in their workshops and behind their counters. It studies them as human beings, as members of a rural or urban community; but by seeking them at their home address it enables us to see them as flesh and blood, and not just as pawns on the national chessboard. The national historian, dealing with some vast agglomeration which he labels villeins, Puritans, the lower middle-class or what you will, tends to lose sight of the human person.[61]

Similarly, the commonplace is as important as the extra-ordinary, and the trend as pertinent as the crisis. Each factor contributes its effect--conjunctive, disjunctive, or a combination of both--on the community. Local history is not a respector of classes, persons, causes, or impacts, and the local historian evaluates the significance of whomever or whatever affects the theme of his study.

Notes

[1]Interview with Myrtle Swainston, 17 October 1978; Interview with Barbara Bennett, 12 March 1980; Interview with Harriet Palmer, 26 May 1979.

[2]See Chapter VI.

[3]Winder Ward Minutes, 24 November 1907, p. 31.

[4]Interview with Myrtle Swainston, 17 October 1978; Interview with Leona Winger, 4 October 1977.

[5]Ibid.; U.S., Department of the Census, Census of Housing 1940, p. 335.

[6]Hedin, History of Winder Ward, p. 3; Interview with Anna Condie, Preston, Idaho, 12 March 1980.

[7]Interview with Alice Talbot, 12 March 1980.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Hedin, History of Winder Wad, p. 3.

[10]Ibid.; Winder Ward Minutes, 18 July 1908.

[11]Interview with Harriet Palmer, 12 March 1980.

[12]Interview with B. H. Swainston, 17 October 1978.

[13]U.S., Department of the Interior, Mortality Schedules, Idaho, 1880.

[14]Logan Journal, 22 January 1907.

[15]Richard Daines, "Heroes and Horse Doctors: Medicine in Cache Valley, 1857-1900," in Cache Valley: Essays on Her Past and People, ed. Douglas D. Alder (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1976), pp. 65-68; Logan Journal, 15 June 1907.

[16]Interview with Myrtle Swainston, 17 October 1978; Interview with Alice Talbot, 12 March 1980.

[17]Logan Journal, 15 June 1907.

[18]Interview with Myrtle Swainston, 17 October 1978.

[19]Daines, "Heroes and Horse Doctors," p. 75.

[20]Preston Booster, 15 February 1912.

[21]Interview with B. H. Swainston, 17 October 1978.

[22]Interview with Fred John Carlson, Hyrum, Utah, 20 January 1974, quoted in Daines, "Heroes and Horse Doctors," p. 75.

[23]Interview with B. H. Swainston 17 October 1978; Franklin County Citizen, 16 January, 27 February, 3 April 1919.

[24]Interview with Leona Winger, 4 October 1977; Interview with Myrtle Swainston, 18 October 1978.

[25]Interview with Mary Talbot, 12 March 1980; Dancing was a favorite form of recreation in most Mormon communities, see Eugene E. Campbell, "Social, Cultural, and Recreational Life," in Ricks, The History of a Valley, pp. 414-416.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Interview with Anna Condie, 12 March 1980.

[28]Interview with Myrtle Swainston, 27 October 1977.

[29]Interview with Mary Talbot, 12 March 1980; Interview with Alice Talbot, 12 March 1980.

[30]Interview with Myrtle Swainston, 27 October 1977.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Interview with Harriet Palmer, 12 March 1980.

[33]Interview with B. H. Swainston, 27 October 1977.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Franklin County Citizen, 13 December 1917.

[37]Interview with Alice Talbot, 27 October 1977.

[38]Ibid.

[39]W. H. Simmons, "History of Franklin County, Idaho" (Master's Thesis, Colorado State College, 1936), p. 36.

[40]Interview with Edward P. Talbot, 27 October 1977.

[41]Interview with Lillian V. Perkins, Preston, Idaho, quoted in Newel K. Hart, Franklin County Album (Preston, Idaho: Privately published, 1977), Figure 420.

[42]Franklin County Court House, Preston, Idaho, County Commissioners Minutes, pp. 14, 15; Franklin County Clerk's Office, Preston, Idaho, Franklin County School Records, Teachers Rolls; Preston Booster, 22 June 1912.

[43]Interview with Harriet Palmer, 26 May 1979.

[44]Franklin County School Records.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Interview with Myrtle Swainston, 27 October 1977; Interview with Harriet Palmer, 26 May 1979; Interview with Alice Talbot, 27 October 1977; Interview with Leona Winger, 4 October 1977; Interview with Barbara Bennett, 12 March 1980.

[47]Interview with B. H. Swainston, 27 October 1977; Winder Ward Minutes, 14 January 1912.

[48]Interview with Harriet Palmer, 12 March 1980; Franklin County Citizen, 30 December 1912.

[49]Franklin County Citizen, 5 June 1919, 25 March 1920.

[50]Ibid.; Description of the school from the author's recollections.

[51]Author's recollections.

[52]Interview with B. H. Swainston, 27 October 1977.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Franklin County School Records; Interview with Anna Condie, 12 March 1980.

[55]Interview with Shirley Palmer, 26 May 1979.

[56]Franklin County Citizen, 16 January 1919, Interview with B. H. Swainston, 17 October 1978.

[57]Franklin County Citizen, 15 October 1924; Hedin, History of Winder Ward, p. 3.

[58]Interview with Barbara Bennett, 12 March 1980; Interview with Gustave Hedin, 12 March 1980; Interview with Myrtle Swainston, 17 October 1978; J. Duncan Brite, "The Public Schools," in Ricks, History of a Valley, pp. 345-346.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Finberg, Local History, p. 13.

