

THE SAGA OF JOHANNES AND MARTHA DAHLE

Part 2 – The Clarkston Period.

By Larry D. Christiansen

The prime difficulty in writing an account of Johannes and Martha Dahle while at Clarkston is the lack of resources, and neither of the two left any record by way of writing such as letters or a diary. Family stories are few and thin with some having serious questions on reliability. Unfortunately, the Clarkston period has very little information directly on the Dahles, at best there were tiny brief glimpses but rarely enough to distill into an insightful story or account. As troublesome as it was with the male side, it was more difficult with the female side. To hopefully fill the many voids, blanks and gaps in the Dahle story, research was extended beyond the usual genealogical and family resources into Church and government records and beyond into other Cache Valley records (diaries, journals, letters, newspapers, etc.) to know the circumstances and activities that were taking place. In addition this account is the first from the family that was left in Clarkston to go into the account in any depth beyond a two or three paged genealogical sketch. Hopefully this new perspective, plus the depth of the research, will be a key to a better understanding of these two ancestors. My goal is to put some additional substance to the vastly incomplete picture of the Dahles and their time at Clarkston, expectantly to achieve some better angles of vision to reveal them with more clarity.

As the new year of 1864 dawned, Cache Valley was one of the most promising areas for farming in the Territory of Utah. Some important aspects of the time (1864) were related as follows by an early pioneer, Isaac Sorensen, in nearby Mendon when he described the situation of primitive farming, irrigation, manual harvesting and threshing of grain and finding a market in an economy where money was rare and barter or trade the common way:

There was not much market for grain in Cache . . . when it is remembered that in these early times, a man would load his wagon with wheat or oats, which had been produced by ploughing the ground with ox teams, watered it and cut it with cradles bound it by hand, thrashed it with chaffe pillars [chaff pillars or flails] and turned the fan all day for cleaning it, and then hauling it to Salt Lake City and sell it, and obtain less than 2 yrd [yards] of Factory [cotton cloth] for one Bushle [bushel] of wheat, and all other articles about at the same rate, yet this was done for many years, and often Breadstuffs would be scarce before the Harvest would be ready.

However, there were some changes coming; principally, the growth of the local population would increase and create a small home market and the discovery of mines in northern Idaho and Montana greatly expanded it. Soon men of adventure and merchants found that Utah was the closest source of foodstuffs and other items wanted by the miners. At this threshold of time, in January of 1864, Cache Valley experienced extremely cold weather, the worst since 1858, and during the following months there was anticipation of a late spring along with some fear of food shortages. This promoted President Brigham Young to issue a proposal to the farmers in the area to sell all their surplus wheat to him at a set price of \$2 per bushel, while decrying the selling of the same to gentiles for a dollar more per bushel. Young's stated reasons for his proposal were "to feed the poor" and keep the newly arrived California Column troops from having an excuse to cause trouble in Utah. For the next several years Cache Valley wheat was a constant subject in President Young's counsel to the residents. All of the above would put Cache Valley in an important geographic and agricultural position within a short time.

The Cache area was first settled in 1856 as Maughan Fort (now Wellsville), temporarily abandoned for a short time during the scare of the Utah War and then resettled with many of the new immigrants from Europe directed to it by the Church. Starting in 1859, nearby Mendon was established and a string of settlements formed along the eastern side of the valley. All were encouraged to be established fort-like in defense against Indian depredations, plus providing support of each other in case of troubles. Stealing of stock was the primary threat and the capture of some suspected Indian thieves resulted in deaths of whites and Indians at Smithfield in 1860, ratcheting up the stealing and counter measures. Thus, the Church leaders in Cache Valley put a moratorium on new settlements beyond the collective cover of the established towns and particularly any place west of Bear River. This policy remained in effect even after the crushing defeat of the Indians by the force of California Volunteers led by Colonel Patrick Connor at the Battle of Bear River in late January of 1863. By now several of the Mormon communities felt there was a need for expanding the settlements to meet the needs of the continuing influx of new settlers into the area. In the following year of 1864 plans were made to form new settlements on the west side of the valley on the far side of Bear River to provide more opportunities for more settlers and opening over one-third of Cache Valley in this regard. Mary Ann Weston Maughan (wife of Peter Maughan who led the Mormon settlement in Cache Valley) in her combination autobiography and journal wrote that with breaking the Indians' power that by September of 1864 the new settlements of Oxford, Weston and Clarkston were established, drawing prospective settlers primarily from Franklin, Richmond and Logan respectively. Another source had the settlers either assigned or volunteering to go

to what became Clarkston, arriving at the prospective new place in July of 1864. Perhaps they arrived in two divisions, the earliest in July and the rest of the settlers in September.

Either way, County Surveyor James H. Martineau went to the new area to be settled and surveyed and platted the proposed new settlement and adjacent farming area on July 22, 1864, as recorded in his "Clarkston City and Farming Survey." City Plat A consisted of nine ten-acre blocks with the middle block assigned as the public square with the eight surrounding blocks each subdivided into eight lots of one and one-quarter acres (later a City Plat B to the west was added to the original plat). The northeastern corner of the city plat was located near where "City Creek" joined the main Clarkston Creek. The farm land to the north was divided into eighteen five-acre lots with the more extensive farming area divided into ten acre farm parcels to the north, east and south. A primary feature of the survey was the Clarkston Creek which traversed from the northwest corner to the southeastern edge; the land in the farm survey was based on what was projected could be irrigated from the streams that flowed from the nearby mountains. Another feature of the survey showed where a projected county road would come into the town from the south and go through the middle of the settlement along with a network of farm roads and lanes, giving access to the various farms that would come into being with the actual settlement and the establishment of farms. A small group of settlers from Logan had an assigned leader in Israel J. Clark, as presiding elder, who led the small group of settlers with his son and a dozen others. Johannes Dahle's name was included in the list of the first fourteen heads of families bound for the new settlement that would eventually be named after its founder as Clarkston. The founding pioneers left Logan and crossed Bear River without a bridge or ferry and moved some fifteen miles northwest of Logan to locate near the western mountains of Cache Valley. There were several good features that made the location attractive—good land, sufficient water for irrigation, a nearby supply of wood and timber in the adjacent mountains and an extended fine meadowland nearby.

Whether apparent at the beginning, there were some shortcomings such as isolation from the other Mormon settlements in the valley, being situated on the far western side and being cut off by Bear River from the other settlements. Within a year or two more disadvantages came into focus when the winter snows piled deep and stayed late into the spring with frequent flooding from the spring thaws and heavy thunderstorms, and the Indians objected to the Mormons claiming and using the area. At almost the same time President Young visited Wellsville on July 27, 1864, and gave a sermon expounding that all increase comes from the Lord, telling his audience they might go and sow grain, water it to promote growth, "but you cannot produce one kernel of grain. And when the grain is maturing how easy it would be for the Lord to send crickets, though we can war with them easier than we can with grasshoppers, that would destroy the fruits of your toil. The increase is in the hands of the Lord." Whether perchance, premonition or prediction, it would not be long before Cache Valley, including Clarkston, would have several rounds of grasshopper troubles.

When the Clarkston settlers arrived in July or in September of 1864, there was much to do before winter set in. The new settlers were assigned town lots whereupon they would establish their new homes. Upon the initial arrival at the new location, the immediate challenge was to construct crude shelters with most people choosing to make dugouts with three settlers building log houses (with dirt floors and roofs) from the timber in the nearby mountains. For the first winter the number of dwellings was small, perhaps numbering only a dozen or less. The dugout shelters were the easiest and quickest to make especially in the right terrain such as dug into a slope or hillside, and they were adaptable and capable of easy expansion for more inhabitants. Whether dug as a hole in the ground, semi-recessed or dug into the side of a hill, they required a certain amount of timber, poles and branches to form some of the walls and all of the roof (a layer of evergreen boughs, brush, leaves, sod, etc.) and entrance openings. Most did not have doors and windows and all had dirt floors. Correctly constructed with a fireplace in a corner, they could be dry and warm even in cold weather, but they were also earthly and primitive dwellings. With a little ingenuity, necessary articles were made such as tables, chairs and beds. For dugouts or log cabins the adz, and later a two-man saw pit, came into being to turn round logs into more suitable lumber for all construction. At the same time attention had to be taken to secure and put up hay for the cows, oxen and horses the settlers had brought with them. They cut the wild grass as hay and put it into stacks for future use. In addition, sufficient wood had to be cut for fuel for cooking and heating. According to one of the earliest Clarkston families, in time it became a rule of thumb that: "They would need six or eight loads of firewood to last through the winter." On top of all this, Presiding Elder Israel Clark, with an associate or two, had to ensure everyone cooperated to the best interests of the group, including the need and location of water ditches to fully utilize potential irrigation, and some laid out the course of the ditches along with making the initial ones. Most likely some preliminary decisions were made on the size and location of plots of farm land, water rights for irrigation water, meadowland privileges and whatever else was needed.

In the first group of settlers, it was claimed that only Andrew McCombs brought his wife Amelia, and later some of the men returned to Logan and brought their wives and children to the new place. Johannes had left wife Martha in Logan where his mother and brother and family resided and went to Clarkston in 1864. On August 24, 1864, at Logan Martha gave birth to her second child, Hans. Presumably Johannes brought the ox team and wagon he had obtained just prior to moving to Cache Valley and carried some foodstuffs, tools and farming implements and

possibly other animals. He prepared a dugout shelter and cut the high wild hay with the assistance of his younger brother Helge, who spent some time here helping Johannes get settled. Beside those tasks needing immediate attention, consideration was extended to providing a corral and shelter for their animals, improving the lot around the shelter, bringing extra logs from the mountains that could be used as either extra firewood if needed or for future improvement to their living accommodations in the coming spring. Whether land assignments were made that first fall or not, some attention may have been made towards breaking the land for tillage and gardens in the spring for in 1864 only spring grain was sown in Cache Valley. All of the above is surmised as neither Johannes nor any of the other first settlers left accounts of the first months in the new settlement. We do have the family story that Martha and her young son Hans joined their husband and father in the new place in October of 1864. Young Hans was the youngest boy in Clarkston that fall. A number of women stayed in Clarkston through the winter. All of the settlers' diets during this time were meager and limited, comprising much bread, biscuits, milk, mush, salted pork or mutton. With the coming of spring, gardens were planted and in time there was some variety added to the diets with fresh vegetables, wild fruits and a few eggs and whatever wild game (deer, sage hens, prairie chickens) they could obtain. The wise obtained and dried peaches, plums, apples and prunes for later use. Potatoes, corn and grains became staples and the fortunate had molasses and honey for sweetening and beef or hog was killed for food.

Lacking direct evidence from the first settlers, possibly a glance at the circumstances from another source can be useful. Henry Ballard, who became the long time bishop in the second ward in Logan, kept a journal which provides an overall view of the valley. He wrote that Cache County had pleasant fall weather until October 28, 1864, when the valley was mantled with snow for the first time. For Cache residents of some years, this was normal for the area but in the new founded settlement it was an omen of warning to make sure they prepared for the coming winter close at hand. Snow was followed by more snowfall until by February 13, 1865, when the snow in the valley was noted as knee deep while most likely it was deeper at Clarkston and the wind patterns had blown the snow into drifts which completely isolated the far western settlement. With this information we can guess that as the weather turned colder and snow piled higher, much of their work was focused on shelter and feeding their animals and improving their living quarters. The combination of being extremely occupied at Clarkston, along with a severe winter, prevented the two Dahle brothers from learning that their mother died on November 15, 1864, at Logan. They only learned of their mother's passing in the spring, at least four months after her death.

Once contact was made with the rest of the valley, the Clarkston settlement also learned by mid-April of 1865 that the President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, had been killed and the Secretary of State, William Seward, wounded. More germane or relevant for the Mormons in the valley was the news of President Brigham Young's coming to the valley in May, and how late spring, after a very hard winter, delayed plowing on the east side of the valley until the last week of April and at Clarkston into May. As late as June 16th the Ballard journal noted the mountains were still covered by snow and a snowstorm was in progress with the snow falling fast. In the spring of 1865 more settlers moved to Clarkston and accelerated the process of establishing a Mormon community. One group of new settlers came from Mendon containing five families with one, Ole A. Jensen, describing his outfit consisted of a yoke of oxen, two cows, two calves, four sheep and an "old wagon." A very abbreviated history of Clarkston ascribed the first plowing of land in the area to John Godfrey, one of the newcomers in the spring of 1865, and named "Andrew Anderson, Ole Jensen, Lars Rasmussen, Henry Stokes, Isaiah Barker, Alfred John Atkinson, and others" as planting crops the first growing season. The settlers took full advantage of the meadows for their animals and began breaking land and planting crops in the adjacent lands that could be watered. Clarkston was a farming village where those not farming didn't fit in very well unless they had a trade such as carpenter, blacksmith, etc. Money was scarce and trips to the store were not often; however, when necessary there were planned ventures for the community. The nearest store and easiest to access was ten miles away at Hampton Bridge over Bear River in Box Elder County. For each trip two men would go to the store for supplies for the whole settlement, and the men took turns in fulfilling this assignment.

Ole A. Jensen, an 1863 immigrant from Denmark, had arrived in Utah and he and his wife with others went to Hyrum in Cache County, arriving in late September of 1863, and found work threshing wheat with a flail and later in a molasses mill, being paid in wheat and then molasses. When the work was over, he set his hands to the next task which he wrote about in his own words: "I dug a hole in the ground and put a top of eleven logs and called it a dug-out" where he and his wife spent the winter after bowing down, blessing and dedicating their dwelling. He observed he and his wife had a slight problem in the community inasmuch as "We were at a loss as we could not understand the English language but we made it our continual study." In the spring they sold their lots and dugout for a cow and calf and relocated to Mendon, hoping to get a farm and land of their own. They remained here a year, where their first child was born, working for others making adobes, mowing grass with a scythe and cutting grain with a cradle plus "all kinds of rough work." Still, according to his words, "I was not satisfied as I could not get any farming land." So in 1865 he went with others to Clarkston where he came to play an important role. With that introduction it will be noted that Ole A. Jensen will be referenced several times in this work because he provided more information on Clarkston's early period than anyone else. His work is titled "Copy of the Diary of Ole A. Jen-

sen” but in actuality it is not really a diary or daily record but a series of yearly summaries written by Mr. Jensen, focusing on his family and the significant happenings for each year. Surely the information on the language difficulty, first shelter, obtaining needed essentials or outfit before settling and his desire for land ownership was similar for the Dahle family.

Perhaps initially Presiding Elder Clark assigned land to the settlers in small plots of ten acres to a family and five acres to single men with town lots assigned as well. However, in checking the old land records, that practice gave way to expediency, requests for more land or other things. While the Church controlled the distribution of land, the farm land and town lots were not sold, but the person who acquired this land paid a small fee for the surveying and recording the land transfer (usually fifty cents but not more than a dollar per parcel of land). The original plat of Clarkston City itself was for nine blocks of ten acres set in a fairly compact square three blocks wide and three long with the central block reserved as a public square for community (or Church) facilities. There were no dates given with the various lot assignments except for two later entries for Yorgen Olsen dated March 31, 1876. In the earliest land records found, the review of some of those receiving lots was as follows: Israel J. Clark received four city lots; Jesse T. Clark, two; the Tithing Office and Andrew W. Heggie, three each; Andrew Andersen, four but possibly two were canceled out by lines drawn through the name; Peter Benson, Simon Smith and others each received two; and a number of men received only one. Among those receiving two city lots was Ole A. Jensen, his two city lots (# 1 and #8) were in Block #3. Each lot contained one and one-fourth acres in the southeast corner of the block. The remainder of the lots in this block was held by Peter Benson with two lots to the west of the Jensen lots, and the Dahles possessed the other four lots comprising the upper half of block #3. Having multiple wives appears a factor in the number and amount of land granted but not a fixed rule as Ole A. Jensen had only one wife.

Most of the people getting land were prospective settlers in Clarkston but at least two, possibly three, were not actual settlers in the town. Apostle E. T. Benson, living in Logan, had two city lots and much farm land assigned to him and another noted Logan man with some wealth, John Nelson, received three city lots and much farm land. At first glance it could appear that there was a third man as a non-settler from Logan but this needs some explanation. On the earliest land record under the “City Survey” there was entered four times and written distinctly “John Dahle” assigning him four lots in Block #3; however, in the listings on “Farm and Hay Land” there were no lands assigned to John Dahle. While it could be easily assumed that the John Dahle was Johannes’ brother from Logan making him the third person obtaining city lots for purposes other than becoming a settler. As a corollary, sometime later the two brothers engaged in a land transaction whereby Johannes came to own and possess the four lots mentioned above. However, another possibility comes to light in looking closely at the land records for Johannes Dahle; there were no city lots assigned to him, but he received two ten acre farms in the “Farm and Hay Land” section. After much research into the Cache County land records, no documentation was found whereby the two brothers had a land transaction concerning these lots, and it was discovered many times where Johannes was denoted as “John Dahle” when it was beyond question the older brother was meant. This mistake will be shown in this article a few times along with the errors on the Norwegian Dahle surname often spelled with the variant of “Dale.”

Clarkston was formed under the village idea with the people living in the community and farming the outlying farm land. No one lived on their farms here until the early 1870s. The early stewardship idea of no land being bought, sold, held for speculation or taken away if not used as Church leaders thought best, didn’t last long. It was modified because a great many settlers didn’t like the old policy and those in leadership roles found financial benefit in the sale of land. E. T. Benson and John Nelson were apparently into the lots for speculation which were their minor holdings as Benson came to possess six-ten acre parcels of farmland and Nelson had five-ten acre farms. Simon Smith received twenty acres of farmland and ten acres of meadow. Ole A. Jensen, according to his “Diary,” arrived in the spring of 1865, recorded: “I was given twenty acres of farming land and ten acres of hay land, and felt better satisfied; as I now had a foundation for a home but much was yet wanted such as a house, fencing and provisions for the winter.” He failed to mention that he also had two city lots. He had a wife and a child born at Mendon, and an outfit of one yoke of oxen, two cows, two calves, four sheep and a wagon. By way of comparison Johannes Dahle had a wife and one child when he arrived a year earlier, and we can only assume that he still possessed a wagon and oxen from the time at Sessions and possibly a cow and other animals by 1865. By way of the known land records, we can account for his possession of four city lots in town and two ten acre parcels in the farm and hay land area. The difference between Johannes and Smith and Jensen in each case being ten acres, and possibly the difference was in either their ability to take care of the land or what they wanted or requested. Thereafter it appears that Smith, Jensen and several others obtained more land faster than Johannes who, perhaps, didn’t want more land to take care of and farm.

The new settlers’ immediate concerns were over dwellings, caring for stock, planting of crops and gardens and water ditches constructed to carry the irrigation water to both areas. In town the building of log homes expanded and the settlers constructed a combination log building for school and church meetings on the southeast corner of the area designated as the public square. After receiving the farm land, Jensen wrote he had the foundation for a home still without a house or dwelling, and he didn’t write anything about his dwelling or shelter at Clarkston.



Map 1 – 1864 Clarkston City and Farming Survey by J. H. Martineau. (Plat B was added later as was the notation “Center of Sec. 35” inserted in Farming Plat A parcel number 10, which referenced the section location of the U.S. Government’s survey in the mid-1870s.

Another settler of 1865, John Godfrey, arrived early in the spring by himself and plowed some of his land and sowed some grain and planted a garden. Then in May he brought his family and camped on the public square for a few weeks until he built a “small house” of logs. Presumably each man built his shelter whether dugout or log house on the lots assigned them. We can only guess at the progress Johannes made in building a log house to replace his dugout. Besides the farming, gardening and improving their dwellings, some other events took place in 1865. In the fall of that year two companies of U.S. troops came into Clarkston on their way to engage some troublesome Indians in Idaho. They temporarily camped on the public square to rest up from their march and while there purchased vegetables from the town people. The Godfrey family sold forty dollars’ worth of vegetables to the troops before they moved onward. The first school at Clarkston commenced in the winter with Henry Stokes as teacher for a short session of three months. In December of 1865 the first death came at Clarkston as Penelope Thompson died and was buried north of the town limits. Earlier in the spring of 1865 the Cache County Court (the governing power in the county as well as a court) responded to a petition from the new location’s leader, as follows:

On petition of I. J. Clark, a precinct was organized at Clarkston, bounded as follows:--

Commencing at a point three miles north of the public square of Clarkston; thence east to Bear River; thence southwesterly down said river to the division line between Box Elder and Cache Counties thence north along said line to a point due west of the place of beginning; thence east to the place of beginning; shall be known and designated as Clarkston Precinct.

To take charge of this huge new precinct, the court appointed a justice of the peace (James Myler), constable (Jesse T. Clark), pound keeper (Andrew Anderson), two men as fence viewers (William Ricks and Andrew McCombs), a road supervisor (William Palmer) and a watermaster (Jesse T. Clark) to serve until the next general election in August. However, in September of 1865 the court received no election returns from Clarkston so appar-

ently Clarkston did not have an election for precinct officers and the old appointees continued in office into 1866. In March of 1866 the county court appointed a new water master and road supervisor and continued in its appointments rather than by election due to the unsettled nature at Clarkston as it struggled to establish the settlement. In February the Church called for 500 Church teams to go east to assist the immigrants with fifty-two of these teams coming from Cache Valley. Clarkston had more than they could handle, so this call received no action. Johannes' brother John went on one of these Church train trips, but it hasn't been ascertained which year. At Clarkston crops and gardens were planted, irrigated and the men "harvested the grain with cradles and cut the hay by hand." All appeared well and the future promising as the settlement finished its second year of existence.

Shortly after the earliest Cache Valley settlements were established, the new settlers formed a militia which was known as the Cache County Military District, belonging to the overall Nauvoo Legion. As new settlements were established, they were directed to organize a community unit in the district. The first mention of Clarkston in the records of the Cache County Military District came in orders from General E. T. Benson (this Apostle was also in charge of all Mormons in the valley) issued October 15, 1865, calling for a general muster of the county brigade for drill and inspection at Logan on November 9th, 10th and 11th, 1865. Among the instructions issued were the following: "The infantry of Clarkston, Weston and Oxford may drill upon their own parade grounds, but the cavalry of those places will rendezvous at Logan. All persons warned legally, failing to attend, will be liable to trial and fine by a court martial." No records have been found to detail Clarkston's participation in this muster. The various units on the dates prescribed met at Logan with two brass bands and several martial bands and forming columns moved to the Providence bench where they encamped for three days. They had their inspections and drills, which according to Assistant Adjutant James. H. Martineau, who wrote the orders and later composed the "Military History of Cache County," the military maneuvers were "well executed." Furthermore, he believed this muster being observed by Indian spectators produced among them "a salutary fear of the military power of the settlers." Martineau stated this 1865 muster was the first of many similar ones held annually, and in addition, there were other company and regimental drills held during the year. A year later on June 11, 1866, an order was issued that captains of companies were required to drill their units once a week. Due to heighten fear of Indian trouble, two brigade musters were held in 1866, the first at Logan in mid-July wherein General Benson directed every man in the settlements keep at least 300 rounds of ammunition on hand with good weapons. The second muster came on the plains west of Millville in October of 1866 where much attention was given concerning absentees from the general muster. A court martial following this muster assessed fines aggregating around \$160.00 for missing the musters, but the records don't show that these fines were ever collected.

On February 5, 1866, the county court ordered the county supervisor of roads to establish the most feasible road between Logan and Clarkston with the establishment of a ferry over Bear River. To accomplish this task the supervisor was to take as his assistants Israel J. Clark and Simpson N. Moles. During the following months efforts were expended to establish the county road from Logan going northwest to Clarkston and Reese's ferry was established to help cross Bear River along the route. Earlier a circular was received from President Young for the small settlements in the Cache area to fort up and make strong corrals to protect their livestock in case the Indian troubles being experienced in the southern part of the territory should arise in the northern settlements. To this point the settlers at Clarkston may have seen a passing Indian or small band but they perceived no threat or danger. No reliable information has been found that those in Clarkston took noticeable action in regard to Indian troubles before this circular was issued. Logan and some of the settlements on the east side did some planning along with some steps on strengthening corrals and performing guard duties. Contrary to some local stories and histories, the best account of early Clarkston (Jensen's diary) clearly had the Indian trouble coming and ending in 1866. For Jensen it was deeply imprinted for on April 6, 1866, his wife bore their second child, a daughter named Annie Christena, and a few days later his wife became sick with chills and fever. His wife never got over the sickness blamed by Jensen as due to "obstetric Treatment" given his wife. During this time with a new baby and a sick wife the troubles with the Indians started.