CHAPTER VIII

OF RELIGION AND POLITICS

Except during Battle Creek's boom days when the railroad hired persons of various faiths and backgrounds, 99 percent of the population of Winder belonged to the Mormon church.[1] The religious homogeneity of the people acted as a stabilizing force which counteracted the disjunctive effects of mobility and of conflicting interests. By bridging family and geographic divisions, the church brought kinship groups and neighborhoods together into a sense of group identity, functioning as the broadest integrative power and the strongest coercive mechanism for social control in the community. At the same time, the failure of church leaders to unite the members in a common cause allowed people to drift apart.

Branches of the Mormon church held services in Winder at intervals from the mid-1860s to 1907. George Washburn, and probably others, led a branch of the Franklin Ward at Bridgeport until the membership fell too low to support regular services. A decade later, members of the church at Battle Creek were attending Riverdale Ward, but at times a branch may have conducted Sunday School and perhaps other metings in the railroad town for residents, railroad employees, and those passing through who wished to attend.[2] Definitely, by 1905, a branch of the Preston Third Ward, with John Bench as presiding elder, met at the Battle Creek school.[3]

The presence of a branch did not mean that all of the members of the church living in Winder attended local services. Many preferred membership in established wards. Some Roscoe families belonged to the Oxford, Treasureton, or Preston Third Wards; members living at the base of Little Mountain and at the hot springs traveled to church at Dayton; those residing in the clay foothills, one of which was the Reginald Kern family, attended Riverdale Ward; and others used the distances required to reach any of the churches as an excuse not to attend services. But the majority of the members on the flat and those at Battle Creek supported the Battle Creek Branch, and it was this group who formed a nucleus for religious and social association in Winder.[4]

The Winder Ward was organized on 17 November 1907, from the Battle Creek Branch and portions of the Dayton Ward under the direction of the Stake President, George G. Parkinson, and his counselor, Joseph S. Geddes. A congregation of approximately 175 prospective members, who crowded into the school building, sustained William Hawkes, Jr., a twenty-three year old returned missionary of Preston, as bishop, with William A. Shuldberg and Thomas Condie Palmer as counselors, and James E. Johnson as ward clerk.[5]

From the formation of the ward, divisive, as well as cohesive, elements were evident. Naming the ward Winder, in honor of John B. Winder of the general church presidency, unified the members under an identity that removed the stigma implied by "Poverty Flats" without designating one neighborhood over another; whereas, the selection of a bishop from outside the community created a potential source of discord.[6]

William Hawkes owned a homestead tract in Winder, but he lived in Preston. A resident of the ward was not chosen as bishop because the stake president had written the presidency of the church that he did not know the people in Winder well enough to choose one as a leader, but that he understood that a certain Thomas C. Palmer "might be worthy of such a call."[7] In the absence of a firm recommendation, the church presidency called Hawkes to the position.

Hawkes experienced as much surprise as the congregation at his appointment. He had not desired the office, but he "accepted it as a call from the Lord, as a mission, and as such would accept it." He told the members, "I have come here in meekness and with a desire to do good. I need the faith, prayers, and support of the people of the ward."[8] Being bishop of Winder required Hawkes to travel twelve miles to attend meetings on Sunday and on other occasions during the week when ward business or recreational activities required his presence.

Although he tried to unite the people in constructing the Oneida canal and in building a meeting house, Hawkes was unable to accomplish his goals. The resources of the members were too far depleted by irrigation bonds to allow them to contribute to a building fund. In addition, the members found Hawkes to be an exceptionally aloof and sedate man who experienced difficulty in relating to the problems which divided neighbors and families in Winder. Under his leadership, attendance at meetings soon declined from about 65 to as low as 29 persons, and people were complaining that the bishop did not arrive at Winder in time for Sunday School. After an unproductive tenure of two and one-half years, Hawkes was released on 16 May 1909.[9]

Other disruptive factors at the organizational meeting included the advice of the stake president to support leadership, which touched on the sensitive issue of the Oneida canal. And a directive to continue paying tithes to the wards which members had attended previously, "at least for the rest of the year" because "we should not be selfish."[10] Following these instructions tested the Christian charity of members who were concerned with keeping their farms and with the financial needs of the new ward. Nevertheless, at this time most of the members were willing to set aside personal feelings to enjoy the advantages and conveniences of a Mormon ward in their community.[11]

Minutes of the Bishop's Quorum meetings reveal the major problems challenging the ward. Items of business included plans for a meeting house to be located at the exact center of the ward, organization of auxillaries, purchase of a cemetery site, and methods of raising money for payments on the organ and song books.[12]

A more serious problem involved the reluctance of certain residents to change their memberships to Winder Ward. Some of those who lived near the ward boundaries found attendance more convenient and agreeable at Oxford, Dayton, Clifton, or Riverdale.[13] Left to individual devices, these families favored leaving their membership in the wards they had attended before the organization of the new ward while feeling free to attend services in Winder when they desired to do so.