Sometime during all of the activities at Clarkston, it was evident to passing Indians that the white strangers intended to stay and possess the area. In early 1866 some bands of Indians came into the Clarkston area and began trying to reassert their claim to the fine meadows by demanding payment for its use. Apparently one incident with the Indians at Clarkston was temporarily settled by the whites giving the Indians six cows and a few sacks of flour, and in one report Johannes Dahle's name and others were mentioned. One writer thought this incident amounted to the settlers buying Clarkston from the Indians, but this was to the natives just the rental fee for the use of land they claimed. Success in getting food from the settlers seemed to increase the number of Indians and lengthened their stays to the point that some twenty wigwams were pitched along the creek named by the settlers as City Creek. The natives were persistent and became troublesome when their demands were not met to the point of killing a few of the settlers' cows for food. The situation quickly escalated into serious proportions with no easy way out. Feeding the Indians rather than fighting them was a Mormon practice, but the new community could not establish themselves while meeting the Indians' demands. The Cache Valley Church leaders advised the settlers at Clarkston to tempo-

rarily abandon their homes and relocate in Smithfield. So all the Clarkston settlers took what belongings they could and moved to Smithfield. Apparently they either camped together in their wagons or found accommodations with friends and relatives. One report of this time told how the people of Smithfield were good to the exiles and shared their food, supplies and other things. Periodically a group of Clarkston farmers returned briefly to their farms and tried to take care of their crops but when they returned to gather their crops, the results were poor. Each trip necessitated a crossing of Bear River where there was no ferry or bridge. During one of the trips in the summer of 1866, Joseph Godfrey, the seventeen-year-old son of John Godfrey, was drowned in the river. Andrew Andersen, who came to Clarkston from Mendon, returned to that place and decided it would be the better place for his permanent residence. At Smithfield on August 18, 1866, Ole A. Jensen's young daughter died and was buried in Smithfield and his wife remained "very sick."

The Dahle family didn't have a death or known sickness to heighten the experience of the Indian troubles but it must have left an indelible impression upon their minds, even to Viking descendants. Through the troubles at Clarkston and the forced exile to Smithfield, Martha may have been pregnant with her third child born sometime in 1867 and her young son Hans was only in his second year. We can only guess at the turmoil and harsh conditions during this time, and while safety was found at Smithfield, it came without a real home. None of the reports from this time reveal the details of whether the Clarkston families lived in their wagons, tents or found room with the residents of Smithfield. While it was hard on all those involved, it could well be it was the toughest on the women and children with few or any distractions—just the basics of survival. In the founding of new settlements, it took a collaborative effort to achieve the wanted goal that required most of the women to supplement the family income in some way. Because Clarkston's founding was protracted from 1864 through 1870 with a start in a dugout, the fleeing to Smithfield for safety, followed by relocating back to a fort, followed by a planned relocation of the entire community that was abruptly changed in its final stages and another restart by moving the town to a higher location. Because Martha made do and adapted so well, may be the reason we have no heroic family tale of this period. In her quiet unassuming way, her role was crucial for the Dahles.

There are conflicting reports on the Indian troubles as to when it started and ended so the settlers could return to Clarkston. To obscure the matter even more, a new bishop was called to take charge at Clarkston; William F. Littlewood arrived in the town in mid-October of 1867 and wrote in his journal: "The people had been living in Smithfield most of the time the past four years on account of the trouble with the Indian." The new bishop was evidently mistaken or confused in his statement for the Clarkston people spent only one season at Smithfield. At the approach of autumn in 1866 the Church leaders gave their permission for the Clarkston settlers to return to their homes in Clarkston with the condition that they construct their homes to form a fort with a strong corral to protect their livestock. According to Jensen, "When we got back to our old home all of my grain was destroyed and one of my oxen had died and hard times began and after much suffering my wife also died on the 22 December 1866. This but a few of the circumstances of this year." The troubles of 1866 had disrupted almost everything to the point that they were starting all over again and would experience "hard times" due to crop losses, having to remove or rebuild their settlement in a new location as a fort. Very likely the other settlers were like Jensen, finding their grain destroyed, causing flour to be difficult to obtain. The loss of one of his oxen seems puzzling, did he leave one behind on purpose or was the flight to Smithfield so precipitous that all the stock was not taken.

Returning to Clarkston, the settlers now had to move closer together, either by relocating their log houses or building new log homes, concentrating them along both sides of a street. The lots of many were temporarily abandoned and this included the Dahle and Jensen's lots about a block south of the new fort. Clarkston Fort was some two blocks long and running east and west to form a fortification wherein the houses were positioned or built side by side along with some wooden fencing to prevent easy access to the interior except through entrance gates where guardsmen were stationed. At the same time they devoted attention to their local militia, possibly increasing its numbers, readiness and training. In the Ravstens' centennial *History of Clarkston*, it states: "In January, 1868, Clarkston organized a military group which consisted of the Horse Company, the Infantry and the Silver Greys." The listing continued with the names of the individuals in each classification. If this was an inference to the creation of the unit, it was mistaken; the Cache County Military District records state otherwise. Instead the ward proceedings recorded the names and units in existence in January of 1868, some of which were probably so enlisted from at least 1865 when the Clarkston unit was much smaller. In this small militia company that numbered 32 men in 1868, a "John Dahle" was cited as a lieutenant of the second platoon of the infantry. This was Johannes Dahle not his brother John who resided in Logan, and during the early period this name mistake would be repeated. The Clarkston minutemen served as the home guard to protect their community from attack and to prevent intimidation from the natives' demands, and on call if needed elsewhere in the valley. In May of 1867 General Benson issued the following orders: "In view of threatened Indian hostilities, it is hereby ordered that the commanding officers in every settlement in this district immediately cause to be enrolled every man capable of bearing arms." And, "The cavalry, infantry and music of each settlement shall muster for drill and inspection upon their own parade grounds at least once a week; and are imperatively required to be in readiness for service whenever called upon, each man pro-

vided with a good gun and one hundred rounds of ammunition.” For whatever reason the existing known records of the Clarkston Ward do not begin until well into 1867 (“Clarkston Ward Historical Record, Book ‘A’, 1867-1880”), thus there are no records of meetings, activities and settlement’s actions in church records for the earliest period of over three years. From the available evidence it is believed that a local military unit was set up in Clarkston in 1865 with very few members, so small that they were either excused or partially excluded from annual musters and drills of the Cache County Military District of the Nauvoo Legion. The size of the group was increased dramatically in May of 1867 after orders to enroll every man capable of bearing arms. Johannes Dahle was involved from the beginning and when the unit’s size was increased, he became an officer (lieutenant in the infantry) by at least January of 1868 as shown in the only known listing of the unit’s personnel.

After the most pressing labors of the spring farm work, General Benson issued orders for a drill and inspection of the cavalry and infantry units in every settlement in the valley to be held on June 1st (Saturday) and 3rd (Monday) of 1867. The General, escorted by at least two aides and the Logan brass band (at least part of the inspection tour), went to Smithfield, Richmond and Franklin and reviewed the cavalry and infantry troops finding a “good turn out” and “earnestness” with firearms in good condition, noting “Many are armed with the improved breech-loaders,” and the others anxious to get the better weapons. They remained at Franklin overnight and probably spent Sunday with Apostle Benson fulfilling his Church role. On Monday they returned through Hyde Park where they were met by other high officers of the Nauvoo Legion who had been on a tour of inspection in the southern part of the county. Here a cavalry unit “performed a series of evolutions in the skirmish drill in a highly creditable manner.” The Brigade Adjutant James H. Martineau, in a formal report published in the Church newspaper in Salt Lake City, covered the entire inspection tour of cavalry and infantry unit in each settlement visited, which were the larger communities. He covered the other units not visited by the higher officers with a short statement as follows: “The troops at Paradise, Petersburg [sic -Petersburg], Clackston [sic -Clarkston]], Weston and Oxford were inspected by their several commanding officers. The whole Brigade, comprising one regiment of cavalry and two of infantry, were found in a highly creditable condition, possessing many able and efficient officers.” He concluded his written report by stating: “We have several good bands in this county. . . .The bands were all out on the day of inspection enlivening the troops with their spirit-stirring music.” The earlier estimation of the brigade’s rifles was changed after the inspection tour, now it was stated that most of the rifles were “the old muzzle-loading kind, readily commanded \$40 to \$50. There were few breech loaders, and they were held at high figures.” It would appear many of the improved rifles were at Richmond. By the following year the Indian threat was basically gone, and they made no more demands, opting for a little begging and seldom passed anywhere near the settlement except in small groups. However, this only became apparent with the passage of time and with the recent troubles with the Indians, vigilance was a prime concern.

After returning to Clarkston from the sojourn at Smithfield, Martha Dahle had her third child, Annie, born sometime in 1867, the exact date is not known except by calculation from the 1870 census information. Earlier in the spring of 1867 Presiding Elder Clark was given another Church assignment and left Clarkston. Jensen related that he resumed cultivating his farm and “built a double log house” while hiring others to tend his young son, Alma. William F. Littlewood (the name changed to Rigby in the 1880s) was called from Wellsville to become the first bishop of Clarkston in the fall of 1867. In Littlewood’s journal he wrote: “Ezra T. Benson and Brother Maugham called me to be Bishop of Clarkston. I arrived there on the 14th of October. There were four log houses with roofs on and about twenty in different stages of construction.” In the spring of 1868 Bishop Littlewood bought a farm from Ezra T. Benson and that summer “put in a small crop and built [a] house.” The new bishop’s assessment of Clarkston of October 14, 1867, was actually Clarkston’s fourth year of existence and not the initial establishment of the settlement.

With the re-establishment of Clarkston as a fort in the fall of 1867, the county court repeated for the second time its organization of Clarkston Precinct. In early March of that year the county court appointed Israel J. Clark as Justice of the Peace, Jesse T. Clark as Constable, Ulrich Loosli as Pound Keeper, Andrew Heggie and Samuel Stewart as Fence Viewers and Johannes Dahle as Road Supervisor. At the same time the court responded to a petition from Smithfield asking for an appropriation “of the Poll and County Taxes for Smithfield, Weston & Clarkston for the year 1867 to be applied on County Road leading to and from Bear River Ferry.” The court granted this request on the poll taxes of the named communities and added a \$200 appropriation from the county to be used under the supervision of the respective road supervisors to be used to improve the road mentioned from the ferry. No further details were provided in the court records as to what was actually accomplished with the funds appropriated. The following year in March of 1868 Johannes Dahle was again appointed road supervisor at Clarkston. The Cache County Court recorded the results of the annual election in “Clarkstone” (with the “e” at the end of the precinct’s name) on August 31, 1868, with Thomas Beck, Justice of the Peace, Samuel Stewart as Constable along with three men each as Fence Viewers and School Trustees. On the Fence Viewers the typescript copy of the original manuscript record had William Ricks along with “Lonnie Smith” and “John Dahle.” There were mistakes on these last two names as the “Lonnie” should have been Simon Smith, who within a couple of years would become the bishop

at Clarkston, and there was no adult John Dahle at Clarkston at this time and the name should have been Johannes Dahle.

According to Jensen's diary account, the people began to do better temporally, and personally he traded his yoke of oxen and a cow for a team of "small ponies and harness," discovering the horses wouldn't or couldn't pull like his oxen. He blamed Bishop Littlewood for an ill-advised purchase of a water-powered saw mill from the bishop's friends in Wellsville. The Clarkston people paid \$2,000 but, for reasons never explained, they couldn't make it work, so it only produced dissatisfaction and the feeling that they had been taken advantage of due to their good faith. Two years later they tried to pawn the saw mill off to the people that moved to Newton, and it continued to produce only dissatisfaction and not sawed lumber. To help foster the spiritual improvement, Clarkston organized a Sunday School and appointed teachers to visit the families in the ward with messages. The instructions from general and local Church leaders emphasized the "'Word of Wisdom' and to lay up grain for the time of famine," along with a stronger push for donations to the PEF (Perpetual Emigrating Fund) to help bring 1600 Saints from Europe, and at the same time calling upon those indebted to this fund to pay up. The emphasis on the latter would become more frequent and urgent as the special fund to assist the emigrants was sinking into serious debt and becoming evident that it wasn't working as promised due to the non-payment for most recipients. In truth the only perpetual thing about it was it was permanently in debt, increasing yearly. Nevertheless, at Clarkston the people responded to the Church's call and donated "freely."

While we have no specific reference to the Dahles, surely they were more pleased in living in their own primitive log house than the months spent at Smithfield. The compact arrangement of the dwellings within the fort gave a feeling of security and community, and as long as frost and grasshopper losses were not too severe, they would have sufficient foodstuffs and some surplus. We don't know the exact time Johannes switched from oxen to horses but by the earliest known county assessment record, he had made it by 1869, possibly following the lead and example of others in the community. Now more attention could be devoted to the new community, and in January of 1868 it was decided that a public fence should be built from Birch Creek on the north to somewhere on the southern end of the community. A field committee oversaw the construction of the public fence by the farmers, apparently at three feet per acre of land owned, resulting in a good lawful fence that would pass the inspection of the fence viewers. The course of this "field fence" was shown on a map of Clarkston based on the 1875 government survey and extended over four miles in length, going southeast from Birch Creek along the lower edge of the cultivated area for about a mile and then turned southward to pass through the town's platted block area and formed the western edge of the cultivated fields south of town. This public improvement resolved in large measure the animals getting into the field crops and reduced the need for some of the hired herdsmen tending livestock in the western grazing area. The fence was located a little over two blocks west of the fort and about the same distance from the city lots of the Dahles in block #3, which were probably only used for a garden and some field crops at this time. (See Map 3) In 1868 Johannes Dahle was appointed the watermaster (one word title in Mormon areas) to regulate and control the irrigation waters to those with water rights to the water. Watermaster Dahle had three assistants to help him distribute the invaluable supply of irrigation water. Also during these early years of Clarkston, a family story had Johannes working in partnership with the man who ran a store in Clarkston, and in the process he received cloth and merchandise for his family. It has not been ascertained if this was prior to May of 1869 when the co-operative store was formed at Clarkston; however, after the organization of the co-op store, he did own a few shares in this enterprise.

According to family stories, Martha frequently worked in the fields beside her husband and cared for the housework at night as well as taking care of her children. This was fortunate for Johannes and crucial in the early days during the piecemeal repeated attempts before Clarkston was truly established. During the late spring of 1868 Johannes and Martha Dahle did some personal bonding and spiritual progression by traveling to Salt Lake City where they were sealed in a special sacred ordinance. To achieve this great blessing, it necessitated a long round trip by animal drawn transport of 180 miles from the home at Clarkston Fort to the only place where the ceremony could be performed at that particular time. The June 1, 1868, ceremony in the Endowment House was a significant step forward in the couple's acceptance of the restored gospel according to Mormon theology. In accordance with Church beliefs, the couple's earlier marriage in 1862 was upgraded now, six years later, to a status of being for time and eternity. During the ceremony they received instructions and understanding of the Lord's plan, ways and purposes placing the recipients capable of being endowed with power and blessings from on High, if they proved faithful and righteous before their Creator. They were basically taught the things they must do in order to gain their exaltation in the world to come.

A severe trial came with the grasshoppers; the most persistent pest and foe in the early days of Cache Valley. While the grasshoppers were not as famous as the crickets, they came more often and caused far more damage to Utah crops. These pests were the Rocky Mountain locust, a common type of grasshopper responsible for widespread damage in Utah as well as in the western and southern states. In its infant form it could only hop, but after four or five moltings, when it became capable of sustained flight, it could appear in swarms and darken the sky in a frightening way. In 1865, the first growing season at Clarkston, they apparently didn't suffer from the infestation of

grasshoppers, crickets and worms that struck much of Cache Valley. The report from Clarkston for 1867 was brief but pointed: “Much of the grain was destroyed by grasshoppers and crickets, and barely enough was left for bread.” A farmer at Mendon reported for 1867 that with much exertion the people saved some of their wheat, but there wasn’t much available for the families “many having no more than 25 – 50 Bu [shels]” with a few doing a little better and he finally concluded “after all it was an advantage that so much land had been sown.” The people, men, women and children, waged a battle against the invading foes but with little success. After detailing some of those efforts, the editor of the Church newspaper had to conclude: “There seems no way of successfully driving them off when they settle down in a locality. . . .” Residents of the valley and individual families had come to the same conclusion after all their efforts along with turning to special conferences, scientists, Church leaders, fasting and prayers, seeking some solution. A debate waged back and forth with some favoring planting very little while others emphasized the counsel of President Young to sow all the land they could and hope in the end to wind up with more grain for the people.

Narrowing the focus specifically to Clarkston, the particular details were not reported because the community didn’t have a person writing the Salt Lake paper about the situation at Clarkston until Simon Smith became the bishop. In one of his first letters to the newspaper published on April 19, 1871, he gave the earliest newspaper report from Clarkston on the ravages of the hoppers. He expressed a hope that the people would “nowhere neglect to put in their crops, for those who do not sow cannot expect to reap. It is time we did reap for we have suffered heavily from the ravages of the insects for the last five years, but trust it has all been for our good and that we will profit thereby.” His citing of five years of grasshopper troubles would include Clarkston in this trying episode from at least 1866 onward. In the published *History of Clarkston: The Granary of Cache Valley, 1864-1964*, there was a confirmation of this as follows:

The crops in 1868-69 were nearly destroyed by grasshoppers, and a number of people sought employment on the Central and Union Pacific Railroad. The railroad company had a contract with President Brigham Young for labor. President Young in turn sublet the contracts to stakes and ward. Employment was now offered to many, and money, which had rarely been used before, now carried a pleasant ring. Ole A. Jensen left us this account:

“When we came home, the crickets had destroyed all of our grain. We gathered our hay and made ready to work on the Union Pacific Railroad and it was quite an excitable time. A day’s wages for a man and team was \$6.00; flour was \$10.00 to \$13.00 for a hundred pounds; wheat per bushel \$4.00 to \$4.50; barley and oats 10 to 12 cents a pound; hay \$30.00 to \$36.00 for a ton delivered at the railroad; horses and mules (small size), for a team \$300.00.”

In the construction of the railroad, the two railroad companies contracted with Brigham Young to do some of the work on the route as it reached Utah. The Church leader in turn issued subcontracts with others such as Apostle Ezra T. Benson and there evolved a hierarchy of subcontracts that reached down several levels. In these subcontracts, according to Bishop Littlewood of Clarkston, in the spring of 1869 he took a contract from the Central [he said Southern] Pacific Railway to construct a fill in a low area over a creek for \$25,000. The place to be filled in was some forty-two feet high and wide at the bottom tapering to eight feet at the top where the track would be placed. Littlewood said he “employed men and teams principally from Clarkston, paying them from five to seven dollars p[e]r day.” The contractor took one of his wives and her sister to cook for the workers at the work site, and the labor lasted from September until Christmas Day. To get needed equipment Littlewood had to get a loan, and the contractor he sublet from paid him less per yard for the fill than was expected so in the end he sustained a loss in the endeavor. Later in the early 1870s Littlewood and his partner Thomas E. Ricks did contract work on the railroad going north to Montana, but it remains unknown if any Clarkston men were involved. There were several in Cache County who were engaged in these railroad contracts and used Cache farmers in the 1870s and 1880s.

The crop losses from the grasshoppers were so great that the farmers had to find other work to make up for the shortfalls. Fortunately the work for the railroad was available and to the quote from Jensen cited earlier, he concluded it saying “we wished the work had lasted longer.” These sentiments were echoed elsewhere in the county, specifically from Mendon came the assessment that this ushered in a short season of “making money neither before nor since” had wages been as good, and produce was in such demand at extraordinary high prices due to the building of the transcontinental railroad and the establishment of mercantile trade from Utah to the mining areas of northern Idaho and Montana. According to Jensen, in the winter of 1868-69 the Clarkston people took a contract to deliver “some hundreds of poles” to Hampton Station, but ended up “swindled and made nothing” without any explanation as to why. There were several times when Clarkston men sought work on the railroad contracts to tide them over tough periods when their crops were destroyed or not good, and each time they left for such employment, their spouses and families had to adjust by doing the work that the head of the family normally performed. Again we don’t have any details as to how the Dahle family fared or what they did in these stressful times; it would be impossible to believe they passed through without putting much effort into trying to save their crops or that they didn’t experience shortages or have to seek wages to get the family through. Even the simplest statement such as Jensen’s

on his 1869 crop—"I raised for the first time 500 bushels of grain," would have been welcomed. There is no known list of Clarkston farmers who used this outside work to tide them over but the opportunity was there for Johannes. The struggles with the grasshoppers continued almost yearly from 1866 through 1873 when the long spell of insect infestations ceased for a short time.

In Clarkston's sixth year of existence they still weren't permanently established as a settlement. In addition to the described problems cited earlier, they had experienced long winters with heavy snowfall that remained into spring accompanied with flooding of their compact fort area adjacent to the primary creek if the snow melted too fast and during heavy rainstorms. Often the lower portion of the settlement area was deluged with the runoff. By February of 1869 there was a growing sentiment that the physical location was unsatisfactory and preliminary steps were taken to locate a better place. After two days of breaking a road through snowdrifts south of Clarkston to a bench land with a southern slope, a meeting was called for the heads of families to meet here (on the present site of Newton) on Sunday, February 28, 1869. The relocation of the community was deliberated with it noted that at Clarkston there were 29 inches of snow while the site under consideration was free of snow and the fields were beginning to turn green. After the relocation was discussed, a vote was taken with 29 men favoring the relocation and three opposed. Undoubtedly Johannes was at the meeting and his vote was for moving as the three who opposed the move and thereafter fought against it were named and forced to make a public apology for some derogatory remarks they had made of their leaders. On March 4th the men again met at the site and decided to get the consent of the Church leaders in Cache Valley to their plans.

A few days later the Church leaders of Cache Valley came out to Clarkston from Logan and assessed the situation with the settlement beginning its sixth year of a tenuous existence. After looking things over and discussing the conditions, President Peter Maughan and William B. Preston (two of the highest local leaders in an area not yet made into a stake) decided that it would be best to relocate the settlement five miles southeast of the present site. The plan called for the relocation to take place over two years, and the old area would be reserved as a grazing area for the new town. Eventually all the water rights would be transferred to the new settlement. Newton was surveyed and platted in 1869 and a few settlers moved in and began building their homes, sheds, etc. A few town lots were given out in Newton to the first residents and then settlers of both places chose by lot their farming plots and town lots in the new area. At the same time work parties from Clarkston labored to improve the flow of water down to the Newton area and helped construct the big ditch to bring the water out of the creek bed to be carried to the farmlands. The people still at Clarkston decided to use all labor due on the canyon road for the years 1868, 1869 and 1870 on a new meetinghouse at Newton. They also planned to build a rock schoolhouse.

In 1870 the final stages of the relocation commenced and included a decision to cultivate the Newton south field in a cooperative farm. A committee was selected to pick the land in Newton for the co-op farm. On February 16, 1870, all the men of both Newton and Clarkston met, and the bishop and his clerk took the names of those who wished to cultivate the land co-operatively. Those who gave their names and acreage were as follows:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Acres</u>
Bp. Littlewood	5	C. O. Kemster	2
Henry Stokes	10	Lars Rasmussen	15
Ole Anderson	10	A. W. Heggie	5
Thompson	5	Simeon Smith	10
Thompson	10	John Dahle	15 [Johannes]
Kasper Loosley	10	Ulrich Loosley	8
Andrew Quigley	5	Oscar Myler	2
Peter Benson	5	Joseph Myler	2
F. W. Young	20	Wm. Bell	2
A. J. Atkinson	5	Wm. Sparks	5
J. Barker	10	Anderson	5
J. J. Dunn	10	Jensen	5
Jorges Olsen	5	Stephen Catt	2
Michael Paulsen	5	Amos Clark	5
Griffin	15	Wm. Ricks	10
Geo. Sparks	4		10 [no name given]
Thomas Godfrey	5	Jenkins	5
		Nelson	2
		Bates	5

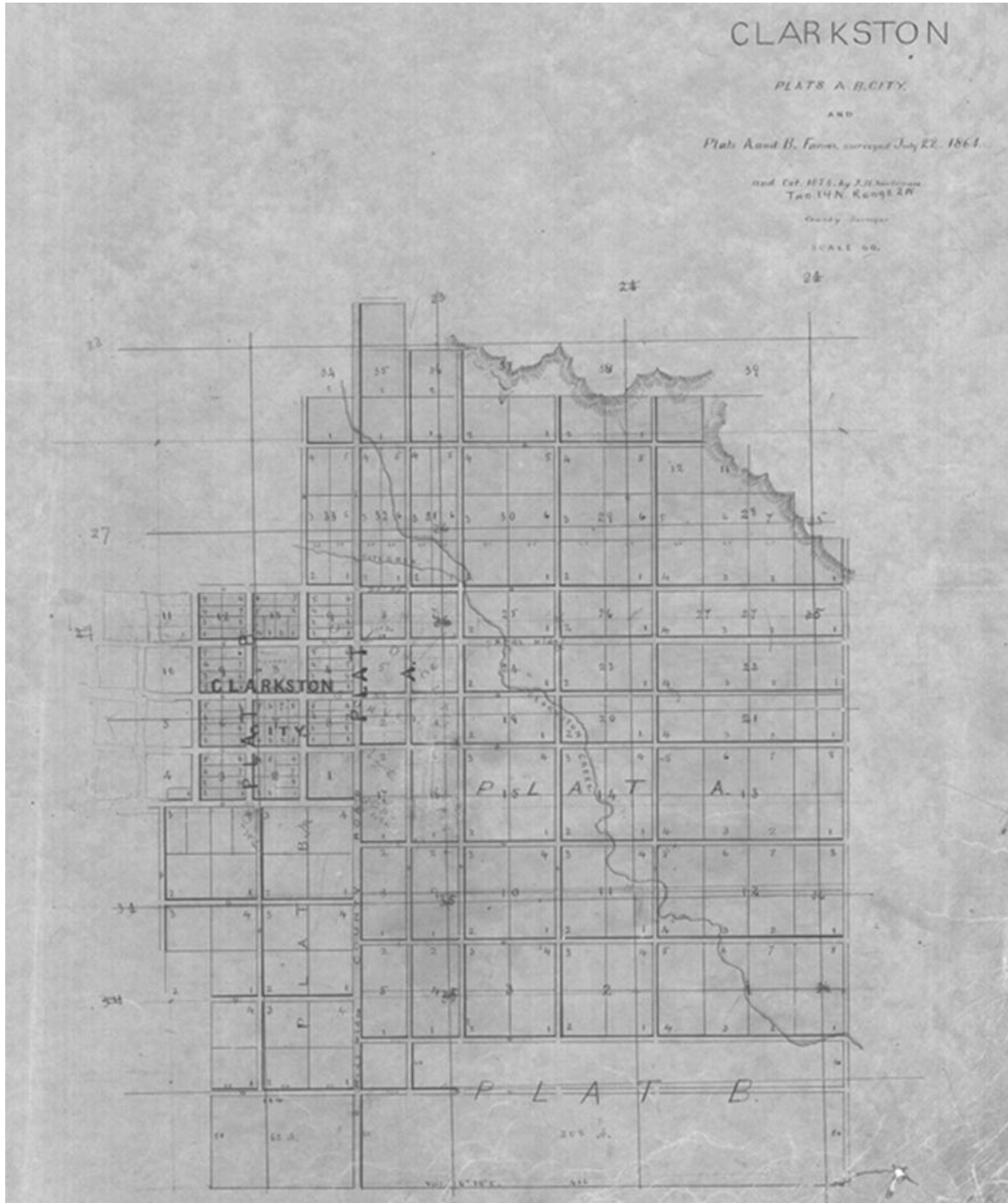
As before, the John Dahle on this listing was Johannes, and his commitment of 15 acres was only exceeded by Franklin W. Young, the nephew of President Brigham Young, and matched by two others. The information and acreage breakdown for the 254 acres to be farmed cooperatively came from the Clarkston Ward Historical Book A (page 52-54), and the same source related a decision that no man would be allowed to hold more than twenty-five

acres of farm land in the new location. This policy would soon pass away as land titles would soon be available wherein land was bought, sold and traded like horses and livestock. Unfortunately no further information has been found relating to this cooperative farming enterprise at Newton. Quite assuredly the men who made the agreement began work early in the spring of 1870 to break the new ground, prepare it and then plant the acreage in the crops preferred; and if needed, irrigate it with water from the Clarkston Creek by using the shares of water rights the land owners possessed. This enterprise was dealt a severe, if not fatal, blow by the reversal of the relocation plan in its final stages when President Young decided Clarkston need not be abandoned. While the cooperative enterprise would pass away, surely there was enough brotherly spirit existing to see that any labor performed on this 254 acre co-op farm was rewarded with a fair and even share of the crop when harvested or some equivalent.