The progress toward solving these problems is revealed in the minutes of the first ward conference on 19 July 1908. Eighty-six

persons attended the meeting. Since the formation of the ward, the bishop had organized the women's Relief Society, the Sunday School, the children's Primary, and the Ward Teachers. Commenting that recommends of members kept filtering in, Bishop Hawkes expressed joy at receiving more people into the ward, and the visiting stake clerk complimented members on their faith in traveling as far as five miles to meeting each week.[14]

At this stage, the future of the ward appeared bright and growth seemed inevitable. In May, the bishop had been able to send ten dollars in excess fast offerings to the presiding bishop of the church and George Bench had commented on the general advantages people in Winder had received from living righteous principles, especially of the benefits related to blessing the food at ditch camp.[15]

Of course, many of the old problems remained. At a June Bisohp's Quorum meeting, the discussion still centered around the location for a meeting house, land for a graveyard, and the problem of people living in the ward boundaries without changing their recommends to Winder.[16] In spite of the membership increase, attendance at Sacrament Meeting continued a slow, but steady, decline. The year which had promised a rosy future ended on a discouraging note. On 27 December 1908, the ward clerk, James Daines, recorded that William Shuldberg spoke at length concerning the payment of tithes and James Corbridge spoke in "a rambling way" on faith, repentance, baptism, and the laying on of hands for the Gift of the Holy Ghost.[17]

The bishop held tithing settlement on the first Sunday of 1909. On this day, the members brought their yearly tithes to

Sacrament Meeting. Most of the people paid in money, but a few followed the old tradition of paying in kind, as shown by the minutes of the 19 January 1909 Bishop's Quorum meeting when the bishop authorized William Shuldberg to sell the tithing stock on hand, consisting of one cow, "for as high a price as he could judge she was worth and could obtain."[18] Two weeks later, Shuldberg reported that he had sold the cow for $21.50. The bishop decided that five dollars of that amount should go toward payments on the organ and that the remaining would be applied to tithing.[19]

Upon Hawkes' release in May 1909, William Shuldberg became bishop, with Thomas Palmer and Green Taylor as counselors. In 1911, Taylor moved from the ward and Orion Follett took his place. In 1913, when Shuldberg left for Sweden as the first missionary from Winder Ward, he was replaced by Thomas Palmer, who served until 1917. Green Taylor, recently returned to Winder, succeeded Palmer, remaining bishop for five years, after which Palmer resumed the office, serving until he was replaced in 1936 by Ingram Smith.[20]

Table 8 lists the bishops of Winder Ward from 1907 to 1957, with the dates they were sustained and released, their length of tenure, and the neighborhood in which they lived. It is interesting to note that four out of seven lived in Roscoe, one in Preston, one on the flat, and one at Battle Creek.

In varying degrees, the personality of the bishop determined the mood and direction of the community.[21] Hawkes' organizational ability brought the initial order out of diversity. Shuldberg's preoccupation with the secular brought telephones to Winder and

TABLE 8

BISHOPS OF WINDER WARD

Bishop	Sustained	Released	Tenure	Residence
William Hawkes	17 Nov. 1907	16 May 1909	2-1/2 years	Preston
William A. Shuldberg	16 May 1909	27 July 1913	4 years	Roscoe
Thomas C. Palmer	27 July 1913 6 Nov. 1921	11 Mar. 1917 21 June 1936	4 years 15 years	Roscoe (later the flat)
James Green Taylor	11 Mar. 1917	6 Nov. 1921	4-1/2 years	Flat
Ingram F. Smith	21 June 1936	11 Oct. 1942	6 years	Roscoe
Ernest W. Carter	11 Oct. 1943	30 Oct. 1949	7 Years	Battle Creek
Gustave C. Hedin	30 Oct. 1949	15 Oct. 1957	8 Years	Roscoe

SOURCE: Jenson, Manuscript History.

inspired the purchase of a cemetery lot adjoining the Battle Creek school house, the donation by the Corbridge family of two and one-fourth acres of land in the geographic center of the ward for a meeting house, fencing the lot with "cedar posts and twenty-six inch net wire with three barbs above," and landscaping the grounds with trees and grass. Taylor's concern for community improvement resulted in building a new school house, and Palmer's conservatism maintained an uneasy harmony at the expense of progress for almost twenty years.[22]

To Thomas Palmer, harmony was of prime importance. He believed that harmony should begin at home and should be cultivated under all conditions to build up a strong community. He avoided argument and discord at all costs and in every situation and disapproved of innovative thinking. During his nineteen years as bishop, any proposed community action required the unanimous approval of every family in the ward. If one dissenting opinion was expressed, plans for a project were abandoned. As a result, very little was accomplished. The electricity did not come to the flats and Battle Creek in 1929 because some of the people, including Bishop Palmer, did not think they needed it, and the ward delayed building a meeting house because a few people objected each time a location was suggested.[23]

All of the bishops found that selecting the location for a meeting house presented difficulties. The people of Battle Creek demanded a location convenient for them, and the members in Roscoe, hoping that they could separate into their own ward, as Banida had in 1911, were not enthusiastic about building at all. People on the flat

insisted that the only fair solution was to construct the building in the exact geographic center of the ward, which, incidentally, happened to be near their homes. Attempts to settle on a location invariably met with so much animosity from a few of the members that bishoprics repeatedly dropped the subject to prevent hard feelings.[24]

Ironically, when agreement was finally reached in 1942, under a stronger and more energetic bishop, construction of the ward chapel provided the greatest unifying force in Winder's history. Although World War II delayed building, the ward approved the plans and started financing the project. George A. Bennett donated the first one hundred dollars and other members of the ward soon followed his example. By the summer of 1950, construction had commenced. Fifteen thousand dollars had accumulated in the building fund and forty thousand feet of "good pine lumber, which had been logged out of the mountains east of Mink Creek" by the members of the ward in 1947 was ready to use.[25]

During construction members donated 7,500 hours of labor. They completed and dedicated the building on 22 June 1952, at a total cost of $31,000. Every member of the ward, including John Warrick who was not a member, contributed cash and labor. Attendance at church almost doubled and a number of disgruntled members became active. Harold Swainston, whose support of the ward had been sporadic before helping with the chapel, became one of the most enthusiastic supporters of church and community activity. "Until we built the meeting house, I felt excluded from the community. I learned to respect the people of Winder for the first time by working with them,"

he said.[26] Other members reacted in the same way. Alice Talbot commented, "the people of Winder were good Mormons before the church was built, but afterward we were very faithful."[27]

In most essential respects the religious climate in Winder conformed to that of surrounding communities. Arrington and Bitton found broad areas of similarity in most wards:

> In any Mormon ward one would encounter the same meetings, the same kinds of activity, the same shibboleths marking believers off from the outside world. The expression "ward family" early came into use as a designation of this group of perhaps 150 to 200 families with which one would eventually become well acquainted. Visiting different wards when traveling or moving to another ward has seldom caused much of a shock to Mormons, who often remark that the "church is the same anywhere in the world." Common programs and common experiences did much to mold a common identity.[28]

Arrington and Bitton depicted the nineteenth-century rural Mormon ward as a little commonwealth, "far more than a place for listening to a sermon each Sunday." As the basic ecclesiastical unit of the church, the ward was "an arena for growth, a network of personal relationships, and a focal point for identity."[29] The political, social, economic, and religious life of the community revolved around church activities and organization.

Presiding over the ward, a paternalistic bishop, under varying gradients of direction from a stake presidency and other levels of church hierarchy, supervised every temporal aspect of local concern. Besides a pastor, advisor, and theologian, the bishop served as social director, statesman, spokesman, judge, arbitrator, and foreman of his ward. He led every domestic improvement; assisted farmers; directed construction and maintenance of public buildings, canals,

fences, and roads; controlled unruly youth; and motivated temporal and spiritual diligence.[30]

Mormonism geared its social machinery toward unity and progress. Whether organized as an United Order, such as Orderville in southern Utah, or as one of the cooperative communities of Cache Valley, the model Mormon ward entialed total personal and collective involvement.[31]

Mormon populations seldom realized their ideal of communitarian effort, perfected in small integrated wards, but the concept of unity was alwasy present, and it carried over into the twentieth century after the Mormon church had relinquished its official economic and political control. By 1900, when individualism had replaced cooperative living as a preferred lifestyle, the local linkage between political, social, and religious affairs, though sometimes unofficial, remained strong.[32]

Like other Mormon communities, Winder perpetuated the close correlation between religion, politics, and social activities as part of its value system. The influence of religious belief and practice permeated every corner of community life. The church sponsored the Friday night dances, the debates, the dramas, and the sports events. Youth and children's auxillaries gave parties, and the ward held a reunion each summer. On one rare occasion, 29 July 1934, Sunday School and Sacrament Meeting convened in a wooded grove at the head of the West Cache canal. A near record member of one hundred and fifty members attended. After services and a picnic, the adults joined the children in playing games and fishing for carp in Bear

River. The cultural and recreational programs of the church reinforced the sense of community among the members.[33]

The church concerned itself with secular, as well as spiritual, matters. For example, in March 1909, shortly before he was released as bishop, William Hawkes spoke concerning "the Temperance Move and how we should live so no such move need affect us," and on 22 May 1910, High Counselor Monson encouraged the members to vote for prohibition.[34] In 1917, Joseph Belnap of the high counsel explained "the object of our nation entering the great conflict now going on in Europe"; in 1920, William Shuldberg urged support of the Farm Bureau; and during the depression, Taylor Nelson advised farmers to store wheat rather than sell it for 25¢ per bushel.[35] This intermingling of religion with every aspect of living was an outcome of religious homogeneity, convenience, and tradition. Thus, when prayers were offered in school, when teachers dismissed school on Wednesday afternoons for Primary, and when schools were constructed with the understanding that they would double as church buildings, the people of Winder approved because the arrangements were convenient for them. In many small Mormon communities the same conditions prevailed and similar situations existed in other parts of the United States.[36] Ronald and Grace Jager observed a close intermingling of Church and State in their study of Washington, New Hampshire. They commented:

> We all share in a vague and pious American myth that Church and State are somehow separate--or that they can be, or always were, or ought to be: the myth takes many forms, none of them very clear upon close examination. What is true is simply that the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution prohibits Congress from establishing a religion; and for the rest, the details are largely up to local circumstance, subject to the whims of the Supreme Court and the tolerance of individuals.[37]

The Jagers found that the church and the government were organized to parallel and supplement each other and that relations between the two were never simple. Few clear lines separated the affairs of one from the affairs of the other. In Washington, as in Winder, the same public building served many functions.

> . . . what was the Meeting House on Sunday was the Town House on Monday. The building was . . . erected . . . with that dual purpose in mind. And the same goes for all the neighboring towns. . . .[38]

Winder, and many other small communities in Franklin county, fell under the direct civil jurisdiction of the county government, which was headed by a board of commissioners and other elected officials. Apparently, no one in Winder considered the possibility of incorporating as a village. Harriet Palmer thought that no one was interested in organizing a town government; Gustave Hedin said that the subject had never been brought up; Barbara Bennett said that she always wondered why Winder did not form an organization for civic improvement; others considered Winder too small.[39] The lack of interest in local government probably reflected the diversity of the community, a general satisfaction with the county government, and a conviction that the bishop took adequate care of community concerns.