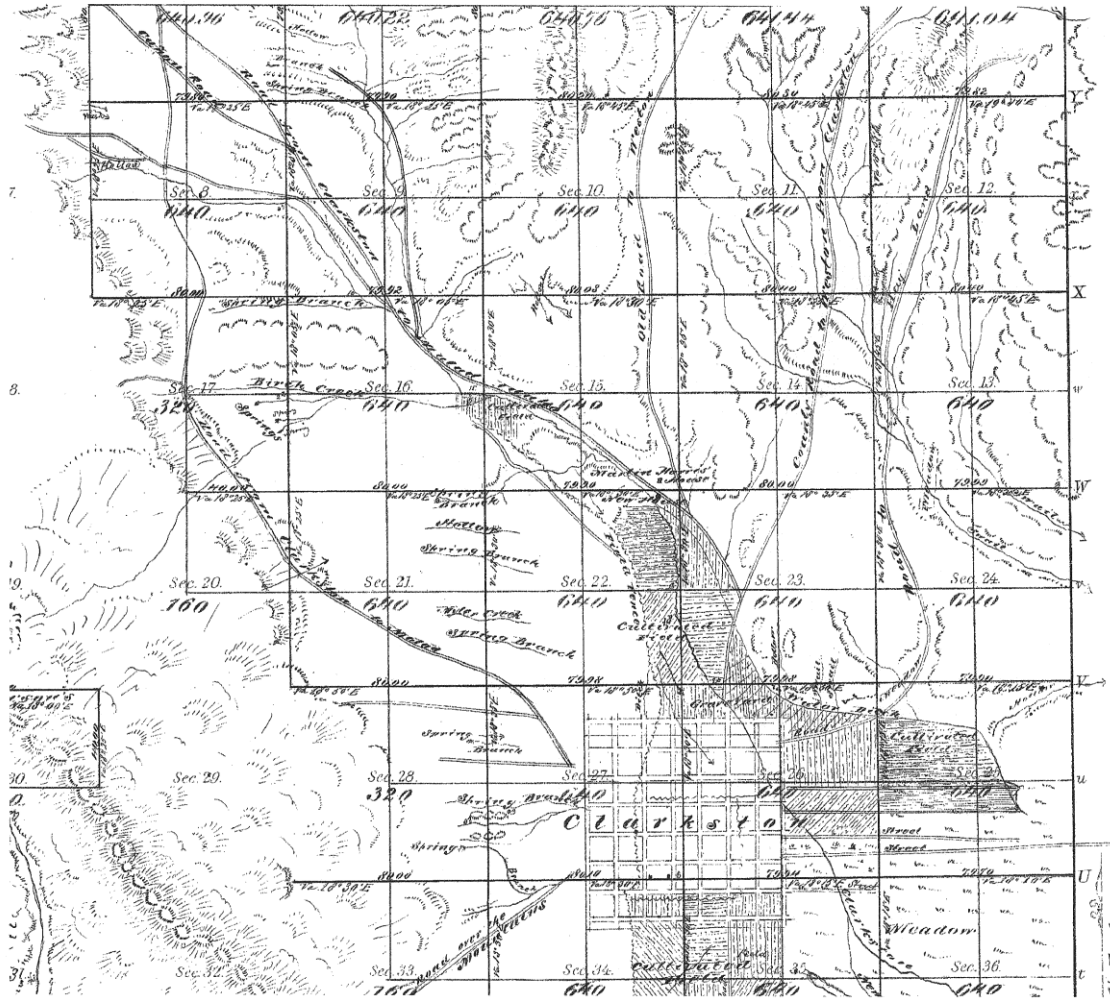
In addition, most of the planning and prior work of the relocation went to naught in early June of 1870 when President Brigham Young visited the two communities as he toured the northern settlements. Stopping at Newton for the first time on June 8th nothing more than encouragement was given. Then President Young's party moved to Clarkston and gave the same advice. At the latter place as Church leaders' messages ended, the three or four men who had disagreed with their local leaders' (Clarkston and Cache Valley) decision to abandon Clarkston and had been publicly forced to recant their opposition, now personally approached President Young, asking him for the allowance to remain in Clarkston. Young granted their request and acknowledged that both communities could exist but told the people they should move their homes to higher ground at Clarkston. With some being given permission to remain at Clarkston, there was a rethinking process whereby a significant number drew the conclusion that having other settlers between the source of their water supply and its destination at Newton was not a good idea and could reduce considerably the amount of available water. Under the new circumstances more of the settlers chose to remain in Clarkston. An interesting communities' version of the game of musical chairs took place as some who had just relocated to Newton changed their minds and returned to Clarkston, and Ole A. Jensen related that he "and others went back to Clarkston." The same might apply to the Johannes Dahle family.

After his visits at Newton and Clarkston in 1870, President Young and his party continued northward visiting more of the settlements, crossing over to Bear Lake Valley and then circled back to Logan, arriving June 21st. Over the next two days much counsel was given, covering a wide range of topics from how to treat apostates to fences, building factories, being united through keeping the Word of Wisdom as recorded in Bishop Ballard's journal. In that mixture Apostle Lorenzo Snow spoke of the necessity of the saints being controlled temporally as well as spiritual, and more than once the local saints were reminded that the Lord had blessed the land and given them good crops and had even turned away the frost to protect the crops. Then Church President Young narrowed his focus and told the Cache residents to take good care of the wheat the Lord had blessed them with this season at this place for the crops were bad ("cut off") in the southern part of the Territory. Then he went a step further and told the Cache saints that if they had been faithful, they would not have had to suffer with the grasshoppers as they had. Although the conception that the Almighty had stayed the freezes but allowed the grasshopper destruction could be viewed as contradictory or paradoxical, it all was reinforcing the constant Mormon theme to give heed and obey the counsel of their leaders, whether good, bad or shortsighted, it was always the way. Very likely the report of poor crops in Utah also had an impact on the Newton/Clarkston concern, wherein over sixty per cent of the settlers had relocated in Newton. Many of the settlers quickly moved back to Clarkston, and by the following year more were residing in Clarkston than Newton.

Following President Young's advice to relocate the Clarkston homes to high ground, the process began which entailed relocating the eastward edge of the town some two blocks to the west. With this adjustment only the last row of north-south blocks in city Plat A remained intact as blocks #3, #4, and #9 that were on the west side of the county road. The two rows of city blocks east of the county road were eliminated (blocks #1, #2, #5, #6, #7, #8) and became farm land. (see Map 2) Thereupon, new town site lots were claimed and City Plat B expanded its borders westward as necessary. Instead of a complete new survey, the old one was adjusted and revised in October of 1874. This can be seen by checking the 1874 version and observing in the intervene space the attempted erasures, leaving faint numbers still partially visible on the blocks eliminated. Apparently these map changes took place in 1874 and now the county road that ran north and south was so marked and became the eastern side of the Clarkston townsite. Some of the Dahle's town lots were bounded by the county road. On the actual physical accomplishment of this move, some of the old log homes from the fort days were pulled by oxen and/or horses to their re-assigned locations, other log structures were torn down and used in building another log house, while some homes were built from new materials on the now established permanent location for Clarkston in the settlement's seventh year of existence.



Map 2 - The above revision was made in October of 1874 after the Federal Government had surveyed the area into townships and sections. Therefore this plat shows the old pre-survey lines with the new government survey lines incorporated as well as some section numbers that can be confusing unless it is studied closely. The major change is noted for "Clarkston City" now comprised of three blocks from the initial Plat "A" (blocks #3, #4 & #9) together with thirteen new blocks from Plat "B" on the west. The northeast point of the town had been moved west two blocks with the six abandoned city blocks turned into farming parcels. Instead of making a new survey plat they modified and changed the initial survey by attempting to erase the old city block numbers and division but there can be seen faint markings of the older designations.



Map 3 - Post 1877 - Showing the Federal Government Survey of Township 14 North Range 2 West of the Salt Lake Meridian made from the 1875 Survey of A. J. Stewart, Sr., and field notes examined and approved May 4, 1877. A printed note on map stated: "The above Map of Township No. 14 North of Range No. 2 West, Salt Lake Meridian Utah Territory is strictly conformable to the field notes of the survey thereof on file in this office, which have been examined and approved . . . May 4th, 1877." The governmental survey lines and section numbers are clearly marked. Depicted on the map were the cultivated field areas, meadows, roads, springs, creeks and two houses outside the town limits and the location of the "Graveyard," position of the "Field Fence" and the course of the main "Water ditch." The two houses outside the town limits were, first, "Martin Harris' House," in section #15 in the wye created by the "Road from Clarkston to Malad" and the "old Road to Weston;" second, the "John K. Loosli's House," in section #34 in the cultivated field area south of town (shown on the map but not in the view presented here. It would be just below the "u" in the "Cultivated Field" just south of the town.

During the intervening time when it appeared that Clarkston would be relocated, the Cache County assessment of taxable property was made. The 1869 assessment, the earliest record found for the county, showed Johannes Dahle had \$200 worth of Land Claims and Improvements, five cattle valued at \$110, two horses valued at \$150, one vehicle (wagon) worth \$50 and \$40 value of miscellaneous taxable property, giving a total assessment value of \$550. There were nine individuals with more land claims (ranging from \$400 to \$250). Interestingly, this record showed by 1869 Johannes had sold or traded his ox team for two horses. He had decided to move from oxen to horses because they were faster and more maneuverable. Initially, many of the early Utah Mormons preferred oxen to horses, especially for heavy loads and breaking the ground by plowing. The following year of 1870 his land claims remained at \$200 and he now had eleven cattle valued at \$215 and four horses valued at \$200. He owned one vehicle (wagon), one swine valued at \$10, eleven sheep valued at \$20. The family had one clock or watch. Most important, they were claiming seventeen acres of irrigated land, and on all their land they raised sixteen acres of wheat, twelve acres of oats and one acre of potatoes along with having fifteen acres of meadow. The meadow

and a portion of some of the grain crop apparently were not irrigated from the water in the irrigation ditches to make the acres tally. It would appear that the meadow land was used both for grazing and the grass cut for hay for the animals. A significant portion of the value of the land claims was in the dwelling and buildings, and since the idea of relocating was pending for several months, normally little change would have taken place.

The year 1870 provides a small mystery about the Johannes Dahle family. The 1870 Census for Clarkston was taken on August 11, 1870, with twenty-seven families enumerated, and at first glance the Johannes Dahle family appears to be not listed. A check of the Newton census for the same year with forty-one families shows no Johannes Dahle family. Then a stirring from earlier research concerning Johannes' younger brother John Dahle at Logan came to mind regarding the census spelling of his name. John and his family were living in the Fourth Ward in Logan. John's family was enrolled on July 27, 1870, by Assistant Marshal G. B. Moulton (only the initial of his first name will be cited as it was difficult to decipher) cited as "John Darley" at age 34 married to Jennette at age 24, both from Norway with children John E. (age 7), Joseph (age 5), Hyrum (age 3) and Hans (age four months). Fifteen days later the same census taker was at Clarkston on August 11th, and the third family enrolled was "James Darley" at age 37 married to Martha at age 28 both from Norway with children—Hans (age 6), Annie (age 3) and John (age 1). Without question this was the Johannes Dahle family with an incorrect listing of his first name as James instead of Johannes and Darley instead of Dahle. The Cache Valley Darleys were English. Because this census provides crucial information on one of the children, it will be listed again in table form:

Darley, James [Dahle, Johannes]	- 37	M	W	Farmer	900	600	Norway
" , Martha	- 28	F	W	Keep. House			"
" , Hans	- 6	M	W	At home			Utah Att. Sch.
" , Annie	- 3	F	W	At home			"
" , John	- 1	M	W	At home			"

The census information on farmer Johannes Dahle in 1870 shows he had \$900 in value of real estate and \$600 in personal property. The Dahle residence within Clarkston Fort was very close to Bishop Simon Smith, enrolled as #1 with the Dahles as #3. More significant was the listing of young daughter Annie at age three, placing her birth sometime in 1867 and still living on August 11, 1870, wherein later Dahle researchers or genealogists had either listed her as dying as an infant or not listing her. This will not be expanded upon except to state that about 1870 there was an entry in the Clarkston Ward records with no explanation or data other than the name "Annie" with a blank space which has had some Dahle researchers wondering if there were two Annies in this Dahle family. This writer believes the Annie in the Clarkston Ward records was the same Annie as on the 1870 census. Sometime after the census the Dahle residence was re-located from the fort to one of the Dahle lots on Block #3 of the town survey which, along with the earlier abandonment of the eastern six blocks of the city, had them residing on the eastern edge of the settlement along the county road. The initial dugout was either filled in or used as a potato pit. This came in at least the seventh year of Clarkston's founding with a difficult beginning and three sharp start overs.

In the late summer of 1870 three Clarkston men were elected as school trustees—John L. Thompson, A. W. Heggie and "John Dahle" (should have been Johannes). The community had been organized into an independent Clarkston District School starting in the winter of 1864 and was eventually designated as district #5. The elected school trustees oversaw the school with the power to hire and fire teachers, set curriculum, tax the property holders in the precinct, determine tuition rates, and maintain school facilities and supplies and many other responsibilities—down to having a supply of wood to heat the school building. When the small school districts were consolidated in 1909 into the Cache County School District, the old records of the earlier school districts were for the most part deposited at the Cache County Courthouse and then much later archived at the Special Collection at USU University and a few records made it into the Archives of the State of Utah. Unfortunately, in both of these archives there are no records of the Clarkston School District. A search by this writer in 2011-2012 was only able to find two school books for Clarkston for the 1907-09 period in private hands. Thus, as in much of the various activities of Johannes Dahle, we remain in the dark on his service as a school trustee as well as the schooling of the Dahle children.

At this time a series of "Ladies' Mass Meetings" was held throughout Utah Territory as many Mormon females protested the bill in Congress designed to suppress plural marriages. In the March 9, 1870, issue of the *Deseret News Weekly*, Clarkston was mentioned as where one of the local rallies was held, and the Church newspaper heralded these meetings, which were encouraged by the male Church leaders. Another round of these ladies' meetings was carried out in 1886 as federal prosecution of plural marriage became stronger and there was movement to amend the Utah constitution to ban polygamy. Apparently the only mass meeting this time was in the Salt Lake Theater on March 16th, where over two thousand women assembled, claiming to represent the "wives, mothers, sisters and daughters" of the women in Utah protesting the ways and means of administering the anti-polygamy laws. The women drafted a memorial to the President and Congress expressing their views. It would be interesting to know if Martha was involved in the 1870 mass meeting at Clarkston, and more intriguing to know if her attitude was the same in 1886, or if there had been a change. Transformation was in the air in the late 1860s as the Church established a wholesale trading concern; Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI) commenced

operation in Salt Lake City, and in May of 1869 there was a ZCMI or co-op store set up in Clarkston. The store organization had Bishop Littlewood as president; Thomas Beck as vice-president, Andrew Quigley as treasurer with Andrew Quigley, Simon Smith and George Davis as directors. The Relief Society and individuals were urged to buy stock at five dollars per share. The school trustees were requested to invest any surplus funds in the store and received one and a half percent interest. With the completion of the transcontinental railroad line, the price for wheat dropped sharply to near the old low price and “the flush times for making big wages was over.” There was some economic impact on Clarkston and by October of 1870 the co-op store appeared to be failing with the stock holders “dissatisfied” and saved only by new investments, a promotional campaign and increasing the store’s share price from five to twenty-five dollars. By 1874 the store was out of debt, doing well and declaring dividends.

At Clarkston, up through 1870 or 1871, the crops were harvested by hand—the hay cut by hand and the grain cut with a cradle and bundled by hand before being threshed. In retelling family stories it has always been tempting to have ancestors possess the first of almost anything and farm equipment was in this category. At Clarkston this may be the case or perhaps two or three mowing machines arrived near the same time. There was a claim that Alfred Atkinson and James Henderson combined their resources to purchase the first mowing machine in the town around 1870. At about the same time the Godfrey family was mowing hay with one of the first mowing machines. With a more sure date and details Jensen wrote in his diary for 1871: “Four of us brethren bought a buckeye mower and reaper combination for our own use, and we worked together in haying and harvest time for four years, and done [sic] exceedingly well.” Whoever was first, it was a happy and welcome day for the farmers of Clarkston, and many who could afford one or hire the work done, took it over the back breaking swinging of a sickle or scythe. If the mower had the reaper combination, the hard work of cutting grain was made much easier. The horse-powered mechanical mowing machine, or combination reaper, dropper, binders, etc., made farming much easier and allowed the farmer to operate much more land. However, on the down side the machines were expensive.

In the meantime, the grasshopper troubles continued with the insects plentiful in 1869 and 1870. Then for 1871 we have some details on the situation at Clarkston from three settlers—David Buttars and his wife Sarah Keep Buttars and from Bishop Simon Smith. A granddaughter of Sarah Keep Buttars wrote the following from family stories from her grandmother: “For two years the grasshoppers and crickets plagued the crops, and the third year (1871) they came in swarms—three swarms of grasshoppers and seven swarms of crickets—and ate off the crops. Then when everything seemed so hopeless, the seagulls came and devoured the crickets and grasshoppers. The crops grew again and they had a good harvest.” The account from David Buttars was similar stating that in 1871 the grasshoppers came in such numbers that they darkened the sun as they flew in. Three times they appeared and ate the grain off followed by seven swarms of crickets coming one after another, and despite everything the family could do, the crop was destroyed again. Providentially, according to those involved, the seagulls came and began to eat the crickets and then flew to the creek to disgorge them and repeated the process until the crickets were destroyed. Once again the grain grew back and the Buttars’ family raised 1,300 bushels of grain, the largest crop they had raised to that time. The *History of Clarkston* published in 1966 recorded: “It was this year, that the Clarkston settlers experienced the miracle of the seagulls. Three times the crops were eaten down by the crickets, and three times the gulls came and devoured the crickets. Each time the tender new grain grew again and the fall harvest was good.” Only on a couple of known occasions can it be documented that the seagulls swooped in to help or rescue in this manner.

A little different view or orientation was presented by Bishop Simon Smith in his periodic letters to the Church newspaper at Salt Lake City in 1871. His first letter, written at Clarkston on April 9th, was in reaction to a report in the same newspaper in an earlier issue, wherein the article claimed the settlers in Newton, Clarkston and Round Valley were so affected by the numerous grasshoppers and their eggs as to be discouraged to the point of “sowing but little grain.” Smith countered with, “It is not the case in Clarkston, there being no eggs in that settlement, and the people are sowing a greater breadth of land than on any previous season, and feel quite encouraged.” Five weeks later Bishop Smith wrote: “We have had several good rain-storms this spring. The crops look well. Our prospects for a bountiful harvest have never been better. There are a few grasshoppers and crickets on the outskirts of our farms, but not enough, I think, to cause any alarm.” Bishop Smith wrote his final report on the situation on August 29, 1871, predicting—“a bountiful harvest notwithstanding the dryness of the season and several grasshopper attacks, never better crops generally, hay rather light, improvements being pushed ahead, harvesting about through with, not much threshing done.” The following year of 1872 there were few, if any, grasshoppers, and the Church newspaper printed a couple of Bishop Smith’s letters saying in early June that the people “feel much encouraged by the prospects of a bountiful harvest,” and on October 2, 1872, “The health of the people of Clarkston is good, and they are busy gathering a bountiful harvest.” In 1873 the “hoppers” didn’t appear.

The grasshoppers stayed away until 1876 when Bishop Smith wrote his final letter to the Church newspaper telling about a bad frost on August 23rd followed by a severe thunderstorm on September 4th with rain and hail that destroyed “quite a large amount of oat and barley crops that were not harvested.” He also stated, “The grasshoppers are very numerous and are depositing their eggs.” In 1877 at Clarkston, according to Richard Godfrey’s letter to the

Church newspaper, “three-fourths of the crops of the people [had] been destroyed by grasshoppers last season.” The printed letter of January 2, 1878, extolled that even under these difficult circumstances the Clarkston residents had built a new meetinghouse in a little over a year. The struggle against the grasshopper invasion took many forms from using straw and fire at Smithfield to Millville where they dug pits and then formed large circles and drove the hoppers into the pits and buried them, estimating they had destroyed hundreds of bushels of the pests. In another of President Young’s many statements and philosophy on the war with the grasshopper, he stated he wouldn’t ask the Lord to do what the people would not do themselves. One of the best depictions of the battle came from a report of May 6, 1871, from Parowan that stated: “Our wheat field is literally covered with men, women, children, chickens and grasshoppers. Time must tell which gets the wheat.” In the lengthy fight against the grasshoppers Johannes, Martha and the older children must have been heavily involved from 1868. In the end the Clarkston settlers won the battle to see who got the wheat. Sadly we know nothing directly of what the Dahles did and how they fared during the grasshopper struggles, but life at Clarkston involved hordes of grasshoppers, some crickets and the settlers battling the pests as at war.

Another aspect of life in Clarkston can be revealed in the written records of Ole A. Jensen in regard to his homes. After his arrival in town in 1865 he built a log house on his lot on the southern side of the community. The following year he and his family lived in Smithfield for several months because of the Indian troubles. He returned to Clarkston in the fall of 1866 where his wife died. In February of 1868 the widower Jensen married. Following the instructions to move closer together in the confined Clarkston Fort, he built a double log house a block north for his initial home on his first city lot where he and his family lived. In accordance with the re-location plan he moved his family to Newton probably in early 1870. After August of 1870 with the decision to remain in Clarkston, he moved back to Clarkston intent upon establishing himself on a city lot. In 1871 he purchased two city lots and twenty acres of farm land by paying \$300. Then he built a log house with a granary and corral on his city lot. By 1872 he was thinking of constructing another house and began buying timber for a new house, paying three cent per foot for rough lumber. In 1873 he hauled rock from the mountains for a new house, sometimes bringing five or six wagon loads a day until he had accumulated one hundred loads of rock and had “all of the material ready” for a rock house, but discovered upon starting the foundation that the ground was too wet that he “dared not build a rock house on it.” Therefore he sold his pile of rock and decided to build a frame house. In 1874 the frame house was constructed with dimensions of thirty-two feet in length and eighteen feet in width with a lean-to on the back with the new house consisting of four rooms. According to Jensen “it cost \$875.00 and all paid with cattle, a horse and saddle, grain and money. The carpenters bill was \$260.00.” He had one wife and was in the process of having a large family. In 1883 he built a rock house that cost \$530.00 and was completed in two months. In this year after strong pressure by Church leaders, he entered into plural marriage taking a second wife in February and a third in December of 1883. The same year he summarized his financial position with a short sentence: “At this time I got behind financially and got into debt \$700.00.”