Winder was an election district with a registrar and election judges appointed by county party organizations according to voting patterns in the previous election. The registrar and one election judge were chosen from the majority party of the district and a second judge was selected by the opposing party. Elections were held at the school, where over 50 percent of the adult population usually cast ballots.[40]

Like other Franklin county citizens, the people of Winder voted fairly consistently for most of the officers and referendums on the ballot. Exceptions occurred when both candidates for an office were unpopular, as was the case in the 1914 election when sixteen out of a possible thirty-six people abstained from voting for county commissioner No. 1, sixteen did not vote for county attorney, and fifteen did not vote for assessor. Until 1920, they usually adhered to party lines, after which they showed a tendency toward cross-voting, and the emphasis shifted away from party toward personalities.[41]

The community was rather evenly divided between loyalty to the two major parties, with Republicans usually enjoying a slight edge. In 1908 and 1912, Republican victory was close; in 1910, the Democrats won; and between 1914 and 1930, the Republican votes were in the majority. In 1924, when the Progressives polled 35 percent of the ticket in Franklin county, LaFollette supporters were able to claim less than one-half of the usual Democratic vote in Winder. In the New Deal years between 1932 and 1940, a very slight majority voted Democratic in three elections out of five.[42]

The only officers elected for the community were the constable and a school board, consisting of a chairman and a clerk. The school trustees exercised considerable influence in the community. Within certain guidelines set down by the state, they were autonomous in all matters pertaining to primary education and busing of school children. They hired teachers, set policies, provided for maintenance of the school house and grounds, and dispersed funds accrued to

the school district. They usually succeeded themselves as long as they were willing to serve.[43]

The office of constable was mostly nominal in nature. Officially, the constable was responsible for maintaining the peace. In practice, his duties consisted of controlling stray animals and being present at elections. The bishop usually took care of minor disturbances unless they were serious enough to warrant calling the county sheriff. The offices of school trustee and constable were uncontested in elections. Campaigning for these offices would have been considered presumptuous. Because the trustees and the constable received no salary, people agreed to run for these local offices as a matter of public service. The Mormon dedication to lay participation encouraged volunteer service to the community, but people in Winder felt that seeking office without being urged to do so was in poor taste. Limiting the candidates to a single slate was one way the community prevention dissension.

As the controlling agency of the community, the church set the climate of cohesion or of fragmentation. Strong leaders encouraged progress, those who were too sensitive to criticism retarded the community's social growth. But the influence of the bishops was limited. People supported the bishop only in the activities of which they approved and which they thought they could afford. Cautious religious leadership reinforced other forces working to disrupt community; it was not the only reason why Winder did not develop close community ties.

In considering the various facets of religious influence in Winder--its cohesive and divisive elements, its pervasive nature,

its typicality, and its religious homogeniety--the difference between religious and political influence in English communities, contrasted with that in Winder, is one of the wide gulfs in local history between the two countries. English local historians study the same influences, but with an entirely different emphasis. They deal with religious competition, architecture of churches, sittings, charities, and class structure, factors which hardly affect religion in Winder. Attitudes value systems, and cooperative activity are more important than formal framework. Different emphasis, in turn, requires different methods.

Whereas the intermingling of social, political, economic, and religious factors occur in both countries, the focus is not the same. The close relationships of the "established church and the state" which "meant that the state was continually active on behalf of the church" is not the same relationship which caused religion in Winder to enter into every other phase of community life.[44]

The same observation holds true for other American communities. Religion and politics are areas where the historian should avoid suggesting parallels which exhibit common aspects, but which have an entirely different meaning. Here the intuitive capacity of the historian comes into play in determining the true nature of the similarities. Intuition is one of the local historian's most valuable assets. It modifies and revises opinion which may be distorted one way or another by incomplete source materials and popular misconceptions, building the formation of creative hypothesis, the synthesis of ideas, and the emergency of authentic patterns.

Notes

[1]Winder Ward Statistical Records; Interview with Alice Talbot, 27 October 1977; John Warrick was the only nonmember of the Mormon church residing in Winder for more than one or two consecutive years, Interview with Myrtle Swainston, 17 October 1978.

[2]Jensen, Manuscript History; Winder Ward Records, p. 1.

[3]Ibid.; Winder Ward Records, 17 November 1907. A ward is the smallest complete unit of Mormon ecclesiastical organization. It is roughly equivalent to a parish and may consist of from about 75 to 750 persons. It is presided over by a bishop and two counselors, who are appointed by the church general authorities in Salt Lake City from recommendations made by a regional church leader called the stake president. Occasionally when a Mormon population is too small to warrant creation of a separate ward, a smaller group, called a branch, is formed as an adjunct to the ward.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Insert in Jensen, Manuscript History.

[8]Winder Ward Minutes, 17 November 1907.

[9]Winder Ward Minutes, 1907-09; Jensen, Manuscript History.

[10]Winder Ward Minutes, 17 November 1907.

[11]Ibid.; Interview with Alice Talbot, 27 October 1977.

[12]Winder Ward Records, 18 November 1907, 21 June 1908.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid., 19 July 1908.

[15]Ibid., 4 May 1908.

[16]Ibid., 21 June 1908, 13 September 1908, 13 December 1908.

[17]Ibid., 27 December 1908. For attendance records, see Winder Ward Minutes from November 1907 to December 1908.

[18]Ibid., 17 January 1909.

[19]Ibid., 1 February 1909.

[20]Jensen, Manuscript History.

[21]The same was true of most wards, see Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, The Mormon Experience (New York: Alfred A. Knoph, 1979), pp. 208-209.

[22]Winder Ward Records, 11 July 1909, 1 July 1909, 3 April 1910, 10 August 1919.

[23]Ibid.; Winder Ward Records, 24 November 1907; Interview with Myrtle Swainston, 17 October 1978.

[24]Ibid., 18 November 1907, 21 June 1908, 13 December 1908, 16 February 1913.