In regard to Johannes Dahle we can only surmise what took place as he progressed from a dugout to a log house on his first city lot, and after returning from the summer in Smithfield, he must have built or moved a log house to the fort where his family resided until 1870 or 1871 when they left the fort and either moved or built a house on their town lot in Block #3. Johannes established his log residence on the northeast corner of the block. In time a frame home replaced the log house or wood siding was placed over the logs at the site. Also constructed on this lot were the needed farm buildings or structures, such as a corral, stable, granary and log hen house or coop. While acknowledging we don’t have all the details, it appears a safe bet that Johannes’ thoughts, planning and building of residences were not in the same league as Ole A. Jensen’s but both experienced debt problems in the mid-1880s. While Johannes worked to establish his home, farm and place in the community, his helpmate was also busily engaged. Martha bore eleven children between the years 1863 and 1885. She grieved at the deaths of an infant (Nettie) and two young children (Annie and Bolleat Louisa). During some of the intense farming operations, according to her children, she worked in the fields with her husband during the day and performed most of housework in the evenings. She fought the battles against the grasshoppers in the field along with her children. Caring for her large family and teaching her children was a full-time job with preparing meals, cleaning, sewing, mending, washing, ironing, preserving meat, vegetables and fruit for later use and need, making soap, candles, yarn, gleaned wheat fields, etc. She had the primary responsibility for the garden (planting, watering and gathering) and taking care of the barnyard animals such as chickens, sheep, swine and milk cows, and this included making butter, cheese and gathering the eggs and determining how to use them. In the first few years in Utah eggs were almost impossible to obtain because those not consumed by the family were used for setting to hatch more chickens. In the 1860s eggs were as welcome in trade as cash at the co-op stores where surplus eggs were traded for store items and before long they could be sold for cash. The Cache Valley co-op stores acted as a brokerage business sending weekly shipments of butter and eggs to Ogden and Salt Lake City to fill the needs of the ZCMI along with other traveling butter and eggs collectors who visited the settlement for those items.

The period in Clarkston from 1864 through 1871 had been filled with trials, turmoil and uncertainties as the community almost had to start over three different times. Now in its seventh year of existence, it was certain to remain and become a small Mormon village. When the original plan to completely relocate the community was subverted in 1870, the bishop at Clarkston became the bishop at Newton. The Church leaders at Logan chose a local original settler to become the next bishop at Clarkston, Simon Smith. Jensen wrote that the new leader did the best that he could. Bishop Smith quickly curried the favor of the most ardent supporters for the old settlement by blaming Bishop Littlewood (Rigby) for everything associated with that planned move and by his regular letters to the Church newspaper at Salt Lake City, providing information on Clarkston. Bishop Smith was active and well received by the settlers. He oversaw the abandonment of the fort at Clarkston with many of the settlers dragging their log homes to the higher ground while others forsook dugout shelters or the more primitive cabins to build more substantial homes. He was active in getting a post office at Clarkston in 1870 where he served as postmaster for six years, the construction of a bridge over Bear River and the building of a tithing granary in 1871 where, thereafter, grain received as tithing could be stored along with other tithing produce and hay stacked near the granary. Bishop Smith's periodic letters to the Church newspaper ranged from reports on grasshopper damages, rain or lack thereof, and the prospects for a bountiful harvest. He assured the readers of the newspaper that Clarkston was concerned for the education of its youngsters, and by a two-thirds vote of the people in the settlement accepted the propriety of levying a school tax on all taxable property to improve their school, thus "we have a free school" here. The people were enjoying a general time of good health. According to Bishop Smith, their prospects had never been better and as the spiritual leader of the community, he was pleased to state that "notwithstanding the many obstacles the people here, being in a new country, have had to overcome, they feel like pressing on, and are beginning to appreciate their homes and realize to some extent the advantages of the same." Still, there were log houses with dirt roofs through at least 1877. Bishop Smith also hosted a noted gentile writer John Codman who was spending time in the Mormon Country and wrote a book by that name recounting his experiences. With details he described his night's stay at Clarkston as a guest in the home of the Clarkston bishop, being served by two Mrs. Smiths and the bishop saying "grace over some good milk, bread, butter, and stewed gooseberries, all of which were very appetizing."

Martha was the prime care giver in the home, intensified during times of sickness, injuries or death, and only modified by her personal health concerns or illness and births of children. This devoted mother and tireless worker was described in later years as being about five feet five inches in height and slightly plump. Her life had not been easy and from the time of her acceptance of the gospel in 1861, she experienced rejection by her family, forced to live with her aunt and cousins, a harsh voyage to America, the long trek by ox team to Utah, and lastly, the disruptive conditions involved in and about the founding of a new settlement at Clarkston. Finally, it appeared that her life had turned a corner for the better. Then in 1872 her husband, at the age of 39, took another wife as he married Johanna Christina Malmberg a month before her sixteenth birthday. Apparently Martha gave her consent for her husband to take another wife, but as time would reveal, it came at a heavy cost. The plural wife had been born in Sweden on April 2, 1856, and came to America and crossed the plains with her parents in 1863. They lived in Salt Lake City, then in a couple of places in Box Elder County, then to Logan. A family member thought they moved to Clarkston in 1869 but they are not shown on the 1870 census. The marriage between Johannes Dahle and Johanna Christine Malmberg took place in the Endowment House at Salt Lake City on March 4, 1872.

With a second wife, Johannes had to make some arrangement for another spouse, but unfortunately no reliable information has been found to detail this development. We do not know if or for how long the two families co-existed in the same home, or if Johannes rented a place for the second wife. The story of living on the farm two miles north of town couldn't have taken place until after 1880 when that land was acquired. Besides, a map of Clarkston dated 1876 but based on a government survey of 1874 showed only two houses outside the town limits—J. K. Loosle, south of town, and Martin Harris, Jr., north of the town. However, in time Johannes constructed another home directly to the west of his town home for his first family that became the residence of the second wife and her children. Elizabeth Maude Dahle Tarbet, a daughter of Johannes and Johanna Dahle, asserts that in 1876 her mother got a home for herself and ten acres of hay land east of town in her own name. If so, it came about only by Johannes stating this understanding orally as the Cache County land records show no land ever in the name of Johanna Christine Dahle. At the time of this polygamous marriage, the first wife Martha was going on 31 years-of-age, or almost double that of the new young wife. Martha had given birth to five children but two had died at early ages, so her home contained herself, three children and her husband when he was staying at this home. In February of 1873 another daughter was born to Martha. The second wife bore her first child on November 16, 1873, a daughter who would die before she reached two months of age, and a son Edward born March 2, 1875. Since Johanna apparently obtained her own house in 1876, there could have been a crowded group of Dahles in one house, namely Johannes with first wife Martha and four children and second wife Johanna and one child, until the second home was available. The 1880 census strongly indicates the two Dahle families in Clarkston lived in two difference houses close to one another.

The relationship of the two wives is hard to assess because very few particulars have been passed down. Apparently, while living in Clarkston the children of one wife referred to the other wife as “aunt,” and they existed with sufficient harmony and love to provide some assistance to each other when needed. Only one specific instance of this has been recorded. Three months after Martha had David King Dahle (born in June of 1875), she became so sick that she could not nurse the baby or care for him. At this same time Johanna was nursing her child Edward Peter (born in March of 1875), and she took David and nursed him along with her child. She cared for this child of the first wife until Martha had recovered when her child was almost a year old. While no other specific example is known, the number and spacing of the children came at such regularity that surely there were times when one wife or the other, perhaps both, at times needed assistance on a regular basis. On Martha’s children after the birth of Annie in 1867 the additional children came in two year intervals—John Helge (Feb. 1869), Martha Ann (March 1871), Emma Jane (Feb. 1873), Bolleat Louisa (July 1877), Joseph Norman (Aug. 1879), Alice (May 1881) and then four years later Kate (Nov. 1885). A similar pattern followed with the second wife Johanna bearing children with Mary (Nov. 1873), Edward (Mar. 1875), Josephine (Apr. 1877), Elnora (Jan. 1879), Delanie (Dec. 1880), Moses (Nov. 1882), Chestie (Apr. 1884), Neils (Dec. 1886), and after the move to Idaho five more children were born close to two years apart. In most cases the wives of frequent child-producing fathers bore a heavier burden than their spouse, and with polygamist families the difference could have been even greater.

In regards to farm land, it can be proven that Johannes Dahle had allotted to him two ten acre parcels of property in the “Clarkston Farm and Hay Land” portion of the “Clarkston City and Farming Survey (ten acres in Lot #2 of Plat A Block #23 and ten acres in Lot #1 of Block #24) with no dates recorded as when received. This land was located due east one block from the original town limit (three blocks after the town was shifted westward) with Clarkston Creek running parallel to the western and southern line of the westernmost piece of land and the other piece was located adjacent on the east. The county assessment records showed for 1872 that Johannes Dahle had \$450 in land claims and improvements, and difference between this and 1870 was in the improvement rather than obtaining more land. In addition he had sixteen cattle valued at \$310, two horses worth \$75, nineteen sheep valued at \$57, one vehicle valued at \$50 and \$50 in “Other Property.” There was one entry that couldn’t be deciphered for an entry marked “225” which referred to dollars in stock in a company or merchandize, possibly in the co-op store. The following individuals had more land claims than Johannes: Andrew Quigley with \$600, David Butters, Ullrich Loosle, Lars Rasmussen and Bishop Simon Smith all with \$500. Johannes’ total assessment was \$1223.00. In 1873 the assessments for Johannes were \$500 land claims and improvements, nineteen cattle valued at \$300, four horses worth \$200, one wagon valued at \$25, two swine worth \$10, twenty-five sheep valued at \$30, \$25 in stock in a company or merchandize, \$50 in “Other Property,” and the clock and watch column was blank and the total assessment for the year at \$1260.00. In land claims and improvement only David Butters at \$600 exceeded Johannes Dahle at \$500.

Two Clarkston stories were related by the second family concerning Martin Harris and the second family living on the farm north of town. In 1874 Martin Harris, Sr., relocated from Smithfield to Clarkston because his son, Martin Harris, Jr., had moved there. Bishop Smith played an important role when the elderly man of note as a witness of the Book of Mormon moved into the community for his last year of life. When Harris’ health confined him to the house, he had a stream of visitors with the Bishop being repeatedly at his bedside. Johannes Dahle knew and associated with William H. Homer, Sr. who played a pivotal role in getting the witness to the Book of Mormon to leave Kirtland, Ohio, and come to Utah and re-affiliate with his old faith in 1870 after a quarter of a century away from the Church. Johannes, like so many other residents of Clarkston, had an occasion to go see the elderly Harris when he was sick and weak in bed one morning. According to the family story passed down, another resident who was hard-of-hearing was there attempting to ask the man in bed if he still retained his testimony of the Book of Mormon. The hearing problem of the inquirer prevented an exchange in the conversation so Johannes stepped in as “their go-between” and in the process heard one of Martin Harris’ last oral testimonies of the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon. The senior Harris died a couple of weeks later on July 10, 1875. The second story from the family relates that after securing the land north of Clarkston, Johannes and Johanna with their children spent time in a shack or house on Johannes’ farm two miles north of Clarkston. The land was obtained in 1880 and then a house would have had to be built on the land. Here we are told one day in the 1880s six hungry Indians came by and asked for food and were fed at the family table in an unforgettable meal. Lamentably there is no further trace of the house in land deeds or stories.

Beginning at the founding of Utah and extending into the 1880s the Mormons heard much from their Church leaders in regard to making their communities self-sufficient by way of home industries with the goal of economic independence. President Brigham Young emphasized it would be based primarily on agriculture supplemented by manufacturing and trade, and he decried the use of any item the local members could not grow or make themselves. Closely associated was the advice to not trade with gentiles, which was strengthened to almost a fiat. This was preached and stressed repeatedly at conferences and in articles printed in the Church newspaper along with editorials. Normally, hated mining was frowned upon except for lead (for bullets and paint) and coal wherein Church

missions were called to establish Minersville and Coalville to mine these minerals. There were other mission-like activities for iron, cotton and the Swiss saints called to raise grapes and produce dried fruit and wine at Santa Clara. There were also efforts with products such as cane sugar, molasses, flax, hemp, sheep, sugar beets and even raising silkworms. Out of this movement came the ZCMI and co-operative stores and community businesses such as tanneries, shoemaking, raising cattle, blacksmithing, sawmill, lumber and etc. In Cache County the assessor's office had a form for assessing the taxable property of the citizens of the county with a column listed as "Manufacturing companies," which was appropriately named for the larger settlements such as Salt Lake City, Ogden, Logan, Hyrum and Richmond but somewhat overblown for a small and relatively new settlement such as Clarkston. Nevertheless, the county assessor in 1872 used this column to classify certain taxable property for sixteen Clarkston men with holdings valued at a collective value of \$985 under the "Manufacturing companies" category. This did not pertain to stock in the local co-op store which was denoted under "merchandizing" and besides the assessor placed the total stock in the Clarkston store this same year at only \$400. In the following year of 1873 the number of men involved increased to twenty-one. The names and amount of dollars involved for 1872 and 1873 ventures are shown below:

1872 – "Manufacturing companies" - sixteen members

Johannes Dahle	- \$225	Andrew Quigley	- \$50	Samuel Stewart	- \$45
J. K. Looslie	- \$100	Jorgen Olson	- \$50	Wm. Stewart	- \$45
George Davis	- \$50	Simon Smith	- \$50	David Butters	- \$40
Ole Jensen	- \$50	Henry Stokes	- \$50	<u>Andrew Heggie</u>	- \$30
Ulrich Looslie	- \$50	Andrew McCombs	- \$50	Total	\$985.00
Paul Larson	- \$50	Wm. Myler	- \$50		

1873 – "Manufacturers" - replaced Manufacturing companies heading – twenty-one members:

David Butters	- \$150	J. H. Harmsen	- \$50	John Godfrey	- \$25
Johannes Dahle	- \$125	Ulrich Looslie	- \$50	Thomas Godfrey	- \$25
James Myler	- \$100	J. K. Looslie	- \$50	Ole Jensen	- \$25
William Carbine	- \$50	Paul Larsen	- \$50	Andrew McCombs	- \$25
Wm. Griffin	- \$50	Jorgen Olsen	- \$50	Simon Smith	- \$25
Andrew Heggie	- \$50	K. Rasmussen	- \$50	Henry Stokes	- \$25
John Harmsen	- \$50	George Davis	- \$25	John Tarbet	- \$25
				Total	\$1075.00

Now the big question as to what they were manufacturing or what this represented at Clarkston during the years 1872 and 1873 as the assessment records give no further information. The sparse timber in the nearby mountains along with insufficient water power makes any ideas related to a saw mill or grist mill out of the question. The amount of capital or money does the same for a venture involving sheep and wool, and the notion of finding and exploiting a hoped-for vein of coal that excited the town from 1867 through 1874. The two most likely possibilities would have been either a co-operative livestock grazing venture or a cooperative farming enterprise. In either case the capital stock or money value was available at Clarkston in the initial livestock available or the farm lands to be worked together. If the latter option, it would have been along the line of the 1870 cooperative farm concept that Johannes Dahle offered most of his promised land in the projected move to Newton as covered earlier, and now he offered most of his land to the 1872 undertaking as well. If it were a farming project, it could have continued to be engulfed or incorporated in the United Order that commenced in 1874 when more in the community were brought into a more expansive operation. In the next available assessment record after 1873, there was no longer the category for "Manufacturing companies" or "Manufacturers" in the 1876 assessment roll. Whatever took place, Johannes participated significantly in the amount of property (animals or land) committed to the enterprise. His initial offering was over twice that of the next highest individual, and although he reduced the amount in the second year substantially, he still was the second highest among those participating. This enterprise, whether before or after the United Order went out of business, left no traces behind; but, luckily the individual stockholders were not subject to large personal losses as the animals or land were returned to the owners. Regrettably, Mr. Jensen, although involved in the 1872 and 1873 ventures, didn't mention them, and in 1874 and 1875 he wrote primarily about the co-op store, Martin Harris and his testimony. After some background information, this account will return to the United Order and its demise.

In the absence of personal information, a brief survey will be made of some events and issues that filled the 1870s to overflowing in some aspects and demands. There were enough that one almost has to have a schedule or score card to keep track of them. In the early 1870s the Church leaders in Cache Valley wanted a railroad and asked President Brigham Young if the Church would do what it did to build the railroad from Ogden to Salt Lake City and then into southern Utah. Young would not commit the Church to construct the desired railroad but more than suggested his son John W. Young head the proposed project—form the company and obtain the financing. Still, in many ways the railroad into Cache Valley and beyond was a quasi-church project where the Church was heavily

involved in recruiting the people to physically work on it, wards were assessed a certain amount of labor or money, and when the work slowed, the Church applied pressure to continue the effort and supported the issuance of grand promises and pay vouchers. According to the Church's way of thinking, this was to be the people's railroad where the people would benefit with good freight rates and service, not the financiers or strangers from outside. We are in the dark on the feelings and attitude of the Clarkston residents on their assignment to help construct the railroad into and through Cache Valley other than knowing Clarkston's labor appropriation was placed at \$4,000. We don't know to what extent the people physically worked on the project, but would assume they did since the Church gave the calls for work; if so, then did they become disenchanted when the great promises did not come through and the money for wages stopped almost completely and with vouchers and more promises little better. The new railroad company folded in the depression (the Panic of 1873), and many promises (company and Church) went by the wayside. The Church did accept some of the worthless pay vouchers as tithing credits and the Church ended up with stock in the Union Pacific that bought out the folded company, but the farmers of Cache Valley who did the work got the least from the episode. The resultant railroad wasn't the people friendly road that was promised. We can only guess what fate Johannes had with the railroad work, promised pay and vouchers, etc.

Beginning in 1873 two long termed Cache Valley Church projects that intertwined and lasted for over a decade were started—construction of the Logan Tabernacle (1873-1878) and the Logan Temple (1877-1884). For the eleven years there were repeated emphatic calls for donations, workers and associated efforts. The best specifics on these construction projects concerning Clarkston came from the personal record of Ole A. Jensen. He stated that in 1877 when President Young issued the call for a temple at Logan, a temple district had been created comprising the Bear Lake Stake, Box Elder Stake and Cache Valley Stake. The people were consulted and “asked to build it on donation; and each was subscribed to pay so much a year until the Temple was completed. I was to pay \$25.00.” In 1878 Jensen reported in July he and his son Alma (age 14) went to Logan Canyon with two teams of oxen “to work out my Temple donation.” In the process one of his oxen had its leg injured by a log rolling down the mountain and he had only the other team to work, earning \$4 per day. At the completion of his work assignment, he was unable to take the injured ox one back home, leaving it in the canyon. At Clarkston, Jensen injured one of his horses in harvesting and so sent young Alma back to the mountains to try and find the lost oxen. The finding of the oxen was a faith promoting affair involving prayer. Jensen's temple donation in 1878 was \$35.50; in 1879 - \$53.00; 1880 - \$35.25; 1881 - \$34.00; 1882 - \$25; in 1883 he either didn't pay or was so busy writing about marrying two wives, family difficulties, getting behind financially and into debt. In 1884 he paid \$10.00 in temple donation and wrote the following in his personal record: “The Logan Temple was finished and dedicated 17th May, I was present at the dedication; none could enter without a ticket signed by the President of the Church, John Taylor.” It wasn't easy or cheap to be a dedicated member of the Church, and more of the same was coming, and this was above and beyond regular tithing. It would be more than fascinating to know how Johannes Dahle compared with Mr. Jensen on this issue.

It had become a custom for the local farmers to burn their straw piles accumulated during threshing. Now counsel came from the highest Church leaders in 1873 to not burn their straw piles but to save the straw in case of emergencies or hard times which seemed to occur frequently. In late November of 1873 it turned cold with much snow and the winter of 1873-74 became one of the severest experienced. Before spring arrived the farmers had run short of feed for their animals, causing them to take the old straw coverings on their sheds to feed their animals. By April 1st there were still two feet of snow on the level with animal feed scarce and some cattle and many sheep perished, and some farmers in possession of stock were at a loss to know whether they were better off with or without them. This “winter among winters” had Brigham Young, Jr., leader of the Cache Valley saints, reporting to Salt Lake no plowing had been done in the valley. Another leading man in the valley wrote in a letter that “many of our brethren are as sorely pressed as they were [in] the grasshopper war, having fed out to their stock their seed grain and vegetables.” As the tough winter continued, the farmers noted their work animals were deteriorating and had serious concerns if they would have the strength to do the spring work. Wherever the snow disappeared on a hillside, the stock was driven through snow to the bare spots so the grass springing up could be used for feed. After this bad winter, it became a cardinal rule to not burn the chaff and straw piles from harvest time. At this time Johannes Dahle in 1873 had nineteen cattle, four horses and twenty-five sheep. Again we know nothing of how he fared, his losses and what and how he managed it all. At the personal level with the number of stock possessed, this could have been an arduous year in keeping the animals fed unless Johannes had previously increased his supply of feed or quickly sold some of his stock. Fortunately, the grasshoppers did not show up in 1874, but economic hard times did as the consequences of the Panic of 1873 affected the people in the valley. The Mormons, with their co-operation, co-operatives and striving for self-sufficiency, were not exempt from hard times with money being scarce. The gentile owned territorial bank failed, some of the mines closed and the company building the railroad through Cache Valley folded.

During the convergence of the above events and economic difficulties, the Church brought forth its new and grand economic plan of the United Order as a solution to the trying times with abundant promises of what it would

accomplish. Building upon the earliest United Orders set up in southern Utah by President Young during his annual winter visit, the most significant features were that those joining were to contribute their economic property to this new program in return for equivalent capital stock and pledge all their “time, labor, energy, and ability,” while the property turned over was to be controlled and directed by a board of management. Members pledged to support home manufacture, cease importing goods from non-Mormons and only have transactions or dealings with members of the United Order. A formal set of rules were established regarding speech, prayers, word of wisdom, families, Sabbath Day, conduct between individuals, manner of dress, debt, covetousness, etc. As a part of the process of joining the United Order, each person had to be re-baptized in a formal ceremony promising to comply with the rules of the new organization. An apostle met with the Clarkston Ward leaders to explain the system. Then on May 31, 1874, the United Order was organized in Clarkston with Bishop Simon Smith as President, Andrew Quigley as 1st Vice-president, Ole A. Jensen as 2nd Vice-president, Andrew W. Heggie as Secretary and Henry Stokes as Treasurer. Heavily promoted by President Young and the Church, the new movement to build the Kingdom of God saw a great number of orders established, but half of the orders lasted no more than a year according to one of the most noted Mormon historians. Only in those areas with active co-operative enterprises working previous to the United Order (U.O.) was there much chance of success and staying power. As explained earlier, in 1872 sixteen Clarkston men had joined to farm collectively or formed a company to cooperatively manage livestock and by 1873 a handful of others joined this venture. It hasn’t been ascertained if this enterprise was still functioning in May of 1874 when the United Order was organized at Clarkston. If not, then Clarkston’s United Order started from scratch. If so, then the U.O. incorporated the other operating cooperative effort into its plans but insisted that those joining devote all of their properties to the United Order other than what they had on their city lots. Significant differences in the two cooperative ventures were the exclusiveness of the new order with more rules and strictures along with possible differences in the individuals who made the crucial decisions for the new United Order.

The most common difficulties to the United Order revolved around two factors—in almost all of the communities some residents did not join, creating a division in the settlement; and there were often disagreements over the use of property and rewards given for labor by those who earlier controlled both personally. In most cases where the functioning of the U.O. created a division in the community and affected the local church organization, there was almost no effort made to perpetuate the U.O. and they quickly dissolved. For instance, at nearby Mendon only one-third of the members joined the U.O. and they did not comply with the rule to have no dealings with those who did not join because it would divide their town, thus their U.O. expired within a year. At Clarkston no estimate has been discovered as to the number who joined the U.O., but using the numbers associated with the co-operative farming or stock raising at Clarkston in 1872 and 1873, that number probably was around one-third, much like Mendon’s figures. We also don’t know the joiners’ attitude concerning those who did not join, but it is evident in the resulting trouble that there was or developed a sharp division in the sentiment of the people. At Clarkston the struggling U.O. continued into its second year, and the more President Brigham Young persisted in pushing the concept as the Lord’s way, the harder Bishop Smith prodded the local saints to join in and make it a viable working institution. Sometime after the second anniversary of the U.O. at Clarkston, a significant number of the members no longer supported their bishop and signed a petition asking that he be replaced. When the Cache Valley Church leaders received this written request, they responded sharply by going to Clarkston to set the matter straight. Apostle Brigham Young, Jr., serving as primary leader of the Cache area, along with William B. Preston, presiding bishop in the area, went to Clarkston. Apostle Young read the riot act to the Clarkston saints, dressing them down that it was all wrong to petition for the removal of their bishop, this wasn’t done in the Church. Still, he had to acknowledge the bishop should have been more in tune to the ward’s problems and handled the division on the U.O. better. Apostle Young found the situation serious and in the end could only say Clarkston “should do more about the United Order,” and suggested that re-baptism might be a solution to all the bad feelings and difficulties at Clarkston.

In retrospect, the difficulty in 1870 over the relocation of Clarkston to a new location was like a Sunday school picnic compared to the Bishop Smith and United Order situation. Words and re-baptism (a device used so often it became a Church rite for many years) didn’t resolve the troubles and the Clarkston United Order failed and went out of business. The Clarkston Ward had largely quit on their bishop. Bishop Smith was released on November 6, 1876, and again the Church leaders went to Wellsville and had John Jardine relocate to Clarkston to become their bishop. To hopefully ease the feelings of the deposed bishop (basically kicked out by his ward), Smith was called to go on a mission for the Church. In Jensen’s account he wrote: “For some reason Bishop Smith was called to go south to a new country but he apostitized.” Smith didn’t go on this mission but left Clarkston, joined the Josephites (Reorganized Church) and went on a mission for this splinter group to England and then later to Utah. He was very active with his voice and pen, claiming all his personal troubles and his ward’s difficulties were due to the evils of polygamy. Forsaking the plural marriage idea that brought him from England where he abandoned his wife who didn’t want to be his queen in a harem, he came to Utah and tried plural marriage. He now believed that Joseph Smith did not start the plural marriage practice which he considered extremely wicked and burdensome and too de-

manding on those who engaged in it. He spent the rest of his life preaching and writing about the evils of the Utah Mormons, particularly plural marriage.