[25]Hedin History of Winder Ward, p. 3.

[26]Ibid.; Interview with B. H. Swainston, 17 October 1978.

[27]Interview with Alice Talbot, 12 March 1980.

[28]Arrington and Bitton, The Mormon Experience, p. 216.

[29]Ibid., p. 219.

[30]Ibid., pp. 207-209.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Arrington, "Transition to the Modern Era," p. 206.

[33]Eugene E. Campbell, "Social, Cultural, and Recreational Life," in Ricks The History of a Valley, p. 417; Arrington and Bitton, The Mormon Experience, pp. 252, 261; Winder Ward Minutes, 29 July 1934.

[34]Winder Ward Minutes, 14 March 1909, 22 May 1910.

[35]Ibid., 15 September 1917, 12 December 1920, 31 July 1932.

[36]Arrington and Bitton, The Mormon Experience, p. 211.

[37]Ronald Jager and Grace Jager, Portrait of a Hill Town (Concord, New Hampshire, The Village Press, 1977), p. 57.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Interviews with Harriet Palmer, Gustave Hedin, Barbara Bennett, Vera Martin, and Mary Talbot, 12 March 1980.

[40]Interview with Myrtle Swainston, 17 October 1978; Franklin County Citizen, 5 November 1914, 7 November 1918.

[41]Ibid., S. George Ellsworth, "Political Developments," in Ricks History of a Valley, pp. 135-137; Franklin County, Idaho, Office of the County Clerk, Election Returns.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Rogers, Approaches to Local History, p. 142.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

The total experience of the people of Winder was a blend of limited association and genuine community. It was a variant of frontier society and a successor of Mormon commonality, retaining vestiges of both while moving toward a form of community which was new, but not so different from the kind of community developing at the same time among other populations in northern Cache Valley.

From the beginning, it was a fragmented and limited kind of community, held together by the common value system of the church, yet continually eroded by mobility and individualism. It was a community of limited involvement, permitting easy withdrawal, reduced commitment, and minimal effectiveness.

The first settlers grouped together in neighborhoods and families. In spite of conflicting interests and goals, they worked together toward progress and community development. Realizing that living in Winder denied their children secondary education and that their financial expectations were unrealistic, they moved back to Preston and Hyde Park. Those who replaced them and the few who stayed in Winder became less dedicated to community development.

By 1918, a stable core became resigned to limited progress and loose community ties. Outsiders began viewing the people of Winder as backward. Visits to Preston became less frequent and

families withdrew into isolated pockets of society, preserving themselves instead of creating, stagnating instead of progressing, and ill-equipped to face the realities of the mid-twentieth century.

Revolutions in psychology, education, science, and technology, which created new concepts in America's lifestyle during the first one-third of the twentieth century, mostly passed them by. The intellectual stimulation of the Utah State Agricultural College in Logan and the cultural-artistic achievements, noted by Eugene E. Campbell in The History of a Valley as being important to Cache Valley, hardly touched the lives of the permanent residents of Winder.[1] Children learned old-fashioned techniques of farming, religious orthodoxy, and attachment to place from their parents. School teachers, carefully screened against liberality, reinforced the "poor and humble" attitudes that were used to justify community inertia. The home, supported by the secular and religious training which the children received, preserved their beliefs and strengthened their desire to live in rural surroundings, but it provided little stimulus for the mind or thirst for discovery.

A renaissance of building, learning, cultural activity, and community interaction returned them to the mainstream of society after World War II. Constructing a ward meeting house brought the people into a more intimate contact with each other and taught them how to work together to improve community. Remodeling, beautifying, and landscaping their homes raised the standard of living and gave them a sense of personal and community pride. Sending their children to school in Preston widened their interests, brought them into

closer contact with people in other communities, taught them social skills, and sharpened a desire for higher education, cultural pursuits, and artistic achievement. They joined the nationwide "shift by stages" from the little community of Winder to the larger community of Franklin County and the regional community of Cache Valley.[2]

The thesis shows that a combination of factors--physical, economic, social, religious, and political--prevented Winder from sustaining stable community ties. Because these factors were so closely interwoven into the fabric of the community, it is difficult to untangle them for analysis, much less to determine which was the most important. The economic problems created by the Oneida canal deserves noting, but other populations have achieved cohesion under financial stress. Strong church leaders could have pulled the people together, but the church does not deserve the blame for the failure of a leadership.

Certain similarities between the three populations which occupied Winder--the prehistoric Shoshoni, the historic Shoshoni, and the Mormon settlers--none of which formed close communities--suggests that ecological factors were the major determinant. The natural carrying capacity of the land and the climate did not provide adequate human support systems. Yet, the Mormon settlers of Banida formed exceptionally close ties under the same ecological conditions.

The three populations shared social characteristics in common. Family associations eroded community development, groups valued individualism over organization, strong leaders did not emerge,

and mobility was high. But here the similarities end. The culture of the Shoshoni prevented community; the Mormon culture fostered it.

All of the determinants are too important to elevate one over another. To depict the interaction and relationship of all aspects of human activity, with emphasis on the influence each has on the other, is a perpetual challenge to the local historian. The difficulty with picking out a single factor, whether political, economic, social, or ecological, is that one element is given precedence as the "basic causal factor in any change which may occur."[3] In actuality, the causes of human behavior are usually a complex mixture of elements. There may be a primary cause, but the local historian must be suspicious if it "appears that there is only one operative factor."[4] The local historian has a responsibility to sustain a comprehensive view of human behavior. People are not political, or economic or social, or cultural; they are a combination of all. The local historian has a duty to view humanity in its wholeness. This perspective gives local history a dimension lacking in other local studies that deal with mankind.[5]

The story of community in Winder addresses some of the larger themes of American history: the struggle to retain local education, the decline of rural populations, the influence of religion on community, the rural economy, and settlement patterns. These add to the already considerable documentation of wider movements and generalizations, but that is not the primary purpose of this study. Such themes are presented here to give perspective and understanding to the community patterns of Winder. The intrinsic worth of the community speaks for itself.