Once again we are left not knowing Johannes' position on the United Order issue for it was not one where middle ground or sitting on the fence could safely be taken. Did he accept the United Order full heartedly with enthusiasm as he apparently did the community farm plans proposed for Newton in 1870 and the 1872-1873 enterprise at Clarkston when he committed most of his farm land and energies to that end, or had experience whispered a more cautious approach whereas the bishop was coaxing him to commit more? How did he stand in regard to Bishop Smith and his actions to promote the United Order? Smith and Johannes had been colleagues in the founding of Clarkston, fence viewers days, the first cooperative effort and their first farms were side by side for the first dozen years. Perhaps this was a case where he couldn't win for losing in such a sharp dispute for whichever side he chose, the other would view him negatively. If he stood by his bishop and associate of many years too strongly, he could have been seen in disfavor by a considerable number of the most vocal in Clarkston. On the other hand, if he joined forces with those who forced Bishop Smith out, it could have been interpreted as showing he was not too favorable with the Church's position on the U.O. and losing support with that side of the controversy. In Clarkston in 1874-1876 this was a ticklish hot issue for the residents and choosing either for or against the United Order could affect one's standing in the community. The problems of the U.O. and the tangles continued because Brigham Young said it was the program the Lord wanted and preached and pushed it strongly. With this turmoil and struggle combined with ex-bishop Smith's last views on plural marriage being burdensome and more trouble than helpful, there possibly could there have been some seeds or weeds planted in Clarkston concerning one's views on this institution.

Other developments that impacted Clarkston were: the excitement and activity around the search for a vein of coal that began in 1867 and included Apostle Ezra T. Benson forming a company and obtaining generous provisions from the Cache County Court. Before long there was formed a "Henry & Co. of Clarkston" that applied for a "Grant of Coal Vein" in the Clarkston area. With the limited timber in the nearby mountains, the finding of coal would have been a major economic event for Clarkston. By the fall of 1874 the search for coal fizzled to the point that Brigham Young, Jr. petitioned (probably in behalf of the company formed by the deceased Apostle Benson) the county court requesting \$400.00 to defray the expenses incurred in the search for coal, and surprising or not, the request was granted. While the enthusiasm remained a while longer at Clarkston, which made the news with a 1876 report of a 150 foot tunnel to tap a vein of coal a few miles northeast of town. However, in the end the surface specimens didn't prove out for a commercial venture. During 1869-70 period President Young made the construction of a road through Logan Canyon a priority that involved all the settlements in Cache Valley in its construction with work parties called from each village. In 1874 the county court allowed Newton to organize an irrigation district which extended into what was considered the Clarkston area. Clarkston objected and fought this creation, forcing some modification of the area covered. In the end Clarkston also organized a Clarkston Irrigation District late in December of 1874. Although no written record has been found to tie Johannes with these mentioned items, he should have been concerned or involved in some way or other, and with the irrigation activities he possessed water claims at Clarkston which were a valuable economic factor.

During the Indian troubles the local men became minutemen defending their community, and they were incorporated into the valley's military company known as the Nauvoo Legion with yearly muster and drills plus an occasional response to actual trouble. All able-bodied men from age eighteen through forty-five were required to serve in the local militia. In the Clarkston unit, Johannes Dahle was called as first lieutenant of the second platoon of infantry.

In August of 1865 President Young gave a summary of instruction on this militia to the people of Box Elder and Cache counties saying it was not only a requirement of the territorial laws, but "if any refuse to obey the laws of the land, I would try them before their bishops for that as readily as I would if they were to refuse to pay a just debt; and if they would not repent, I would sever them from the church, and give them over to the laws of the a land." By 1870 there seemed to be little need of this military protection, and even worse from the Mormon point of view, the Territorial Governor considered them not as a territorial militia but as a private army of the Mormon Church and choked off their arms and supplies and forbid their yearly muster and drilling. Nevertheless, that year the Nauvoo Legion in its various divisions met in muster and drilled without arms, but all factors suggested the famous legion was about dead, if not dying. Then in 1873 the legion in Cache Valley called a muster for three days on October 16, 17, and 18 and went through their regular military routine; it apparently was important enough to make the Salt Lake newspapers. A man from Mendon recorded that the men had a good time at the muster. When Clarkston was celebrating Pioneer Day in July of 1876, it began with the grand procession to the bowery featuring "The military consisting of the infantry and cavalry" with a thirty-seven gun salute to the flag. Those attending heard speeches, songs and recitations, and the day's events were capped by a children's dance in the afternoon and in the evening for adults. Quite likely this was the last appearance of the Nauvoo Legion in Cache Valley and beyond. We are in the dark as to whether Lieutenant Johannes Dahle had found a comfortable niche in the militia and continued in this service or had he grown tired of it.

At Clarkston in 1875 there was further improvement in farm machinery as, according to Jensen, “sixteen of us brethren bought a new threshing machine” which he called a successful venture. In all occasions related to several men joining together to purchase farming equipment, Johannes’ name was never mentioned. This, combined with the Cache County assessment records concerning farming equipment, lead to wondering if Johannes hired some of his farm work done or if he and his sons did it all themselves. When in 1876 the Clarkston U.O. was abandoned with some bitterness and division among people, Jensen in his diary observed “some were weak in the faith, and no confidence in each other.” To face and hopefully defuse the situation, the Church brought in John Jardine from Wellsville to be the bishop of Clarkston. Bishop John Jardine was a convert from Scotland who immigrated to America in 1855, and who stopped in several states and worked to finance the way to Utah which was reached some four years later in September of 1859. In early October of 1859 he took up residence at Wellsville where he and his family would reside for seventeen years. When the long-time Bishop William Maughan (who served as bishop for forty years) was called on a year mission to Great Britain in 1875, John Jardine was called to preside over the Wellsville Ward until Bishop Maughan returned. He was released on July 25, 1876, after serving for about a year in the capacity of a bishop without being ordained a bishop. About three months later he was called to be the bishop at Clarkston where he was sustained on November 6, 1876. Seven weeks later he wrote in his journal: “I was installed as bishop and well received by the people. May the Lord bless me and make me an instrument in His hands in doing much good among the people at the settlement, for I believe there are good people living there.” Thereafter for over a year he was somewhat a commuting bishop before he could get land and a home built for his family so he could move his family to Clarkston. In a complementary way Bishop Jardine was like a Scottish terrier—active, feisty and loyal to family, community and Church with the qualities of a good watchdog together with a streak of stubbornness.

Perhaps one story of Bishop Jardine’s family can give some understanding of the man and bishop. Before he arrived at Clarkston, the Cache Valley Church leaders had begun building the Logan Tabernacle in a construction project started in 1873 but not finished until 1878. In the latter portion of the project the Cache Stake was about to be organized along with a concerted effort to finish the tabernacle construction. Each ward was assessed a certain amount of money, and at Clarkston this amount was divided into individual and family assessments. Bishop Jardine gave an assessment to his unmarried son John Beveridge Jardine (over the age of 20 with experience in farming, driving cattle to Montana and Bear Lake besides working on the railroad to Montana), who told his father that it was too much and he wouldn’t pay it. The Bishop didn’t press the issue except to say that if his son didn’t, then his father would have to pay it. A short time later his son John B. sold some grain to a man who sought to pay with a check made out to the buyer for \$77.00 and much more than the cost of the grain. John B. couldn’t cash the check on the spot and give the man his change, but told the man to wait while he went to the co-op store (run by his father the Bishop) to cash the check. John B. took the check to the store and explained what he wanted including the amount of change he needed to give to the buyer. Bishop Jardine took the man’s check and went to the back of the store and returned shortly with the right amount of change for the buyer in one hand and a receipt for John B.’s share of the tabernacle assessment in the other. The son realized his bishop father had outwitted him and all he could do was to take the buyer his change. A few days later John B. inquired of his close friend, Andrew Heggie, if he had paid his tabernacle assessment, and when his friend replied negatively because it was too much, the bishop’s son warned his friend not to try and cash any checks at the store operated by the bishop or he could suffer the same fate as he did.

At Clarkston one of Bishop Jardine’s first acts was to hold a public meeting in the combination school-meetinghouse in December of 1876 to consider a proposal to build a badly needed new meetinghouse. The local saints agreed, and the next day men went to the mountains searching for a good place to quarry rock, and shortly a location was decided upon and hauled rock to the selected building site. The rock meetinghouse’s construction was expedited with the cornerstone laid on May 1, 1877, with donated labor for the most part except for the construction work by stone masons. In early December the work was finished and Stake President Moses Thatcher wanted the building dedicated on a certain Sunday. The only hang-up was there was still \$200 owed to the stone masons which had to be paid before it could be dedicated. With only days left Bishop Jardine went to Russell King Homer seeking a solution. According to a Jardine family account, the Bishop stated: “Russ, you are the only one in town who can help me with that kind of money.” Homer responded that he didn’t have the amount of money needed on hand but that he had a good yoke of oxen that could be taken. The stone masons accepted the two oxen for the money still owed them. On December 15 and 16, 1877, there was a special dedication ceremony for the new Clarkston meetinghouse that measured fifty-six feet and six inches by thirty-four feet and six inches that had just been completed. Under the direction of the Cache Stake Presidency the structure was dedicated by Stake President Moses Thatcher. Whether through persistence or ingenuity Bishop Jardine was determined to see the Church and the Lord received their share.

Besides instructive remarks, the two days of meetings produced further organization of the first Cache Stake. While the Church had functioned in Cache Valley from the first settlement in 1856, it had not been formally orga-

nized as a stake until 1876 when it was set up with Moses Thatcher as stake president. Among the proceedings at Clarkston in mid-December of 1877, the elders of Clarkston and Weston were combined and organized as a quorum (Joseph Smith set elder's quorums at 96 elders) with "John Dahle as president" and Alfred H. Atkinson and Lars Peterson as his counselors. As before this John Dahle was Johannes as his brother John lived at Logan and would not have any connection with Clarkston until ten more years with a homestead, dairy and some of his immediate family living in Clarkston. No additional information has been found concerning Johannes Dahle being president of the elder's quorum, however, at this time in the Church the most important quorums were the Seventy and the adult Teachers. This 1877 appointment was the last known position for Johannes Dahle at the Church or community level of any significance, and it could have terminated soon after 1878 when more pressure was applied to Johannes to repay his PEF loan from 1862. Several years later on May 29, 1883, he was called by the "Cache Valley Stake of Zion" as a missionary on a stake mission to "Clarkston, Newton & Trenton." No other Church positions have been found for Johannes, while his younger brother John in Logan served in two special callings—he traveled back to the Mormon outfitting post on the Missouri River with Church teams to assist immigrants to Utah and served a mission to Norway.

Clarkston had been founded as an agricultural settlement wherein the early settlers believed and experience confirmed that land in northern Utah needed irrigation water to grow crops. The land that could not be irrigated was considered worthless. There exists in Clarkston an old story and tradition that in an area west of the town where irrigation water could not be brought to the land, some one hundred to one hundred and sixty acres of land was traded for a single pocket knife. Still, Clarkston with all the setbacks in its early years became a good producer of small grain crops. In the summer of 1871 the *Deseret News Weekly* had an article with an estimate of the grain crop expected in Cache Valley's harvest. The projected harvest for bushels of three grains for the valley and some selected towns was accordingly: Logan – 41,000 bushels of wheat, 7,000 bushels of oats and 2,000 bushels of barley; Mendon – 9,000 bushels of wheat, 500 bushels of oats and 500 bushels of barley; Clarkston – 5,000 bushels of wheat, 2,000 bushels of oats and 1,000 bushels of barley; Newton – 800 bushels of wheat, 100 bushels of oats and 100 bushels of barley. For all of Cache Valley the totals were 189,000 bushels of wheat, 19,400 bushels of oats and 6,600 bushels of barley. With the short and unsettled existence of Clarkston, its output of grain was quite remarkable. What Clarkston possessed more than most communities was a considerable amount of non-irrigable acres of land that proved to be fertile. Dry farming, although partially successful around Bear River City in the mid-1860s, was still considered a questionable experiment and did not reach consequential proportions in Cache Valley until the 1880s. However, some trials were made with varied success. At Clarkston in 1876 John E. Godfrey tried three acres of grain without irrigation and raised eighty bushels of grain in a trial with dry farming. At almost the same time there were tests of new and better strains of grain that proved more suitable to drought-like weather conditions. In Clarkston J. E. Carlisle, the district school teacher, wrote an article for the Ogden newspaper published March 15, 1879, about "Clarkston—Its Settlement and Present Improvements" in which he wrote: "The main resources of Clarkston is its farms. The land is very fertile and produces abundant crops of small grain. If dry farming proves a success here, there are thousands of acres of land which can be cultivated, and thus greatly augment the prosperity of the settlement." In the settlement of Mendon a man, bent on keeping records, noted in 1879 there was "as yet very little dry farming" and later, as an after-thought, he said the farmers in the area were slowly learning the necessity of letting the land rest and need for fertilizing. For the year 1882 Ole A. Jensen wrote in his diary: "I was the first to cultivate dry farms in that vicinity, although many thought it foolish, but it became a great success. I raised 18 bushels to the acre on a dry farm." Clarkston was on the threshold of acceptance of the ways and techniques of dry farming whereby the normal moisture from two years was used to produce one crop with one season of the land laying fallow.

A summary of Johannes Dahle's land holdings and other property from 1869 through 1879 from the Cache County Assessment Rolls:

Key: L.C. & I = Land Claims & Improvements; Cat. val. = Cattle-value; Hor.= horses val.; Misc. Pr.= Miscellaneous Property; Sw. val.=swine value; Sh. val=Sheep val. ; Val. of M.=Value of Machinery. [Years missing - 1871, 1874, 1875 and 1877.]

Year	L.C.&I.	Cat.-val.	Hor.-val	Veh.-val.	Misc. Pr.	Sw. val	Sh. Val.	Val of M.	Total
1869 -	\$200	5 - \$110	2 - \$150	1 - \$50	\$40				\$ 550.00
1870 -	\$200	11 - \$215	4 - \$200	1 - \$50		1- \$10	10 - \$20		\$1035.00
1872 -	\$450	16 - \$310	2 - \$75	1 - \$50	\$50		19 - \$57		\$1223.00
1873 -	\$500	19 - \$300	4 - \$200	1 - \$25	\$50	2- \$10	25 - \$30		\$1260.00
1876 -	\$700	14 - \$170	1 - \$50	1- \$15	\$50		25 - \$50	\$50	\$1085.00
1878 -	\$750	12 - \$105	2 - \$100	1 - \$15	\$75	1- \$5;	12 - \$25		** \$1080.00
*1878-	35acres	7 - \$84	2 - \$100	1 - \$20	\$75	1 - \$5	20 - \$40		\$1120.00
1879 -	35 acres	7 - \$84	2 - \$100	1 - \$20	\$75	1 - \$5	20 - \$40		\$1127.00

Additional information in assessment rolls:

1870 – Dahle acres irrigated 17 -- Wheat 16 acres, Oats 12 acres, potatoes 1 acre; meadow 15 acres.
 1870 & 1878 Clock or Watch – 1-\$5 (not listed on the other years).
 1878 ** [Note written on the form] – “Due \$9.65 from Johannes Dahle.”
 1878 * two reports with the second on a different printed form reporting acres instead of value.
 1878-1879 – instead of land value the report covered approximate acres along with possessing four (4) fraction of town lots.

At the same time the people became more intent upon securing legal title to the lands they had been using, and now desired more land than the small allotments assigned by the Church. With more land they needed to improve on their farming equipment, and in accordance with this outlook the county assessor’s office took notice. In 1876 the Cache County assessment records added a column to their listing of taxable assets for “Value of Machinery.” The Clarkston listing showed J. K. Looslie and Aaron Hill with \$100, J. H. Harmsen with \$75 and several with \$50 including William Blanchard, David Buttars, William Carbine, Johannes Dahle, Jorgen Olsen and Morris Garver; those with \$40 were Andrew Heggie and Joseph Thompson; at \$35, H. W. Walker and at \$20 each, Paul Larsen, Lars Rasmussen and Samuel Stewart. In the next assessment year available, 1878, this column had disappeared to be covered in “other property.” Mr. Jensen in his written record stated he and William Sparks bought a Champion Reaper and Mower combination and they did well with it at harvest and haying time. In 1882 he and four other farmers bought a new threshing machine for their own use. With more grain grown and harvested, Jensen had to build himself a new granary in 1881, and surely many more were added in Clarkston, including one perhaps for the Dahles which burned in the 1879 fire.

Johannes Dahle’s farm land situation up through 1878, as revealed in the Cache County land records, shows his land holdings remained fairly constant through the period. In a comparison with other early settlers: Israel J. Clark, the presiding elder and leader in the founding of Clarkston, had three wives and left the town in 1867, possessed four town lots and some eighty acres of farm land; Simon Smith, one of the first settlers and bishop beginning in 1870, had two wives with two city lots plus seventy-five acres of farming land and two parcels in Clarkston Farm Survey Plat B of an undetermined acreage. Peter Benson, an early settler who relocated to Newton in 1870, while maintaining one wife at Clarkston, possessed two city lots and twenty-five acres of farm land. Andrew W. Heggie, with one wife, had three city lots and twenty-five acres of farm land with two parcels in Clarkston City Plat B with no acreage visible on the land record. John Thompson, Sr., with one wife, had one city lot and thirty acres of farm land with several pieces in Clarkston City Plat B.

By the late 1870s the Church no longer was the primary grantor and distributor of land in Cache County, and now land could be obtained from the government basically in four ways: 1). Homestead act -160 acres of land at no charge per acre, just minimal fees, and live on the land for five years with a few other requirements. 2). Preemption Act to obtain land already farmed before obtaining legal title by having first choice or pre-emption by purchase from the government for not less than \$1.25 per acre. 3). Sale by the government with no land sold for less than \$1.25 per acre. 4). Lastly, land could be obtained by trade or purchase from an individual with the county government recording the transfer. In Utah and particularly Cache County the preemption act was first used to get title to land the settlers had claimed and farmed prior to land titles being available, which in Utah came after the land office was established at Salt Lake City in 1869 and the federal survey was completed. A small portion of Cache County was surveyed earlier, but the survey in this area was not finished until the mid-1870s. Another factor that held back a big rush for free land was the strong belief that non-irrigated land in the arid West was of little worth with little faith in the experiments with dry farming. For some reason, Johannes didn’t significantly increase the size of his land holdings while the Church controlled the distribution of land while those around him were doing so. In the early days the Church grants were small, as large tracts of land could not be managed. With primitive farm tools a man using a scythe or cradle reaper to cut his grain and tie it into bundles could do about two acres in a long day. Maybe it was by personal choice even though with two growing families it would seem he required more land. If speculation along this line could be pursued one step further, perhaps Johannes was not completely happy with the type of farming he was engaged in or stuck with, involving back-breaking work with primitive tools, which could be done on ten or twenty acres, but more land was inviting more trouble and work. All too true, unless one’s perspective was considering better equipment and/or another and more varied type of farming. Equally mysterious was the fact that Johannes Dahle never applied for land via the Homestead Act in Utah or Idaho.

Meanwhile, the Dahle families in Clarkston increased in number. The year of 1877 saw Martha bear her eighth child, a daughter named Bolleat Louisa, born July 23, 1877, and for some unexplained reason the child was not blessed for three months until November 1, 1877. Sadly this daughter at the age of seven months died February 22, 1878, being the third daughter to pass away at a young age. Other eventful things in 1877 included Johannes Dahle receiving his American citizenship papers on October 6, 1877, along with the dedication of a site for the Logan Temple and the death of President Brigham Young. On May 2nd a “very heavy storm of snow” hit Cache Valley hard, causing severe damage to the trees and wreaked havoc with orchard fruits and gardens, and after an absence of

three years, the grasshoppers were back and had to be battled again. Ole A. Jensen in his record covered three years writing—for 1877 “The grasshoppers took most of the grain;” in 1878 “this was a good year for farming, and we raised much grain;” and in 1879 “the grasshoppers took much of the grain.” At the end of 1880 the Johannes Dahle families consisted of the following: with first wife Martha there were six living children (Hans at age 16, John Helge at age 11, Martha Ann at age 9, Emma Jane at age 7, David King at age 5 and Joseph Norman at age 1); with second wife Johanna there were four living children (Edward Peter at age 7, Josephine Amelia at age 3, Elnora Matilda at age 1 and Delaine at one month). Thus, Johannes had two wives and ten children to support.

In March of 1879 an Ogden newspaper related some of the conditions with the Clarkston store which had experienced a series of problems and reorganizations along with future plans. The article stated: “Clarkston has an [sic] co-operative store, with a capital of \$1,380, in shares of \$5 each. The capital stock in 1875 was \$605; total amount of dividends declared for the past four years, \$1,312.28, a part of which being added to the capital stock was increased it to the present amount. The shareholders have determined to build, the coming season, a store 22 x 30 feet, with a good cellar underneath. It is to be a frame building, lined with concrete, and weather boarded with rustic siding. It will be an improvement, and one of which the people may be proud.” The local store, the larger branch at Logan and the other stores supplied via the railroad at Corrine made available a greater variety of goods, and among the more significant were cooking stoves which caused a commotion and division at nearby Weston in the early 1870s due to the Church’s attempt to boycott gentile items. Apparently Clarkston had their earliest cooking stoves about 1875 with no known troubles other than operating the stoves correctly.

A disastrous fire occurred at Johannes Dahle’s place on August 25, 1879, that consumed his corral, much of his stack yard and a granary along with a quantity of hay, 300 bushels of grain, some flour, a new wagon, three plows, a sulky rake and many useful tools. Bishop Jardine was the first man on the scene followed closely by neighbors who did their best to save what they could. It was later discovered the cause of the fire was a “little boy playing with matches” but no identification. The scope of the fire loss caused the community to start a subscription to help the Dahles. The farming equipment damaged by the fire suggests Johannes may not have advanced very far in improving his farming implements. The two families had their share of sickness and injuries, and occasionally medical treatment was necessary. The Logan and Salt Lake newspapers reveal the story in early January of 1880 as a little son of “J. Dalley” (another misspelling of the Dahle name) had a tumor removed from his finger by a Logan doctor. The small boy had been troubled with this tumor on his finger “for a long time,” and when removed was called “very large to have grown on the finger of so small a boy.” No name was given for the boy, and most likely it was either David from the first wife or Edward from the second wife.

In the early years at Clarkston, Johannes Dahle was active in the operation of the community by appointment by the Cache County Court and the Clarkston people electing him to various positions. After being elected a school trustee in 1870, Johannes held no more positions at Clarkston, and his name was mentioned less often in the county court records, and in the final book of these records (beginning in 1878) his name was only cited twice in 1888 regarding a re-evaluation of his property for taxes. He had left the area in the spring of 1888 and in early December Johannes sold most of the land in the Clarkston area, and his first wife Martha had to respond to the requests from the court. The historical Church records (manuscripts) show the same pattern with little to no mentioning of his name in the last dozen plus years in Clarkston. Conceivably a factor in the noticeable change in Johannes’ life had some connection to his PEF loan or loans taken in 1862, as periodically the Church, through the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company, tried a series of maneuvers to get former immigrants to repay the loans used in getting to Utah. It started in 1855 when Brigham Young as president of the PEF and the Church sent the bishops a list of debtors to the PEF and the amount they owed with instructions to collect what was owed and forward the amounts that were collected. President Young and others gave many a tongue-lashing to those who had not repaid their loans as promised, and the Church publications (in America and England) joined in the tirade against the debt and debtors. At the Bowery at Great Salt Lake City in September of 1855 in one of Young’s transcribed talks, he weighed in with a lengthy address and among his sharpest words stated: “I want to have you understand fully that I intend to put the screws upon you, and you who have owed for years, if you do not pay up now and help us, we will levy on your property and take every farthing you have on the earth. I want to see if I can make some of you apostatize . . . I give you this word of caution, prepare to pay the debt you owe to the Church.” Still, the problem of insufficient repayment continued with no evidence that the harsh measures were taken. In February and March of 1876 the Church newspaper published a notice from President Young and his counselor Daniel H. Wells to local Church leaders asking them to see that these long overdue debts to the PEF be repaid as soon as possible.

The reports that came back on the PEF loans stated that those in debt were claiming to be too poor to pay their debts or they had firm feelings opposed to repaying their loans. In the latter part of 1877 after President Young’s death and with this indebtedness now over one million dollars, the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company took another try similar to the 1855 effort. They prepared a complete list of all those indebted to the PEF Company along with the year the loan was granted. This published listing was distributed primarily to the local Church leaders with the biggest difference from the earlier attempt being they made the local bishops a vital part of the plan.

The bishops were instructed to focus on the collection of the old debt, follow up and be involved in ensuring payments were directed to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company. It would have taken something akin to a miracle to keep a directive of this magnitude and all activities connected with it from becoming the local gossip with the grapevine active in spreading the names of those who had not repaid their debt to the PEF and any development concerning the old loans. Even if there were no other reasons, those indebted could have felt uncomfortable at Clarkston beginning in 1878 and extending until they resolved the situation by paying the debt or becoming irritated and feisty when the repayment was mentioned.