The study of a population which did not achieve its expectations is as important as that of a population which exceeded its potential. Man learns from his failures as well as from his successes. From Winder, mankind can see that individualism can be a curse or a blessing; that for some, but not all, harmony at any cost is too high a price to pay; that leaders can stifle progress or inspire cooperation; and that men can participate in all levels and kinds of community.

Since the dramatic declines of population in both Winder and Banida, the two communities have combined to form a single Mormon ward. From this fusion a different kind of cohesion than existed in either before is evolving into a more dynamic and deliberate unity, illustrating the ability of American populations to invent new forms to appease the deep and enduring need for community.

The infinite variety of American community experiences and the lack of uniformity in source materials to portray and evaluate the local past are perhaps the best justifications for the development of a uniquely American theory of local history. English concepts and methods may be adapted to some circumstances, but not to all. It may be that they are too structured to apply to the American past, or it may be that American local historians have ventured past a point of confinement in the European mold.

The fundamentals laid down by Finberg are used successfully in this thesis. The history of community in Winder is studied for its own value. The thesis deals with social realities, it depends on a comparative approach, it utilizes an internal point of view, it

draws its themes from the community itself, it makes use of the "sister disciplines," and it draws from a wide range of source materials.

The idea that local history is an independent discipline warrants the time required for a study of a small population, such as that of Winder. Local history is its own master, with its own artistry, methods, and reasons for existing. It requires no apology, no feelings of inferiority, no sense of justification which has plagued it in the past. Local history is local history, no more and no less. By accepting its nature, differences, and challenges, local historians can contribute significantly toward helping man to understand his local past. With this orientation, American local history, despite its frustrations and insecurities, can open new and exciting explorations into American history.

Local history as a social reality is as valid in the United States as it is in England. The Mormon settlers clearly defined the physical parameters of Winder, which they used as a line of social demarcation to divide the people "belonging" to Winder from outsiders. The Shoshoni set no such boundaries and formed only a slight attachment to place. The field of local history is wide enough to accommodate populations without physical or administrative boundaries, including, for instance, a band of gypsies or a wagon train.

Approaching the local population from an internal viewpoint allows a fuller understanding of the group. The local historian should seek intimacy with his subject. Sensitivity to the rhythms of change and response to the nuances of events produces a precision

achieved in no other way. It is a means of reaching into the soul of the community, feeling between the lines, understanding the pauses and omissions, learning the body language, and sometimes easing into repressed lines of communication. Then entries in diaries, newspapers, letters, public addresses, minutes, and response to circumstance can be evaluated in a truer context. Accurate interpretation requires conveying a personal knowledge of the population's temper and personality in the past. Empathy, as well as knowledge, is a desirable attribute of local history.

Conversely, local history requires detachment and perspective. Comparison is essential. The human mind cannot perceive meaning without some point of reference. Winder could not be studied in isolation because it was not cut off from other communities in Franklin County. It was part of Cache Valley, of the Mormon society, of the Great Basin, of the American West, and of the nation. It was necessary to know how wider movements in history affected the local population and if people responded in a typical or atypical fashion.

Winder provided adequate themes for the thesis. The primary theme of community was chosen because it seemed to be the one which related best to the other themes and would depict the population best. Drawing the theme from the community depends on the intuitive capacity of the local historian to sense the inner dynamics of the group he is studying. At some point in his research, the community will begin to reveal itself to him in the essential respects of its totality. Unifying characteristics and paradoxes blend, and the temporal and spacial relationships become clearer. The historian

discovers connections between patterns of attitude and related areas of social experience. Matters previously appearing to be extraneous or insignificant fit into the network he is trying to piece together. This stage of achievement is both personally rewarding and professionally valuable. With an insight into the essence of the community, the overriding themes come to the foreground and allow the historian to transfer to his readers a symmetrical web of ideas which complement the theme and portray at least one aspect of the community in a true context.

The number of approaches used in the study of Winder furnishes a glimpse into the scope and complexity of local history. Approaching the population from as many angles as practical strikes a better balance, and using the "sister disciplines" to accomplish historical goals gives better perspective and a more convincing portrayal.

Observing the particularities of the terrain and interviewing the people who live in Winder provided source materials that pulled the study together. The setting and the population were allowed to speak for themselves to reveal the texture of community--its weakness and strengths, its chaos and order, its logic and idiosyncrasies, its beauty, its values, its hopes, its triumphs, and its failures. Face-to-face contact with the people and the place provides personal dimensions into the lives of the workers, the women, the children, and the farmers, as well as the leaders.

Local history appeals to the amateur in the United States as much as it does in England. The difference between the American amateur and the English amateur is that here less direction is

available and more amateurs in this country are willing to write the history of a population or a place with less training. The quality of the histories they produce varies from valuable interpretation to random compilations of antiquarian material. This does not mean that the local historian can afford to ignore antiquarian efforts. Finberg's comment that "antiquarianism has its uses" was an understatement. The historian who is fortunate enough to have at his disposal an antiquarian study of his area of interest, such as a county history of the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, owns a gold mine of information. Much of the past which would otherwise be lost is preserved, many of his sources are uncovered for him, and a sizeable share of his preliminary research is already done. A detailed study of even a small population requires the use of a great many facts. It depends on a high ratio of facts-per-person to develop its ideas. The local historian should not be disturbed if his work is a repository for community recollections or a reference book to the past. At a minimum, it should serve as a source where curiosity is satisfied, tradition is confirmed or refuted, and clues to roots are discovered. Of course, it should be more. A history which is merely a list of one fact after another is no history at all.[6] A history speculates on what the facts mean, how they were perceived by the population, and why they were important. Facts are not an end in themselves, but a means to explain the historical experience of the community.