As described earlier in the travels of the Dahles, there were found evidences in the PEF files that some of the Dahles had obtained loans to finish their trip to Utah. This was confirmed and possibly broadened by the Church published list of the persons still indebted to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company in 1877 that was sent to the ward bishops. On this listing by name and year of the loan, were two intriguing entries—"Dahl, Johann, 1862," and "Dale, Johannes, 1862." The 1877 listing had nothing for John and Janetta Dahle. An extensive personal search of the emigration records for the nine ships used in 1862 revealed no other names close to the "Dahl" and "Dale" listing other than Johannes Dahle. Therefore, it was fairly safe to assume Johannes had a PEF loan that hadn't been repaid by the last of 1877. In a concerted effort to make this drive successful, the Church newspapers (daily and weekly) kept the issue alive with frequent articles and updates. As the originators of this publicized plan had hoped, it did stimulate some repayment of these debts. About six months after the list was sent out, the *Deseret News* published in April of 1878 a "List of Honor" naming with emphasis those who had responded by settling their obligation. In this period some 144 persons had "Honorably Paid" their debts. Six months later the paper printed the names of 268 more individuals who had done the same thing. In 1879 in two installments 278 and 212 had repaid their debt, and in 1880 another 171, and in 1881 some 201 had "Honorably Paid" their debts up to April. Johannes Dahle's name was not shown among those repaying his debt which was now approaching twenty years old. The total reported in the newspaper was 1,274 individuals settling up; while that was better than nothing, it was still a trickle.

Hoping that Bishop John Jardine's journal might have something concerning Johannes' PEF loan, the hunt for the illusive chronicle was intensified but without finding it. The only information found on how Bishop Jardine handled this situation in Clarkston in regard to the list of those still indebted to the PEF Company and his charge to try and collect the funds from those in his ward can be shown in the case below. There were others in Clarkston indebted to the PEF as well and one example can be followed a bit farther concerning a debt incurred in 1866 by Sarah Keep Francis and her young daughter Lucy Ann, after leaving her first husband. Sarah later married David

\$ 60⁰⁰/₁₀₀ **No. 698**

Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company's Office,
SALT LAKE CITY, *Aug 1st 1879*

Received of *David Butters* the sum of
Sixty ⁰⁰/₁₀₀ Dollars in Labor
thru Logan Temple, - in full of indebtedness to
the Company for transportation of Sarah Keep
Francis across the plains in 1866.

D. R. Anderson
Clerk, P. E. F. Co.

News Print.

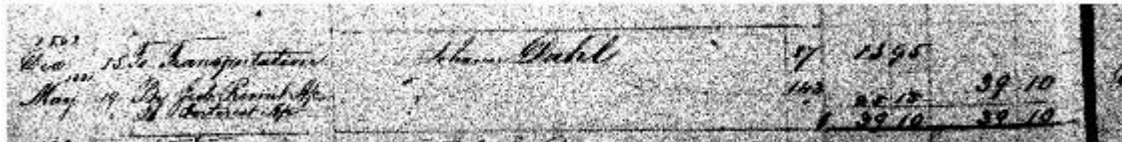
*P. E. F. Co. New York City - \$20.50
in settlement of the account with the P. E. F. Co.*

Buttars in December of 1866 and the couple and family moved to Clarkston. Over a dozen years later when Bishop Jardine participated in the effort to collect the past due PEF debt, it produced a response at Clarkston. David Buttars paid off his wife's earlier debt of \$60.00 for the transportation of Sarah and her daughter across the plains by way of labor he performed on the Logan Temple. The Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company's Office in a formal printed form with sufficient blank space to record necessary details acknowledged receipt of this transaction "in full of indebtedness to the Company for transportation" across the plains, but added another indebtedness as a postscript along the side of the receipt per a copy of the receipt shown here. The P.E.F. was seeking to recover the rail-

road fare from New York to Wyoming (Nebraska) for Sarah and her daughter, and they were apparently willing to settle the account for the fare cost of \$20.50 and forgo any interest charges for the thirteen years this debt had not been paid. Bishop Jardine was very much involved in bringing about the settlement or partial payment of this old indebtedness and besides the Receipt No. 698, there was at least one additional written contact between Bishop Jardine and the P.E.F. Company concerning this issue on August 21, 1879, in a postal card still extant as an heirloom of the past preserved by descendants of those involved.

We haven't been fortunate enough to find any documented evidence on Bishop Jardine's contacts with Johannes Dahle regarding the payment of his old PEF debt even though Bishop Jardine kept a journal (now apparently lost). Bishop Jardine received his written list of those indebted in late 1877 or early 1878, which came after the numerous counsel and instruction to local Church leaders to address this problem. President John Taylor picked up the topic and pressed it hard repeatedly. In a published address at Ogden on October 21, 1877, he struck hard at the PEF indebtedness saying: "Certain brethren have been assisted here and . . . They have since come in possession of means and property of various kinds but they have not settled for their emigration indebtedness. . . . Is it right? Is it just? . . . I look upon as an outrage to the community, and a greater outrage to the good and worthy poor who are ungathered, who are crying for assistance. . . . Let us be reminded of these obligations, and see that they are paid." (*Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 19, p. 248.) At the following April Conference he called specific attention of the stake presidents, bishops of wards "and of the whole people, to the responsibilities that devolve upon us in relation to this matter. . . . to look after these things, and see that these obligations are met . . . and if this duty is not performed, how can we expect blessing of God to rest upon us?" (*Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 19 p. 308.) The emphasis was stressed on "this enormous sum" of "upwards of a million dollars," which was hindering the gathering of the poor Saints. Now with the debtors' names supplied with the local Church leaders directly involved with the problem, a more persistent effort was made for repayment of the PEF loans. How strenuous at Clarkston did Bishop Jardine push the matter can only be guessed at, but it would be hard to believe he was less determined in this pursuit than in getting a meeting place for his ward or in collecting his son's assessment on the Logan Tabernacle. He was heavily involved in resolving the Sarah Keep Buttars debt mentioned above, apparently making all the contacts with the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company in Salt Lake City. Most assuredly he contacted Johannes Dahle multiple times from when he received the debtors listing in 1877 through April of 1881. We can't say for sure how many contacts were made and whether they were friendly, hostile or in-between, but they could have easily become an irritation when brought up by the Bishop, reported in the newspaper and seemed a favorite topic at conferences. With no action taken, these contacts could have become more and more disagreeable for both the Bishop and Johannes.

Then at the April annual conference of the Church in 1880, leading Apostle John Taylor, in behalf of the Twelve Apostles, proclaimed a jubilee year as observed in the Old Testament for the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Church, whereby the Church "by common consent, remitted one-half of the people's entire indebtedness to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company," along with a number of other measures and suggestions to help the worthy and deserving poor of Zion. However, the forgiving of PEF debts was not a blanket forgiveness but contingent upon the bishops designating the parties not able to repay their debt to the fund and worthy to be forgiven their obligation. Then over a year later there was a new entry in the debt account of Johann Dahl in ledger C page 16 as follows:



From a scan of an entry in the original PEF Ledger C page 16.

The scan is here reproduced in typed form with (| -) separating the columns in the ledger book:

1862 [dates]	[Purpose or action]	[Name]	[Ref. #]	[Debit]	[Credit]
Dec. 15 [1862]	- To Transportation	- Johann Dahl	- 87	- 13.95	-
May 19, 1881	- By Jub. Remit. A/c	-	- 143	-	- 39.10
"	- To Interest A/c	-	-	- 25.15	-
				- \$ 39.10	- 39.10

This entry records the personal account of Johann Dahl (believed to be Johannes Dahle) with the initial entry from Dec. 15, 1862 for "To Transportation" for the named individual taken from a source or reference in this case "87" which was a page number in the ledger book where an earlier record had listed a loan or debit of \$13.95. The second lined entry for May 19, 1881, was the next activity on this same account "By Jub. Remit. A/c" or a remittance by the jubilee option on this account for the individual with the reference # source being page 143 that showed a remittance or credit of \$39.10, along with a belated interest amount of the loan after nineteen years squeezed in of \$25.15 making the total amount due \$39.10. The amount remitted (forgiven) balanced the debit, therefore, closing the account without the individual repaying a cent of the amount owed. In essence, either Johannes Dahle claimed he was too poor to repay his loan and/or the Bishop agreed that his financial position or attitude precluded repayment. For almost nineteen years Johannes had made no effort by money or approved work projects to repay any of his loan for whatever reasons—didn't want to or think he had to, misadventures, miscalculations

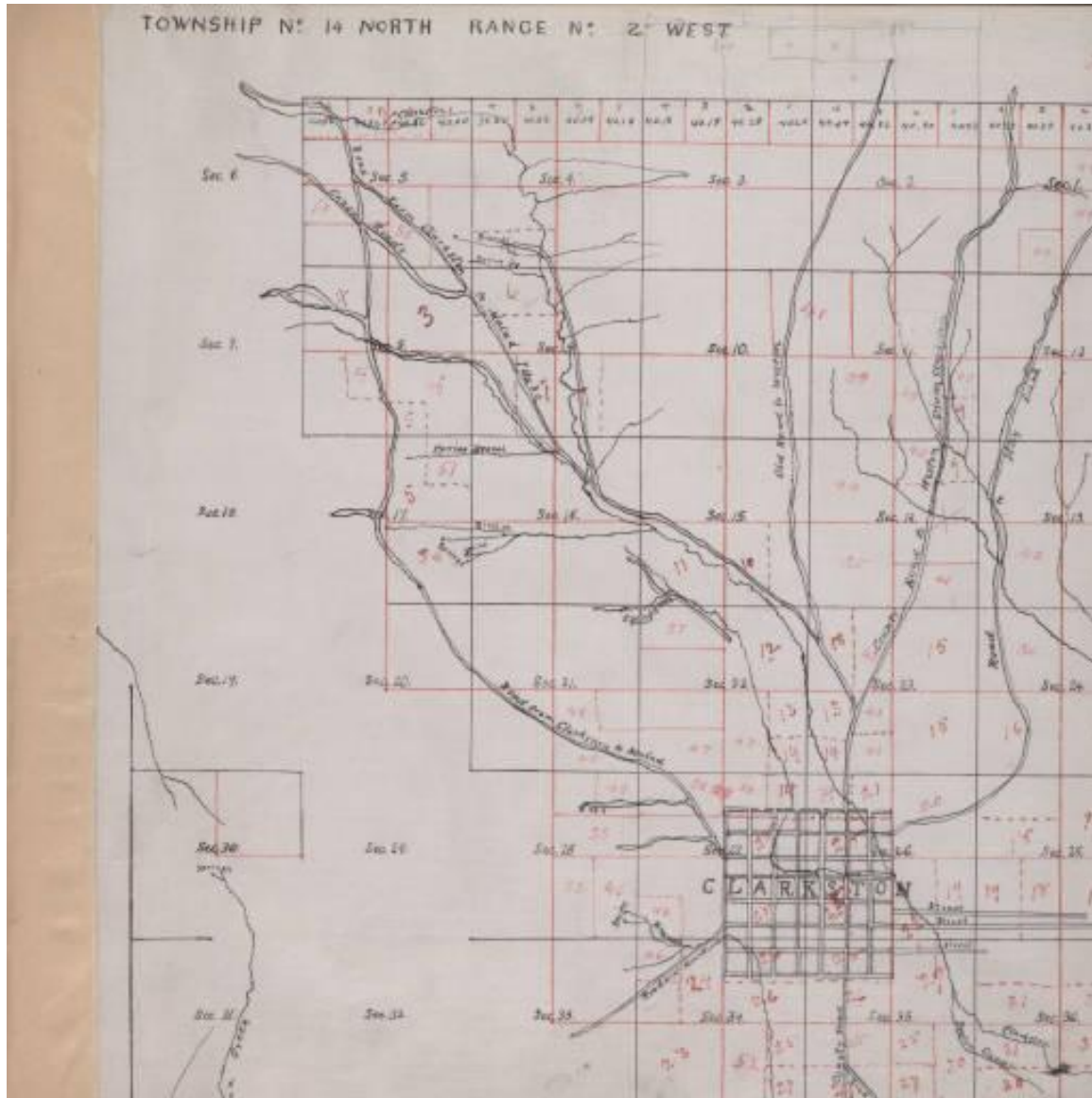
including the August fire at the Dahles. Still, it remains highly questionable as to how he so qualified for this too-poor-to-pay classification in 1881. Especially, as this paper shows he was given property by the Church, had land transactions with his brother in Logan and then purchased at least eighty acres by paying cash, together with the 1880 agricultural schedule and the Cache County assessment records, thus seemingly possessing more than sufficient to take care of his small debt if he wanted to. Especially was this true when the Church began accepting work on other projects as acceptable in repaying PEF debts. John and Janetta Dahle, the other Clarkston P.E.F. debt cited earlier and many others used this easy way to take care of their indebtedness. Perhaps the real story lay in Johannes' viewpoint on the debt and a determination to not repay it wherein his attitude was the determining factor more than a lack of assets—in other words he was unwilling more than unable to pay his old debt. There may have been a prolonged struggle with Bishop Jardine over this issue in which the latter may have come to the conclusion that this individual would never repay the loan and the continual bringing up the matter only made a bad situation worse. If such was the case, the issue was likely to have had a significant impact on Johannes personally and affected his standing in the Church and community in a negative way.

In this same time period there were other problematical incidents, troubles and failures that produced a large number of unfilled promises to the residents of Clarkston and Cache Valley, such as pledges concerning the Cache Valley peoples' railroad and the assurances of the United Order, coupled with the economic troubles and possible personal economic loss with the Clarkston co-op store along with the repeated calls for work and money for Church projects for helping the immigrants (in Cache Valley from 1864 into the 1880s), the road through Logan Canyon (1869-1870), the new Clarkston church (1877), the Logan Tabernacle (1873-1878), the Logan Temple (1877-1883), followed by a new rock school at Clarkston (1886-1887) and a host of other requests that never seemed to end. There were some, who began to chafe at the ways and means of the initial we-are-all-in-this-together outlook, which came to the surface in a serious way in the U.O. dispute at Clarkston and the dismissal of Bishop Smith in 1876, to be followed by the complexity of the crusade against polygamy with the Church's emphasis on plural marriage. Could these have become crucial factors for Johannes Dahle, especially when pooled with any upcoming personal distress? From the research there appeared to be a significant and noticeable change in Johannes Dahle in the late 1870s. While he could have been a fountain of strength in being a faithful tither in Idaho, at Clarkston he may have been less faithful. For example, can one image Johannes not paying his small PEF loan, and seeing him paying his tithing and keeping pace with such other Clarkston men as Ole Jensen just on the Logan Temple project. Jensen and his son took an ox team to Logan canyon to work out his temple donation plus paid in money, according to his records, the following temple donations—\$35.50 in 1878, \$53.00 in 1879, \$35.25 in 1880, \$34.00 in 1881, \$25.00 in 1882, 1883 nothing recorded except he married two wives, \$10.00 in 1884, and he attended the dedication of the temple with a ticket signed by President John Taylor. Was Johannes in the same pattern as Jensen or more the opposite if donated work or money was involved? Was money a factor in not sending his daughters to school and in the selling of most of the Clarkston land after he relocated to Idaho? Did this suggested change in Johannes shift his opinion on the value of plural marriage and the forthcoming leaving (abandoning) his first wife and family?

When Clarkston was first surveyed and mapped in 1864 and reworked after relocating the city limits after 1870, the adjacent farm land included was primarily to the east and south of the community. To the north and above the town's limits (a straight line running east and west) where City Creek ran into Big Creek (named Clarkston Creek by the County Surveyor) the area surveyed went northward six blocks (six-eighth of a mile) covering the area that could be irrigated. Beyond this to the northwest only sheep men and cattlemen showed an interest in the grazing possibilities in the canyons and hollows such as Steel Canyon and Jenkins Hollow, in and about the Utah-Idaho border. Here the Costleys, Bassetts, Henry Hannon and others ran their stock in sections 4, 5 and 8 of Township 14N R2W or the far northwestern corner of that township. A newspaper report of January 22, 1879, related a "fire occurred at Henry Hannon's ranch, five miles north of Clarkston" when the owner was away from home but a man named Bassett was staying at the house. Most of the early stockmen in this area did not formally file for land titles until after 1881 as there was no land claim jumping requiring a rush to Salt Lake City to the land office to secure the land being used. In the Clarkston farm area (Township 14N Range 2W) of Cache County for 1878 there were the first two filings for land titles by Loren Bassett and Freeborn Miller ("Freeborn" in Cache County records but "Freelove" in federal land records). The first two individual entries were way out in far northwest corner of the township (in Section 3). A significant proportion of the small individual farm lands possessed before official land titles were available were shortly claimed by a cooperative land title activity using the Preemption Act. The local farmers selected a few men to carry out the transaction with the government land office, paying for the land and getting a patent by sharing the payment for the land and other expenses, and thereafter using the old Church land survey or a new survey and have their preemptor or representative re-deed to the actual possessors the various parcels they were paying for and claiming. Most of the farmland near Clarkston was secured by title in this way or acquired directly from the U.S. government, and in all cases for a land title it had to be paid for or granted as a homestead.

The following year on April 7, 1879, three Clarkston men apparently traveled to Salt Lake City and filed for legal title for some land in the township 14N R2W. Two of the men, Peter S. Barson and William V. Carbine, filed on land adjacent to the community, while the last man, Johannes H. Dahle, filed for some of the first land beyond the narrow confines of the Church run survey and in Section 15 of the federal survey. Johannes H. Dahle's entry in the Cache County land records was filed as land document #2028 and initiated on April 7, 1879, and on the Bureau of Land Management's General Land Office Records on April 30, 1880, the patent or title was issued. The land was purchased as a "CE" or Cash Entry sale for 80 acres in the township mentioned above in Aliquots W $\frac{1}{2}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ (or the western one-half of the southeast quarter section) of Section 15, and at \$1.25 per acre, costing one hundred dollars. Being a cash sale, there were no time limits, section house and how to be used regulations or requirements (see Map 4). The patent certificate to Johannes H. Dahle was issued April 30, 1880, and signed by or for President Rutherford B. Hayes. This land was crossed by the road from Clarkston to Malad and the Clarkston Creek, closely paralleling each other, as they ran across the narrow side of the one-quarter mile by one-half mile piece of property in a slight angular direction. According to the government map of this area based on the 1875 survey, the primary water ditch for taking water out of the Clarkston Creek crossed the land on the upward side of the creek over to the junction with Birch Creek where it took the water out of the creek. This made possible the potential irrigation of less than half of the acres provided the owner had enough established water rights and chose to use his water rights here via some personal ditching rather than on other land in Clarkston. The next filing chronologically in the Cache County Plat came for the Clarkston town lots through Judge M. D. Hammond on April 10, 1880, and will be covered shortly.

One last point concerning the adjacent land and nearest neighboring farms and what might have been. Directly west of Johannes' land lay a quarter section (160 acres) filed on by Samuel Stewart in 1883. The Clarkston Creek, road and main water ditch crossed the entire width of this parcel in an advantageous angle. If Johannes had combined the adjacent 80 acres with the 80 he had purchased and taken a quarter section homestead, he could have had twice the acreage with considerably more irrigable land at a fraction of the expense of acquiring what he did by a cash purchase. As it was, Johannes and Stewart farmed next to one another from 1883 through 1888 when the former left for Idaho. Johannes' neighbor to the south was Thomas Godfrey who took a quarter section through a homestead grant filed on June 11, 1883, and received his patent on March 24, 1887. The next two neighbors to the south filed for land titles for land assigned earlier by the Church grants.



MAP 4 - Map of Township 14N Range 2W and plats of land after being legally obtained by purchase or Homestead Act as shown on the Cache County Township Plats. The individual parcels were made in red ink. Johannes Dahle was No. 10 with a red dash line in Section 15 immediately to his west was No. 11 for Samuel Stewart. The land owners were covered on separate sheets.

A typed transcript of the first eleven entries of the Cache County Township Plat map:

[Key - C.E. = Cash Entry H. = Homestead]:

Plat No.	Entry No.	Description	Section	Name	Date of Entry	Patent Received
1	C.E. 2630	S½ NW¼ Lots 3 & 4	4	Richard Costley	Nov. 19, 1883	May 3, 1887
2	H. 1976	Lots 1,2,3 & 4	5	Henry M. Hansen	June 6, 1882	Mar. 12, 1883
3	C.E.2322	NE¼	8	Milton D. Hammond	June 14, 1881	Oct. 18, 1882
4	" 1964	NW¼	8	Freeborn Miller	Dec. 21, 1878	Nov. 19, 1892
5	H. 1852	S½ NE¼ NE¼ Also SW¼SE¼	17 8	[continued below] Loren E. Bassett	Apr. 12, 1882	Dec. 2, 1882
6	" 5683	S½ SW¼ N½ NW¼	4 9	[continued below] Alpheus A. Harmon	May 14, 1887	[blank]
7	" 3255	W½ SE¼&E½SW¼	9	Edwin Bassett	July 15, 1885	Dec. 21, 1886
8	C.E.1848	N½ SE¼SE¼SE¼ and NE¼ SW¼	8	[continued below] Loren Bassett	May 16, 1878	May 23, 1879
9	" 2496	SE¼SE¼ and NE¼NW¼	11 14	[continued below] Caroline P. Larsen	Sept. 12, 1882	Feb. 23, 1885
10	" 2028	W½SE¼	15	Jus. H. Dahle *	Apr. 7, 1879	May 31, 1880

- 11 H. 2312 SW¹/₄ 15 Samuel Stewart Mar. 19, 1883 July 14, 1884
 *On the General Land Office Records for C.E. 2028 the name was distinctly recorded as "Dahle, Johannes H."

During the summer of 1880, in conjunction with the normal population census, there was taken an Agricultural Schedule that gave details on the Dahles' farming and animals possessed. Family gardens and lots were not considered. Note that for a change they recorded his first name correctly but misspelled his surname. The comparison with other farmers was made by the writer using the Agricultural Schedule.

<u>Dale [Dahle], Johannes</u>		<u>[Comparison with other Clarkston farmers]</u>
[Land - acres] Tilled	60	[only Russell R. Homer, Sr. @ 125 & Dotos R. Hammond @ 100 had more; 2 others had 60 acres]
Permanent meadows [acres]	10	
Value of farm & bldg.[\$]	2,000	[Kern P. Larsen @\$3,000 had more; three others @ \$2,000]
Value of machinery	[\$]150	[8 men with more]
Value of livestock	[\$] 500	[Lars Rasmussen @ 800; Wm. Archibald @ 600]
Cost of fences '79	[\$] 100	[made in 1879]
Wages for labor	[\$] 100	
Weeks hired	3	
Value of produce	[\$] 600	[David Buttars @1200; George Godfrey @ 800]
Mown grass	20	[in acres]
Grass not mown	4	[in acres]
Hay (tons)	25	[James Henderson also @25; then two at 10]
Horses	6	[David Buttars @ 11; Dotos Hammond @10; John Burt @ 8]
Mules, asses, oxen –	0	[illegible for most of the column]
Milch cows	5	
Other [stock]	7	
Calves dropped	8	
Sold living	1	
Slaughtered	1	
Died, strayed, stolen	8	
Milk sold (gals)	--	[blank]
Butter made on farm (lbs.)	40	
Cheese (lbs.)	300	[Wm. V. Carbine @ 325; Samuel Thompson @ 300; only 8 families listed as making cheese.]
Sheep	20	
Lambs dropped	10	
Slaughtered	6	
Died of weather	15	
Fleeces	20	
Weight	40	
Swine	2	
Poultry	50	[one at 84; one at 60; and four at 50]
Eggs produced (doz.)	200	
Wheat acres	30	[one at 75; one at 53; one at 40]
Wheat Bushels	1,000	[53 acres=1655; 75 acres=350]
Potatoes acres	2 1/2	[one at 7; one at 5; three at 3]
Potatoes Bushels	175	
Forest – cords	12	
Forest – value	60	
Oats acres	5	
Oats bushels	100	

The 1880 schedule showed the Dahles having 60 tilled acres that must have included some acreage from the recently purchase of eighty acres from the government. This would appear to have moved Johannes well up the list of Clarkston farmers in the number of acres owned, but assessment records go counter to this as they placed him

continually in the 35 acres of farm land. Thereby, only a small portion of the eighty acres was irrigated, farmed or taxed, but may have brought about the disposal of some or all of the original twenty acres of hay land east of the town. For the researcher today, the two ten acre parcels of hay land remain problematic inasmuch as checking into the Cache County land index records hasn't revealed when and by whom they were paid for and brought into the government's land control system or what Johannes Dahle specifically did with this land. The two ten acres plots of land mysterious seem to disappear except for a family story that ten acres were traded to get the land in Idaho in 1888.