Today, as is the case with other disciplines, the field of local history is faced with so much source material that assimilation

by a single researcher is impossible. Selectivity becomes necessary to filter out that which is artistic, sensitive, revealing, and explository. Even so, group or team efforts may be advisable. The concept that history worthy of being read must be based on "information gathered, pondered, and digested by a single mind, written by a single hand," while having distinct advantages of a single focus and greater continuity, often has to be discarded in the interests of practicality.[7]

Increasingly, literary artistry is a quality necessary to successful local history. If analysis of a local population is to accomplish the purpose for which it was written, it must be read, and its chances of being read depend upon its appeal to the reading public. The ability to write, to organize material, and to entrap the reader have become a practical necessity for the historian. To attract an audience, local history has to depend on theme, atmosphere, characterization, and suspense. The American reader hungers for the experience he received in Roots and Shogun. He wants a history which is particular and individualistic with which he can identify. He wants to know if his ethnic group, religion, ancestor, or his personal experience was typical or atypical of its time and what it meant. The American public demands drama, precision, clarity, relevance, and forward motion. It rejects a local history which offers less.

Another challenge to the local historian is to learn to cope with the accelerating rate of change. In today's world, change is so rapid and widespread that the human mind finds difficulty in dealing

with the furious pace. The historian needs to reaffirm the relativity of truths and the omnipresence of movement. He often finds himself in the confusing position of studying cultures which moved slowly in time and space, periodically appearing to almost stand still, while he lives in a society which hurls him through a seemingly endless sequence of new methods, ideas, and values.

Local history is a continuing process. As new records emerge and new techniques are devised, yesterday's historical truths require reevaluation. Because of its tentative nature, local history is never complete, but needs constant adjustment.

To say that each generation writes its own history has become a historical cliche, but it is true. The historian lives a brief time and at best he sees one small segment of earth experience with which to compare the past. He has to work with the materials available, attempting to arrange them into as logical a pattern as he can with the powers he possesses.

The acceptance of change acts as a catalyst to continued study and for the emergence of fresh avenues of investigation. A local history which is unfinished, perpetually unfolding, allows room for ingenuity, imagination, and the discovery of greater truths.

In all of these aspects, American and English local history agree. The history of community in Winder attempts to utilize at least some of these concepts; yet it is very different from an English local history. Its mood, its orientation, its purpose, its values, and its presentation are American, as are the themes it deals with and the populations it studies.

There is much in English local history that Americans can use to construct their own synthesis, but American historians have learned that it is a mistake to look at American community on any of its levels through stereotypes of European thought. Similarities exits, and comparisons should be made; there are also irreconcilable differences.[8] America began as a cultural hybrid and continued as an object lesson in transformation to meet the needs of the pioneer. The nonconformist, the free-thinker, and the opportunist. To depict local populations accurately, local history has to parallel their development.

The field needs elbow room to develop its own personality and character. In the meantime, local historians in the United States must learn to live with a certain amount of chaos. So long as they continue to draw from a wide variety of sources and to use various methods, local history will retain its confused flavor.

The definition and the scope of local history is by no means set, and, at this time, it should be left flexible, leaving leverage for personal and group deviation. The discipline should be democratic, as the society is democratic, not because of ideological loyalty, but for practical effectiveness. It should be pluralistic in rejecting conformity and realistic in avoiding absolutes. Such a local history should recognize the interdependence of social phenomena and appreciate material things as symbols of desires which exist for the satisfaction of psychological and spiritual, as well as material needs.

Of course, no one expects a single local history to meet all of the criteria suggested. No local history is ever perfect or

complete. Sooner or later, the historian reaches a point where he is content with producing an adequate portrayal. The product varies with each writer and each generation. But a conscious effort toward an ideal is bound to produce a more relevant and satisfying product. An American philosophy of local history will help the historian avoid misdirection and unnecessary delay in exploring the American local experience.

Notes

[1]Campbell, "Social, Cultural, and Recreational Life," pp. 427-431.

[2]David J. Russo, Families and Communities (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1974), pp. 155-156.

[3]Russo, Families and Communities, p. 258.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Rogers, Group Projects in Local History, p. 12.

[7]W. T. Laprode, "Obstacles in Studying History," South Atlantic Quarterly VIX (Spring 1960): 206.

[8]Russo, Families and Communities, p. 236.

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CONCEPTS IN AMERICAN LOCAL HISTORY:

COMMUNITY IN WINDER, IDAHO

Lorine S. Goodwin

Department of History

M.A. Degree, August 1981

ABSTRACT

Recently the need for a more clearly defined structural basis for American local history has become acute. Concepts used in national history often fall short of the needs of local history. As a result, both professionals and amateurs are producing a rash of community histories without the benefit of adequate guidelines.

This thesis draws together a number of concepts useful in the development of American local history as a viable academic field of study. It tests these concepts in presenting the history of community in Winder, a small, rural population set in southeastern Idaho.

COMMITTEE APPROVAL:

David H. Pratt, Committee Chairman

Eugene E. Campbell, Committee Member

James B. Allen, Department Chairman