A summary of Johannes Dahle's land shows he possessed 60 acres of tilled land and 10 acres of permanent meadows. His sixty acres of tilled land had 30 acres planted in wheat and 5 acres in oats and two and one-half acres in potatoes with 20 acres of mown grassland (termed hay) and 4 acres of grass land not mown. His production from these crops was as follows: wheat 1,000 bushels, oats 100 bushels, potatoes 175 bushels along with 25 tons of hay from the grasslands. It provides an insight on the Dahles having sheep and chickens along with the production and problems associated with them. Their fifty chickens produced some 200 dozen eggs, and from their sheep came a small amount of fleece. The category for "Forest" (cords of wood and value) was not dealing with cut firewood stored for future use. Most likely it reflected an estimate of potential cords of wood that could be had on the Dahle land, most likely in and about the four acres of grass land that was not mowed and/or adjacent to a creek bed or former creek bed where there existed a few trees amid land least accommodating to mowing due to terrain, deposits of gravel from flooding, etc. The agricultural schedule did not include vegetable gardens on his town lots, and surely the two Dahle families each had a sizeable garden with a variety of vegetables including potatoes, an all-important staple of their diet. The census agricultural schedule figures revealed animal losses as well—eight large animals cited as either "died, strayed, stolen" plus 15 sheep that died due to weather. In Jensen's written record he stated of the winter of 1880: "This was one of the hardest winters Utah had ever known on cattle, etc.—on account of the shortage of hay, hundreds of cattle starved to death." In 1879 Johannes had expended \$100 to build fences, an improvement that general Church leaders frequently promoted. In January of 1880 the first known sale of barbed wire was made in Cache Valley, and hereafter the construction of fencing was faster, easier and cheaper.

The only solid information discovered on the Dahles in regard to poultry and eggs comes from the 1880 Agricultural Schedule. It listed them as having fifty poultry which produced over the previous year some 200 dozen eggs. At Clarkston there was one family with sixty-four chickens, another with sixty and four at fifty. It was likely that early in the settlement of Clarkston some of the families had a few backyard chickens that scratched away largely on their own during the day and were secured during the night for protection. However, from experience and by way of Church counsel stressing being self-sufficient and encouraging ingenuity to form small businesses, chickens and their eggs became for some families a small economic enterprise beyond just providing the family with eggs and chickens to eat. As such more care was given to the chickens in the way of feeding, housing them, treating for disease, etc., so the egg production continued and increased. The profit was small and at one time in this time period a dozen eggs sold for eight cents, but if the proper care was given, they produced consistent results. As an incentive for more people to consider this venture, the county did not tax poultry as they did other barnyard animals. Here women found a niche in the local Mormon communities, they came to rule the roost to some extent. Therefore, the raising of chickens and egg production were very important to the Dahle families into 1888 and crucial to Martha and her family thereafter. Profits from the eggs produced possibly brought about a better structure or coop for the chickens.

Also of interest was the information on the population portion of the 1880 census for the Clarkston Precinct in Cache County, Utah Territory.

Key to the census columns:

- | | | |
|---|----|--|
| 1. Dwelling house in order of visitation | -- | 2. Families number in order of visitation |
| 3. The name of each Person whose place of abode on 1 st day of June 1880, was in this family | | |
| 4. Personal Description - Color | -- | 5. Personal Description - Sex |
| 6. Personal Description - Age at last birthday | -- | 7. If born within the census year give the month |
| 8. Relationship of each person to the head of this family | | |
| 9. Civil Condition - Single | -- | 10. Married -- 11. Widowed / Divorced |
| 12. Married during census year | | |
| 13. Profession, Occupation or Trade of each person, male or female | | |
| 14-20 - not covered on unemployment, health and physical condition. | | |
| 21. Education - Attended school within the census year. | | |
| 22. Education - Cannot read | -- | 23. Education - Cannot write |
| 24. Nativity - Place of birth this person | | |
| 25. Nativity - Place of birth of the Father of this person | -- | 26. Place of birth of the Mother of this person |

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	13	21	22	23	24	25	26
43	43	Dale, Johanes	W	M	47				1		Farmer				Nor.	Nor.	Nor.
		Martha	W	F	37		Wife		1		Keeping House				Nor.	Nor.	Nor.
		Hans	W	M	15		Son	1				1			Utah	"	"
		John H.	W	M	11		Son	1				1			Utah	"	"
		Anna ok	W	F	9		Daug.	1							Utah	"	"
		Ema Jane	W	F	7		Daug.	1							Utah	"	"
		David K.	W	M	4		Son	1							Utah	"	"
		Joseph N.	W	M	11/12	Nov.	Son	1							Utah	"	"
44	43	Johannah	W	F	24		Wife		1						Swed.	Swed.	Swed.
		Edward	W	M	4		Son	1							Utah	Nor.	Swed.
		Josephine	W	F	2		Daug.	1							Utah	Nor.	Swed.
		Nora	W	F	1		Daug.	1							Utah	Nor.	Swed.

The surname should have been Dahle and not "Dale," and the correct spelling of the head of the family should have been Johannes. Daughter "Anna ok" should have been Martha Anna, and "Ema Jane" should have been Emma Jane. On the second family the wife's name was Johanna, used without the last "h" at the end, and daughter "Nora" was actually Elnora Matilda. However, the most interesting part of this census listing was that family # 43 comprised a varied family unit with one husband, two wives and mothers. The census taker visited the first wife's family at dwelling #43 and the second wife at dwelling #44 nearby. The government's prosecution of polygamy had officially begun in 1862 with the anti-bigamy law but didn't gather momentum until the 1880s. It would not have been difficult for government officials to have determined that Johannes Dahle was a polygamist with his two wives living in two houses close to each other. On the 1880 census the Dahles at Clarkston were enumerated as a dozen.

In early 1880 Henry Stokes, an English convert to the Church who settled in Clarkston, wrote a long article to the Church newspaper expressing his opinion that the agricultural communities were putting all their energies into farming but should consider other ventures not tied to following a horse and plow. He suggested and extolled the idea of "Glass Making" in Utah. He told of his twenty years of experience in the manufacture of glass in England and claimed he knew the basics. He wrote: "I possess a rich fund of valuable information indispensably necessary for the establishment and successful carrying on of a glass factory." Concluding his lengthy treatise he closed saying, "I trust I have not said too much on the subject." Maybe he had the knowledge but the capital to institute his ideas was not available, especially in northern Utah, so the glass making venture never came to Clarkston. From the beginning at Clarkston, farming and some stock raising, dominated the settlement's economy.

Within three weeks of the glass making suggestion, a main line item came to the fore providing the first steps to getting legal title to lots within the limits of the town of Clarkston. Precursor to this was the establishment of a land office in Utah and a series of acts by Congress (Pre-emption, Homestead and Townsite) which made land titles available once the area had been surveyed by the Federal Government. In Cache County the surveying was finally finished in the mid-1870s and legal titles were then available to be secured except within the cities and towns already established on the public domain with a hodge-podge of lots, subdivisions with no connection to the normal survey lines of the federal survey. The Townsite Law of 1867 provided that the U.S. Government through the General Land Office would patent the whole town to a local judge, then the county surveyor would survey the entire town and make a Plat and Field Notes for all of the lots. Then the lot occupants or owners could apply to the county judge to get title and if the requirements had been met, the judge could issue a Trustee's deed to the owners who paid for their land. In Cache County the larger communities on the east side went through this process first. In late April of 1880 it was Clarkston Town's turn and it came by way of a notice in the local newspaper as follows:

THAT I, MILTON D. HAMMONS, Probate Judge for Cache County, in the Territory of Utah have entered the SW1/4 and S 1/2 NW 3/4 Sec. 28 and SE 1/4 and S 1/2 NE1/4 Sec. 27 and N1/2 NE1/4 Sec. 24 and N1/2 NW 1/4 Sec. 25 in the township 14 north of range two west for and in behalf of the citizens of the town of Clarkston. Every person, association, company or corporation, claiming to be the rightful owner of possession of any lot, block, share or parcel of said land are required to file with the clerk of the Probate Court for said county within six months from the first publication of this notice, a statement in writing containing an accurate description of the particular parcel or parts of land which he, she or they claim or be forever barred from claiming the same under the provisions of the Townsite Act.

Witness my official signature at my office in Logan City, this 23rd day of April A.D. 1880.

MILTON D. HAMMOND
Probate Judge for Cache County.

This legal notice was published repeatedly in the newspaper to announce this procedure to obtain legal title to lots and subdivision within the town limits of Clarkston. Johannes Dahle and the other Clarkston owners of lots followed the directions and obtained their legal titles by deeds from the trustee (probate judge of Cache County). This accelerated the move whereby the Church's stewardship and custody of land allotments came to an end. Land was now regarded as private possession that could be sold, bought or traded according to personal desires. There was a complaint in the local newspaper from Clarkston and other communities that they had to go to Logan to pay their taxes, to record their deeds and to attend various meetings. However, in fairness the 1867 Townsite Law was making it easier to secure titles to the many small pieces of property now available after the government survey without a trip to the Land Office in Salt Lake City and the legal tangles that would follow. In compliance with the above instructions, Johannes Dahle filed his statement giving a description of the parcels of land within the townsite that he possessed and claimed, including a small piece outside the town limits that hadn't been secured otherwise. This was given to Judge Hammond on July 14, 1880. After all the claims were filed, checked out and any corrections or adjustments made, Judge Milton D. Hammonds, as grantor, on December 12, 1880, issued a trustee's deed to grantee Johannes Dahle for the lots he filed for title and purchased from the government for \$40.25. Johannes Dahle's deed gave the land description and location for a total of 21 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres with 14.25 acres lying within the limits of the town and seven and one-half acres in the farm survey immediately southeast of the town limits as follows:

The west Half ($\frac{1}{2}$) of block two (2) also north half [$\frac{1}{2}$] of block three (3) also commencing at the north west corner of block one running thence East twenty (20) rods, Thence south Twenty (20) rods, thence west six (6) rods, Thence South twenty (20) rods, Thence west fourteen (14) rods, Thence north forty (40) rods to place of beginning all as Platted on Plat A of Clarkston Townsite Survey, also west half of Lot two (2) on block sixteen (16) as platted on plat A of Clarkston farmland survey also lots one (1) and eight (8) on block four (4) as platted on plat A of Clarkston Townsite survey.

This land, now paid for and titled, was fully in the national land system but still used the earlier pre-government surveys to establish the bounds of the various small parcels of land. Some of the deeds adjacent to the town would use both the national survey markers and the older pre-government survey to establish the boundaries. The obtaining of legal titles to the farm land of Clarkston and the town lots and some nearby farm land were among the very few markers in the history of the Dahles, and together with the census and agricultural schedule of 1880 help give a better view of the family. The Panic of 1873 that troubled the United States and Europe had run its course and recovery brought better economic times.

On an early Sunday morning in early February of 1880, three stake leaders and a reporter left Logan by sleigh in a fog and traversed snow covered hills to reach Clarkston in time to attend Sunday meetings. They found the settlement had "one of the finest meeting houses" in the valley and a new co-operative store was being built; in addition the place had two day schools with an attendance of 111 and a Sunday school with an enrollment of 175. Later the stake leaders attended a "splendid evening meeting." The reporter in his article for his newspaper observed: "One very noticeable feature of the services was that no interruptions occurred. Promptly at the proper time meeting was called to order and from that time, until the close, no people entered or left the house; and though the seats were all occupied by worshippers there was not the slightest noise." In late January of 1881 another group of stake Sunday School leaders left Logan in a light spring wagon and traveled 18 miles and, upon approaching Clarkston, saw "immense snow drift that abound in and around it." Attending to their assignments they remained for the night at Clarkston with Bishop Jardine. The next morning as they left to continue to their next appointment, they noted "we did not walk through the gate—we walked over it. The streets of Clarkston . . . were blocked with immense snow drifts, some of them covering up fences, and block up gate-ways." These travelers were either novices of the first order or very adventurous in venturing out in mid-winter unless their wagon had been converted to guide over the snow rather than roll over it on wheels. Three months later at a Cache Stake quarterly conference held in Logan, Bishop Jardine was called upon to make an oral report of the Clarkston Ward. He stated: "Some were striving to serve the Lord, but others were careless and indifferent."

Finally, by late 1879 Logan had a newspaper that lasted more than a few weeks, and a significant portion of their revenue came from advertisements. Starting in 1880, the new modern farm equipment was heralded with unabashed praise. Many types of plows ranging from the walking behind type to riding sulky and gang plows, also, multiple types of wagons, rakes, mowers, reapers, binders, grain drills and threshers were advertised for sale. One of the better ads showed a McCormick New Iron Mower with a large sketch illustration showing a man riding with two horses pulling with the cutter bar doing the work all neat and efficient. The triumphs of the nineteenth century with a multitude of advertisements on the new farm equipment, all praised as new, improved, celebrated, efficient and wonderful. In 1880 in the agricultural census the value of Johannes' farm machinery was listed as \$150 and eight Clarkston men had more. Others knew there was something big in the wind and were trying to take advantage of the situation and gave more consideration to improve the equipment used in farming. However, on the ground at the farm, wants and what was available were often at variance due to affordability.

Looking into the Cache County Assessments records again and picking up after the report from 1879 cited earlier where Johannes was shown owning 35 acres of land, he possessed the following taxable property for 1880.

1880 assessment record for Johannes Dahle:

Fraction of town lots – 4 valued at \$200
 Farm land – 35 acres valued at \$400
 Cattle – 7 valued at \$70.
 Horses – 3 valued at \$200
 Vehicles – 1 valued at \$10
 Value of machinery - [no entry]
 Value of taxable property not enumerated - \$40.
 Total value of taxable property - \$960.00. – Amount of tax - \$11.52.

1881 assessment record for Johannes Dahle:

Fraction of town lots – 4 valued at \$300
 Farm land – 35 acres valued at \$350
 Cattle – 11 valued at \$84.
 Horses – 4 valued at \$130
 Swine – 2 valued at \$5
 Vehicles – 1 valued at \$75
 Value of machinery - \$25
 Value of taxable property not enumerated - \$15.
 Total value of taxable property - \$960.00 – Amount of tax - \$11.82.

[*Notations under the category of land*] – Johannes Dahle “Claim imp.” {claim & improvement}
 Wm. Carbine and M. J. Clark “No title – Imp.” {apparently no land title had been acquired, still the land with improvements were taxed.}

The number or fraction of town lots and farm land remained the same as reported the previous year. The farm land reported had been changed from dollar value to acres in 1878 and it remained at 35 acres from 1878 through 1882. However, because the 1880 agricultural schedule most likely included his recent purchase of 80 acres from the government, which had given an accounting of the land as 60 acres tilled with 10 acres of permanent meadow and some 20 acres of grassland mown, something seems amiss or an unexplained change. This was especially true if the two ten acres parcels east of town were still retained and not traded or sold to facilitate the purchase of the 80 acres via a cash sale. Obviously he was not farming all of the acres in his cash sale purchase of 80 acres, only the portion on the down slope and most easy to irrigate. Johannes, through the county court in late 1880, had secured legal title to 21.75 acres (14.25 in town lots and 7.5 acres southeast of town) which he had been in possession of unofficially for some years before obtaining title. Much research into the Cache County land records has failed to shed any light on the situation, showing no sales or trades recorded for any of the Dahle land through 1884. There was always change in the ownership of sheep which from at least 1870 through 1879 the Dahles had owned a small herd, ranging from ten to twenty-five for the decade and cited as twenty in 1879. No sheep were listed for 1880 and 1881. We don't know if this was due to continued animal losses because of the weather as reported in 1880 or were seen as not worth the care and trouble. It could very well have been a shift away from hay to producing primarily grain in the 1880s.

On January 6, 1883, Johannes Dahle sold two lots in Logan to his brother John Dahle for \$1,500.00, after owning them for over eight years and leaving some questions about the land transaction. The land in Logan was two small plots in the northern most portion of the community in the newly platted Logan Plat “A” and in Plat “F” of the Logan Farm Survey and totaled two and 122/160 acres. Originally John, in a transaction on February 15, 1872, received a Logan Townsite deed for these lots in exchange for five dollars paid to the Logan mayor. Then John and Janetta Dahle sold these two small lots to Johannes Dahle on May 1, 1874, for \$1,500.00 lawful money with the full indenture signed by the parties selling—John and Janetta Dahle. Then over eight years later Johannes sold the two lots back to John Dahle for the same amount he had paid for them. This indenture was signed by Johannes Dahle and the place for a second signature had a line drawn through it, and of little significance until the land transactions by Johannes in and after 1888. John and Janetta Dahle held the land for six years when on March 1, 1889, they gave a portion of the two lots to the Logan Fourth Ward for one dollar and sold the remainder to Niels Michelsen via quick claim deed on November 14, 1889. Why did Johannes purchase the land in 1873 then sell it back to his brother nine years later at the same price? This cancels the idea of an investment, and maybe in some way he thought that with the addition of a second wife, he might find a place in Logan as useful. The land transactions by the Dahle brothers give an insight on the two brothers; in the acquisition and selling of these lands, it was always John and Janetta both involved while with his older brother, it was only Johannes doing the buying and selling.

In the early years of the 1880s before plural marriage became the primary issue and difficulty, much emphasis was placed on calls for money and work to complete the Logan Temple. At most quarterly conferences of the Cache

Valley Stake there were long reports on the successes with details and comparison made with the three stakes within the temple district. The amount of money donated by the various wards was given and Clarkston was one of the better contributors to the temple fund. Also at a quarterly conference at Logan in early 1880, according to a newspaper report, Stake President Preston “recommended that those who wanted to move somewhere should go to Snake River Valley, where they can obtain good farms and invited such to give in their names to their Bishops. He suggested the propriety of many in our wards taking a broad view of the use of the elements, particularly in the use of the water, and that they should remember that the streams flow down to us by the power and permission of the Almighty.” Apostle Franklin D. Richards then spoke and referred to the possibility of settlers going north to the Snake River area, saying that such a proposition had the approval of the Twelve Apostles; nevertheless, the apostles didn’t want an urgent call for volunteers to go there. Still, if individuals felt such a move would better their condition they were at liberty to do so, “under proper supervision.” He stressed that many were inclined to go off by themselves on the frontier, while “the shepherd of Israel desired to have a watchman over the straggling sheep of the fold.” From the pulpit and in the newspapers the economic advantage of the Snake River area was discussed but with emphasis that going alone without permission was opposed by the Church.

The local newspaper covered a wide range of activities in the community for 1881 and 1882. In January of 1881 a Thespian Association from Mendon gave performances at Newton, Clarkston and two at Hyrum. This outside entertainment drew a large and receptive audience at Clarkston. Almost five months later Johanna’s father, John Peter Malmberg, died on Saturday, July 16, 1881, leaving a wife and large family at Clarkston. A funeral service was held a few days later with “Consolatory remarks” by Brother Olaf Hansen of Logan, Ole A. Jensen and Bishop Jardine. The Logan newspaper published in its columns the 1880 census figures with Logan’s population being 3,396, Richmond, Smithfield and Wellsville at over a thousand, with Clarkston at 464 well ahead of Newton at 304, Trenton 229 and Petersboro at 78. A newspaper report from Clarkston published May 5, 1882, stated:

Editor Leader:—The farmers of Clarkston are busy putting in their crops, but the larger proportion of this work is yet to be done. The day school is in charge of Bro. A. G. White, who has lately had to call in the assistance of his wife Sister Frances White. Bro. White has an excellent reputation here, as a school teacher; he is also a proficient penman, having executed some fine specimens of that art. On May day Bro. White and lady accompanied their pupils upon a holiday ramble. The party enjoyed themselves well.

Whooping cough, and measles in a light form, prevail to some extent. Some are suffering with lung fever, and a few are afflicted with rheumatism. I should have mentioned, in connection with May day observations, that notwithstanding the heavy demand for muscle in the fields, a dance was had on the evening of May 1st. The various public institutions of the ward such as Sunday School, Mutual Improvements, Primaries, etc., are in good condition, and have been lively during the winter. All seems to be at peace, and hopeful of the future.

Little attention has been given to recreation available in early Clarkston, but from the early times when they had a meeting facility they had parties and dances, especially during the holidays. The earliest known reference to a dance in Clarkston came from the Church newspaper in regard to a Pioneer Day celebration in 1868. The Fourth of July of 1873 festivities included a dance and foot and horse racing. In December of 1878 a special party was held for the “little folks” with Santa, treats and a dance in the new wooden meetinghouse. Seldom, if ever, were any Fourth of July and Pioneer Days without a celebration, parade and dancing. The first of May (May Day) was also celebrated at Clarkston with a “holiday ramble” for the school children mentioned above and a dance. Even individuals got into the celebrating in early February of 1883 when John Burt and wife had a party at their new home with a sumptuous dinner and a dance. In a letter to the editor of the Church newspaper on February 4, 1885, the Clarkston correspondent wrote: “The people are generally striving to live their religion and enjoy themselves in the dance and other innocent amusements through the winter.” In the mid to late 1880s the sport of “base ball” became another activity for summertime holidays or weekend activities, and in exchanges with Weston the games almost always ended with a dance. As the population increased and the meeting place became larger and better, there was a move to have more recreation. A few Clarkston residents reflected in reminiscences that Clarkston began to hold dances once a week, usually on Friday nights, that were enjoyed by old and young alike. A quote from one of their accounts stated that at these dances: “The stage of the old rock-meeting house was usually filled with sleeping children in beds made on the benches.” This helps somewhat to place this in the post 1886 period after completion of the larger meeting facility. They mention the dances were French Fours, Reels, Quadrill[e]s, step dancing and square dancing, until a new dance was first introduced—the waltz, called round dancing at the time in Utah. The new dance was popular but frowned upon by Bishop Jardine. However, the requests for the waltz caused some “careful scrutinizing” by the local Church leaders until they finally allowed one round dance, maybe two, to be performed in an evening with tight control by the assigned dance manager. The Clarkston dances became, according

to one of the Clarkston old timers, “So large that each man received a number when he bought his ticket. He could only dance when his number was called.” We can only speculate if and how often the Dahles participated.

What little we have on the education of the Dahle children comes from the census records. In 1870 Johannes Dahle became a trustee of the Clarkston school and the census taken that year showed his oldest son Hans at age six was attending school. Ten years later on the 1880 census only Hans (age 15) and John H. (age 11) were denoted as attending school, while daughters Martha Ann (age 9) and Emma Jane (age 7), while of school age, were not going to school at this time. The reason for this can only be guessed but perhaps ranged from personal beliefs to the expense of sending children to school before free public education became available in Utah. Because no records of the Clarkston District School have been found, we will forego a close look at the school's facilities, books, number of teachers, subjects taught, etc., and rely on a survey sample of reminiscences of several early Clarkston school students. They asserted that the student had to provide much of their own materials such as slates, slate pencils and books. One parent was noted as paying \$3.00 tuition, \$1.50 for books, twenty-five cents for a slate and five cents for a slate pencil, while another stated the tuition was \$1.50 per each student per quarter. They agreed that the progress of the students was measured by completing a series of readers and not by grades initially with one recalling there were five levels of these readers. Several stated the children only received as much education as their parents could afford. One female student was not allowed to do school work at home, and if she tried, her father countered with “Tut, away with the books. School is the time for that.” As a guideline, the school census reports from nearby Newton show the vast majority of the students enrolled were between the ages of six and fourteen with some fifteen-year-olds. Above the age of sixteen very few still attended school.

A newspaper report for May of 1882 cited above optimistically concluded with: “All seems to be peace, and hopeful of the future.” Shortly Clarkston and Newton would be locked in a struggle over the division of the waters of Clarkston Creek which battle would continue for many decades. More important in the 1880s the government intensified its effort to rid the country of what it had called a relic of barbarianism by turning the screws down on the Mormon Church turn by turn. The Church began to see it had little to no chance of winning the struggle unless there was Divine Intervention. In desperation the Church turned the clamps down on its own members, possibly hoping for a more united front to call or provoke the help from Above. John Taylor, the senior Apostle, had run the Church with his fellow members of the Council of the Twelve for three years, and in 1880 he was ordained the president as well as prophet, seer and revelator of the Church. The new leader of the Church viewed the government's anti-Mormon crusade as a life and death battle, not just over plural marriage but for the Church itself. As the government strengthened its side by defining polygamist living as “unlawful cohabitation,” the Church countered by putting even greater demands and emphasis on that marriage practice, enveloping it totally in Church law and theology. From the perception of the second counselor of the Clarkston Ward in 1882, Ole A. Jensen wrote in his diary:

President John Taylor received a revelation from God; that the people must unite and set their houses in order and obey the laws of GOD; and if they will they shall be “My people and I will be their God, and your enemies will have no power over you.” This revelation caused a great clamor among the people although they believed the revelation to be true but could scarcely comply with the same.

Perhaps to better understand Jensen's view of the situation at Clarkston more background needs to be given. Taylor's revelations were never published in the English version of the *Doctrine and Covenants*, but some were published in several other languages of it. The dissemination of Taylor several revelations came by way of being read to the Apostles, at conferences and other Church gatherings. Apparently his private instructions were even more forceful and pointed. The explanations and spin on this issue after 1890 became involved, murky and beyond the scope of this article to untangle. In essence President Taylor stated that all priesthood officers would be required to embrace and live plural marriage with the warning that, if they didn't, they would lose that sacred law of God. He declared the Church and the Kingdom of God could not progress without the Patriarchal Order of Marriage (plural marriage). Church authorities at the local level were served notice that they must abide by plural marriage or resign. The highest Church leaders were turning plural marriage into a mandatory condition from the earlier permissive position. In 1882 the Clarkston bishop and his two counselors only had one wife each. Carrying through on the edict from the general Church leaders, Presiding Bishop William B. Preston of Cache Valley Stake, demanded of the Clarkston bishopric, according to Counselor Jensen, “I want you Bishopric to take more wives or step down and out of your positions as members of the Bishopric.” Bishop John Jardine and Counselor Ole A. Jensen “obeyed but William Carbine, the 1st Councilor [sic], would not obey and stepped out.” Jensen went the extra mile, marrying his second wife in February of 1883 and a third wife in December of 1883. At a special priesthood meeting during the annual conference in April of 1884, President Taylor asked all monogamists serving in stake presidencies and ward bishoprics to marry a plural wife soon or offer their resignation, and he even called out the names of some stake presidents. According to Bishop Jardine, there was pressure applied that all worthy members of the priesthood take plural wives. Whether connected to his 1883 ventures of taking two additional wives and/or building a rock house

and installing a seventy dollar cooking stove, Ole A. Jensen in his own words wrote: “I got behind financially and got into debt \$700.00.”

The fervor and extreme excitement and emotion over the government’s struggle against polygamy reached a peak in the 1883 to 1887 period and far exceeded that during the “Utah War” times three decades earlier. The harsh tones of the highest Church leaders can be found but only by deep research, and they were apocalyptic clearly believing in the Almighty’s judgment and imminent intercession in behalf of the Latter-day Saints. There were intense heated arguments for an extended time among the apostles until in the end calmer thoughts and actions tipped the tide of emotion in the late 1880s wherein the Church via an extraordinary amount of politicking, deals and lobbying found another way out by giving up that which it had earlier declared couldn’t be given up or compromised. While the real story of these times is extremely difficult to find, for Clarkston the resources are scarce to non-existing for much of the 1880s. Ole A. Jensen’s statement that President Taylor’s new revelation on plural marriage “caused a great clamor among the people” and caused them problems in attempting to comply. Clarkston was in this uproar situation perhaps because not everyone accepted totally the new view on plural marriage. Perhaps there were some beginning to believe the Church had pushed its people and sacrificed too much for those in the minority in polygamous living, thereby placing more burdens on the majority and the Church. In addition there were a few polygamists who were having second thoughts on the value of plural marriage with all the trouble with the government. Murmurings, complaints and grumblings were becoming more common, and intensified the belief that all Mormons were not totally loyal with some suspected of being spies and informers. Now in a last-ditch effort the Church was applying extreme pressure to turn the tide with more forced into plural marriage by the new emphasis upon it. Thus, the clamor came from those trying to cope with the new prominence on plural marriage and by those reacting to the same measures. Ironically, the two Dahle families would begin to have serious marital troubles during this time, which could have been influenced or exacerbated by this situation. Quite possibly the uproar and agitation over plural marriage could have been the straw that broke the camel’s back in regard to Johannes’ personal belief and desire for polygamy. It could have been that he would, at the first opportunity, forsake both plural marriage and Clarkston. Such a break from this highly-stressed hallowed practice and leaving his first wife and family while remaining at Clarkston could have been extremely troublesome, creating more problems than he cared to face.

Jensen noted in his diary in 1883 that some of Clarkston’s people were becoming prosperous or wanted to appear so (pretentious or ostentatious) and “many were fast getting rich, and dressed in latest fashion and drove fine horses, and began to ride in buggies.” The following year Jensen returned to this concern writing: “At this time pride stepped in and the people began to wear fine costly clothes, carriages, etc.—everything with the exception of grain and vegetables were imported, as it was thought it could be imported cheaper than manufactured.” As noted by this counselor in the bishopric, this unwanted life-style and way of life was far from what their Church wanted or desired. Perhaps not in the same category, some private improvements drew attention as two attractive frame houses had been built by David Buttars and John Burt. In addition Jensen summarized the year of 1884 relating that the Logan Temple was finished and dedicated on May 17, 1884, and the members were encouraged to seek their genealogy. He reported two Mormon missionaries had been killed in Tennessee and the bodies returned to Utah. He mentioned a small earthquake was felt at Clarkston on November 10, 1884, with little damage, but nothing close to what may have been expected along the line of the latest promises that the Lord wouldn’t allow their enemies to hurt them. Jensen summarized with this long report: “In 1884 it was a long and hard cold winter. Hay was scarce, snow was about two and a half feet deep; seed time did not come in Clarkston until 8 May, 1884. I then began to put in my crops and finished 8 June 1884. The ground was quite damp. It rained a considerable during the season, and a splendid crop or harvest was the result of so much rain and water. I raised 1500 bushels of grain but the wheat was a little frozen. It was a wet fall, and the ground was bare until 13 December 1884. Grain was cheap, wheat worth 35 cents to 50 cents a bushel, oats was 60 to 85 cents for one hundred pounds, barley was \$.75 a hundred pounds, rye was \$.75 a hundred pounds; horses were cheap, cattle was a good price. Cows from \$25.00 to \$40.00 a head, calves \$12.10, beef on foot was 6 or 7 cents a pound.”

Three years earlier he had recorded the Clarkston saints were minding their own business, lived in peace and grew much grain. However from 1885 onward the primary focus of his yearly summaries was on the anti-Mormon crusade against plural marriage. He squeezed in that he was invited to attend the dedication of the Brigham Young College at Logan in January, and in April, June and September his three wives had given births to sons. He stated the annual conference of the whole Church was held at Logan—without explaining it was thought safer than Salt Lake City—and the Church leaders had advised those “who obeyed the Celestial Marriage Law” to not attend as the government had hundreds of deputies and sheriffs throughout the territory looking for them. He stated that several polygamists had been arrested with apparently some sent two thousand miles away to Detroit, Michigan, to prison. He included details such as the law officers searching houses, under beds, down wells, in cellars, stables, etc., searching for those engaged in plural marriage. Jensen wrote: “The persecutions against the Pologamists [sic] was increasing and many were sent to prison, some denied their wives to evade the law, others left the country, some sent their wives to other states, some parted forever. Many homes were made unhappy, in pursuance of the Edmond

Tucker law by the U.S. Marshals.” Jensen was incorrect on the law as the Edmunds-Tucker act came in February of 1887, thus he should have referred to the 1882 Edmunds Act. His tone suggested a wide-spread hunt for polygamists, but he was viewing a worst case scenario as feared by Church leaders after a few arrests and test cases rather than the actual situation. Cache Valley and more particularly Clarkston saw little to none of this type activity in 1885. Again viewing the general scene he concluded his 1885 report as follows: “The officers were well paid and used every kind of sneaking way to catch the Mormons. Some of the officers came as peddlers, implement dealers, etc.—and there was no peace in the land for the Mormons.”

For the following year of 1886 Jensen continued along the same line recording: “The crusade was on the increase and many of the brethren were caught and forced into prison. Many began to talk of leaving and go to other states where they were not known. Those who could stay at home in peace prospered, but nothing of public notice was going on.” Before long the government began to call for more room at the penitentiary at Salt Lake City to hold the Mormon prisoners. With the governmental procedures refined, the arrests and conviction moved from the few to hundreds. For the following year of 1887 Jensen recorded: “The crusade was yet on the increase and all public industry was as a stand still.” He was probably correct in assuming that the Mormons’ leading men were most sought after as President Taylor and others went into hiding in early 1885 and many of the leaders were hard to find and constantly on the alert and move. Using “great rewards” the law officers were quite successful, according to Jensen. Although Clarkston was on the far perimeter of Cache Valley with several known polygamists, life didn’t stop completely. There was continued movement in securing land titles from the government on property that had been possessed and farmed for some time. In 1887 Ole A. Jensen described his part and some of how it worked, writing: “I proved up on a quarter section, I had entered for the people under the preemption law [Preemption Act], and surveyed it myself, and had gave the deeds to everyone and it all was fixed according to law.” The 160 acres of land was southeast of town with Jensen acting as the representative for those claiming land in this parcel of land and after filing and paying of the land, the government issued the patent in his name. All of those claiming the land paid for their share of the land and for the expenses incurred in getting the land title, and then Jensen issued individual titles to those claiming the various subdivisions of the land. This same practice had been used to get titles to the various parcels of land that had been farmed before land titles were obtained. For the land outside the area surveyed under Church direction, it was obtained by purchase from the government or by a homestead grant. There was considerable news in the papers and in general talk of numerous homesteads being taken in the general area of Clarkston. Homestead lands were still available even after Johannes left the area as his brother John H. Dahle entered a homestead claim August 8, 1890, and the patent dated November 9, 1891, and a nephew (John E.) filed for one in 1893, both in the Clarkston area. In addition, while Jensen viewed public interest at a stand-still, there was some conspicuous activity. In 1887 Clarkston finished construction of a new rock school house that cost \$2,000.00. According to a newspaper report, the school had “modern conveniences and improvements,” with special attention given to its ventilation. The building committee was praised for the energy displayed in pushing its completion in early December of 1887.

The Dahle families in Clarkston continued to increase as Martha had a daughter on May 10, 1881, the last for four and a half years. In the meantime second wife Johanna had another son on November 6, 1882, and a daughter on April 28, 1884. Martha gave birth to her last child, a daughter, on November 4, 1885. Johanna had a son on December 26, 1886, which was the last of her children born in Clarkston. The Johannes and Martha Dahle family consisted of the following:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Born</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Died</u>
Nettie	26 Aug. 1863		Infant -15 Sept. 1863
Hans	24 Aug. 1864	Caroline Christensen	11 Dec. 1942
Annie	1867(date via 1870 census)		Child (after 1870 census)
John Helge	4 Feb. 1869	Sarah Heggie	28 Nov. 1912
Martha Ann	5 Mar. 1871	Allen Mark Archibald	18 Aug. 1933
Emma Jane	15 Feb. 1873	Henry O. Thompson	15 Aug. 1928
David King	4 June 1875	Jane Thompson	6 June 1949
Bolleat Louise	23 July 1877		23 Feb. 1878 (7 months)
Joseph Norman	1 Aug. 1879	Rhoda Griffin	26 Aug. 1940
Alice	10 May 1881	Heber Pickham	18 Oct. 1937
Kate	4 Nov. 1885	Lars J. Rasmussen	17 June 1957

The second family by Johanna Malmberg Dahle consisted of seven living children plus the one who died at three months. They were: Mary Malmberg - (born in November of 1873 died of whooping cough in February of 1874); Edward Peter, born March 2, 1875; Josephine, born April 2, 1877 (at age 11 when family moved to Idaho); Elnora Matilda, born January 11, 1879; Delanie, born December 13, 1880; Moses, born November 6, 1882; Chestie Christine born April 28, 1884 (mistakenly cited as “about seven” when moved to Idaho); Neils Franklin, born De-

ember 26, 1886; and all had been born in Clarkston. After the relocation to Rigby, Idaho, five more children were born as follows: Charlotte Sophronia, born December 11, 1889 (the first in Idaho); Elizabeth Maude, born October 1, 1891; Andrew M. , born May 21, 1893; Norman Grant, born April 22, 1895; Gilbert LeRoy, born Nov. 20, 1898, ten months before his father died. The statistics showed Johannes was married to his first wife from 1862 to 1888 or 26 years with eleven children; he was married to his second wife from 1872 to 1899 or 27 years with thirteen children sired, for a total of 24 children in the course of 37 years of married life with two wives.

Some information on one of the Dahle homes came from a close family source many years later. Before his death in June of 1949 David Dahle related some of his story to his daughter, LaRene Dahle Taylor. He began his account by stating he was the son of Martha and Johannes Dahle and was “born June 4, 1875 in a log house, where Newell Dahle lived.” He went on to say that at the age of eight (1883) his father had baptized him “down in the big creek.” Most likely many of the other children were also baptized by their father in one of nature’s baptismal places. The location of the log house of Johannes Dahle in 1875 can still be pinpointed today. Newell Dahle (son of Hans Dahle) married in October of 1919 and in 1921 or 1922 Newell bought the “old Johannes Dahle home,” where he and his family resided until the house burned in 1949. The house was on the northeast corner of the block (#3) on the main road from Newton and south of the junction with the road to Trenton. The original structure was a log house, which was either remodeled and the logs covered with siding, or a new framed house replaced the first log house at the same place.

The local news and knowledge of persecution or prosecution of polygamists began to increase in the mid-1880s at Clarkston, apparently some time before it became an actuality. Bishop Jardine, in an article to the local newspaper, made much of an incident down south at Parowan where a deputy marshal ordered a man under indictment for unlawful cohabitation to stop his horse and when he didn’t, the deputy shot and killed the man in December of 1886. To the Church newspaper in Salt Lake City he wrote that the residents of Clarkston were “anxiously waiting” for more information on the “sad affair at Parowan. May our little Ward never be tried as they have been, for God only knows how we would act.” Any actions in Cache Valley regarding polygamists, raids, arrests, trials, sentences and pending legislation were quickly spread far and wide. However, the first newspaper reports of law officers seeking Clarkston polygamists don’t appear before 1887. Either the earlier attempts by the deputies were unsuccessful due to the posted lookouts or the Clarkston area was too far afield and small when there were greater opportunities in the more populated areas adjacent to the railroad. While this small community was not a primary target of the marshals they were not totally disregarded. The law officers were almost as ingenuous in the performance of their duties as the Mormon polygamists were in evading them, which Bishop Jardine related as having a “lookout stationed on Newton Hill to give fast warning. They would have a secret room in the house, under a house, in a manger in the barn, an attic or perhaps a root cellar.” Much more dramatic, with perhaps some allowance for second generation imagination and literary license, were the stories from the second family which related that Johannes would many times quickly exit from the back door of his second wife’s home as U.S. marshals came to the front door looking for him, and on another occasion Johannes hid in a cornfield to avoid the authorities seeking his arrest.

From what little we know, it is difficult to try and determine what Johannes Dahle was thinking and planning in the mid to late 1880s. He had purchased the eighty acres in section 15 north of town from the federal government and received the patent in 1880, and received title to town lots plus a few acres just outside the town limits by way of the county court judge the same year. Thereafter, the land records of the government and those of Cache County reveal no other land acquired from 1880 until early 1887. Then in the midst of the most tumultuous times at Clarkston, he purchased more land. On February 7, 1887, he purchase 11.49 acres from George Godfrey in Section 35 (T14N R2W; aliquots southeast corner of the northwest quarter section) near to the southeast corner of town and adjacent to the few acres which title was secured by way of the county judge in 1880. The land was purchased for \$28.75 and the description of the land on the indenture was a mixture of the government’s survey lines plus those of the “local survey lines” from the older Clarkston Farm Land survey by J. H. Martineau. The lateness of this acquisition stirs a few questions as to whether it indicated any future plans or was a stroke of good luck obtained at a good price and a great investment. Later, Johannes sold this land twenty-two months later for twenty times the purchase price. The query remains unsolved as to whether it was by plan or strictly by chance and circumstances.

Very likely by the time of this last land purchase at Clarkston in early 1887, if not earlier, there may have been some serious thought and discussion, at least by some portion of the Dahle families, as to what could or should be done under the existing conditions. Among the choices were two that might be categorized as fate selections. The first was to remain at Clarkston, as most of Clarkston polygamists did, and take their chance of arrest or continued success at avoiding the law. Along with economic and social factors that tied the individual to the community, was a paramount and possibly overriding issue of the eternal families as worth more than an arrest with six months in the penitentiary and a small fine? The other choice, especially if deep spirituality and belief in the value of families and the sacred nature of plural marriage were the primary concerns, was relocation to either Canada or to southern Arizona/Mexico areas which a considerable number from Cache Valley tried as the safest place for polygamists. If neither of the two above options were chosen, then the two remaining possibilities were to move both families to

Idaho or to move one family to Idaho and retain the other at Clarkston. Given the known circumstances existing in Idaho after 1885, moving both families to Idaho would have been like jumping from the frying pan directly into the fire, for not only were polygamists not welcomed in Idaho but Mormons in general (they could not vote or hold office or have any say on school and property taxes). Idaho was not even safe for polygamists who maintained one wife in Idaho with others in Utah as both President Thomas E. Ricks of the Bannock Stake of Idaho and his Counselor William Rigby (former bishop at Clarkston) discovered. While in Idaho they were hounded until they escaped by going on missions to England and upon returning, both were arrested due to plural marriages (Rigby in the fall of 1887 and Ricks in 1888 and 1890). Thus, we do not know for sure exactly when and how the decision to separate the two Dahle families was made, whether it was based upon the process of elimination that narrowed the choices. Or was it in a holding pattern with only the mental choices determined and just waiting for the right time and circumstances to implement the physical move.

Certainly, if discussed openly with both families, there could have been opposition to the basic decision; if there had been some difficulties with two families and households in the same town, how much would they increase when the families were separated by 160 miles. Even if all the Dahle factions agreed that leaving one family in Utah and taking the other to Idaho was probably the safer choice, there could have been objections based upon one of the families being deprived of the influence, care and economic security by the father being absent. How would the division of the head of the families' time, care and financial obligations be arranged and was there to be a further distribution of assets? Would he be available on a somewhat equal basis or almost totally absent from the care and concerns of one of the families along the line of the *In Sacred Loneliness* concept (in Todd Compton's award winning classic) and one of the saddest fruits of plural marriage? There were both internal and external pressures but did they involve economics, social, personal matters, religious views, personal freedom, a desire to leave Clarkston, a serious family problem, or all of the above? Even more challenging than these basic questions were the ways and means to be taken to accomplish the chosen objective. One decision was to make a choice as to who went and who stayed, whether in total sincerity or with devious intent, and let time, distance and circumstances play out to resolve the ticklish situation. All very much along the line of what the majority of polygamists such as President Ricks and Bishop Rigby and others did and retained the financial responsibility for all of their families. Then again economics may have been the central and crucial factor in the whole operation and when it could be initiated; thereby, old debts, further financial responsibilities would be cut in half and one family sharing with the other family ended. Perhaps if done in such a manner and time, it could resolve multiple problems besides escaping possible arrest or troubles over being a Mormon. The choice Johannes took was in effect to abandon one family physically and economically in Utah and take "the family" that counted to Idaho and not display their religion until the heat was off. He had resolved with one stroke all his perceived difficulties via a permanent separation from his first wife with as close to a divorce without the expense, time and hazard of letting a court divide the property. His actions were in disregard, if not opposing the amplified position of plural marriage promoted by President John Taylor, and could be interpreted as now rejecting plural marriage in principle.

Before covering the all-encompassing decision to move to Idaho and the last phase of this article, it might be well to take a step back and make an assessment of some items which set the stage for the big change—the complete breakup of one marriage and the move to Idaho. Important to the point of being indispensable would be sufficient knowledge and research to know what was taking place along with the circumstances followed by some analysis. All essential in understanding what happened, why it took place as it did and comprehend the aftermath or affect that has lasted well over a century! The three crucial items were: first, the observable changes in Johannes Dahle; second, the situation on the home front; third, conditions in the Snake River Valley and future prospects.

First, the changes in Johannes Dahle's activities come strictly from the historical records of Clarkston town and ward, the Cache County Court minutes and the Church's attempts to settle the indebtedness of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund along with President Taylor's efforts to strengthen plural marriage. He moved from being frequently mentioned in these records for the first decade of living in Clarkston where he was either appointed or elected to various positions to becoming almost totally absent in the records from the mid-1870s until he left Clarkston. He seemed to possess no great desire for land above a certain amount of acreage and apparently had no desire to take a Homestead grant that was attractive to most Clarkston farmers and his brother John from Logan. In the Clarkston Ward Historical Record Book "A" the only found references to Johannes were connected to his membership or farm land. Subsequent volumes of this manuscript record, with limited access only in person, was by special request checked by a staff member of the Church History Library with specific concern for the late 1880s for mention of when Johannes left Clarkston for Idaho and/or reason for leaving and mention of the birth and/or death of a supposed daughter named Lottie. The Church Library's response back (CH5486) stated: "In the Manuscript History and Historical Reports (LR 1754 2), the Clarkston Ward contained brief one to two word comments on Johannes Dahle like he was ordained to an Elder (no specific date). This record also mentions a couple of family members and the callings they received in the ward. I did not see any baptism records, nor did I find anyone named Lottie Dahle. There was no narration about Johannes Dahle in these two records telling of his life or his move to Idaho."

The two typescripts of the minutes of the Cache County Court (Book "A" 1857-1878, Book "B" 1878-1891) that functioned as the civil authority in the county went from repeated mentioning of him in the first volume to only two references in the second volume, and they were concerning his land re-evaluation after he had relocated into Idaho. How much influence on Johannes were such things as the troubles bringing the railroad into Cache Valley, the failure of the United Order and the way Bishop Smith was discharged along with all the calls for labor and money by the Church; especially following so close after the agitation concerning the repayment of the long over-due loan from the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company obtained to reach Utah that persisted at least from 1877 through 1881. Whatever the reasons, the mind-set of Johannes in the 1880s was very different from the man who helped found Clarkston and took a second wife in 1872.

Second-- the situation at the home front with the Dahles at Clarkston. In general through the 1880s and into the 1890s Clarkston was experiencing boom times due to favorable weather and the move to dry farming. However, the last years in Clarkston were full of mortgages for Johannes Dahle. On May 1, 1885, Johannes Dahle took out a mortgage using his land as collateral, and this was quickly followed by a second mortgage with the same party on May 17, 1885. It hasn't been ascertained the reason for either financial transaction. A third mortgage was undertaken May 22, 1885, with James E. Paine and L. B. Mattisen, a farming equipment establishment on Third Street in Logan, but nothing more than probably some farm equipment was involved. The last mortgage was the reason the county sheriff told Johannes he wouldn't be allowed to move to Idaho until he dealt with the mortgage. For some it might sound appalling to suggest the possibility that Johannes was planning to leave without taking care of this debt, but what about his record on the emigration debt? For whatever reason or reasons, Johannes was on a roll for borrowing money whether for luxuries or necessities. The information in the Cache County assessment records doesn't indicate that it was all for farming equipment. Perhaps with two large and growing families, it became difficult to keep pace with the needs and demands of the time. In 1880 his school aged daughters were not in school, possibly due to either lack of money or love of money. Perhaps, one of the Dahle families or both became caught up in displaying their economic status with fine clothing, horses, buggies and carriages that Ole A. Jensen chronicled in 1882 and 1884 in a negative light. Whatever the explanation, times were not flush for the Dahles at Clarkston by 1885. After three decades at Clarkston, it could appear that the Dahles were not doing especially well economically. Perchance better prospects seemed elsewhere. In addition, weather related troubles had been part of Clarkston from the beginning—deep snows, long winters, flooding, crops freezing—and then on Sunday, July 10, 1887, the weather again caused trouble as the newspaper report stated: "Last Sunday about 1 o'clock p.m. a cloud burst about one and a half miles in a northerly direction from Clarkston letting down an immense quantity of water which did considerable damage to the hay and wheat crops." The primary land holdings of Johannes were in the storm area. Those in the path of the storm bore the brunt and their harvests were considerably less. The timing of the storm came at a bad time as Clarkston was in the process of erecting a new schoolhouse for the Clarkston District School.

At the family level, sometime in 1883 David Dahle was baptized by his father in "big creek" (Clarkston Creek) when eight years old. Later, on October 6, 1887, son Joseph Norman Dahle was baptized by Charles Shumway and not by his father. As to whether there was something significant about the father not performing the baptism, it can only be speculated, but Johannes and his second family left Clarkston the following spring. Probably frictions had arisen between the two plural families by this time. At the very least a rivalry waged in and among the two Dahle families. There was a probability that polygamist Johannes Dahle may have changed his mind regarding the value of plural marriage, turning very much in the direction of his old associate and former bishop, Simon Smith, due to personal reasons, economics and the Church's pressure that it was now almost mandatory. Of the polygamist marriages in Clarkston, the only two that went seriously amiss were those of Simon Smith and Johannes Dahle.

Third, what was happening in the upper Snake River Valley and how much was known in Cache Valley can be shown in information taken strictly from the Logan, Utah, newspaper. The early information concerning the Snake River Valley in the newspaper was praise pieces describing a wonderful place with an abundance of land, water, timber, along with game and fish. All just waiting for an industrious people to come and settle. In a short time appeared details that a considerable number of Mormons had moved in and established their farms and organized settlements and Church organizations. While it was not expressly suggested that it could be a haven from prosecution of polygamists, that idea could have been a factor from 1879 to 1884. Thereafter, letters and articles appeared in the Utah newspapers from Mormons living in Idaho telling of harsh treatment, and quickly it became worse as a band of over-zealous officials (called by the Mormons "official banditti") armed with "letters of introduction" initiated what the Mormons termed an "Inquisition" upon the peaceful law abiding Mormons. The Idaho Territorial legislature in January of 1885 passed the Idaho Test Oath providing that no polygamist, or any person who was a member of any order, organization, or association which taught, advised, counseled, or encouraged its members to practice polygamy, would be permitted to vote at any election or to hold any office of honor, trust, or profit within that Territory. This effectively meant that all Mormons, whether they were polygamists or not, were disfranchised solely because they were members of the Church, not because they had broken any law. It was clear and so

stated that the Mormon settlements were subjected to the “animus of the powers that be” in such ways as not allowed to serve as school trustees but would be taxed by trustees appointed from outside the county and having no real estate within the county. The situation became worse in 1886, 1887 and 1888.

Returning to the situation at Clarkston in the last few years before Johannes made the decision to relocate one of his families in Idaho. During the late 1870s and early 1880s the Church called for subscriptions (donations) for the Logan Tabernacle and Temple and Clarkston people generally responded liberally. The local contribution to the Temple, according to Bishop Jardine, was over ten thousand dollars as the structure neared completion. Bishop Jardine stated that this was followed by a bad cold winter of 1883-1884 that was “backward” with such unsettled weather and heavy rains so that no plowing was done through April. Some Clarkston families became “discouraged and moved to Snake river valley to make new homes” with eleven Clarkston families moving away, leaving only sixty families in the Clarkston Ward on May 1, 1884, according to Bishop Jardine’s count. Up through Clarkston’s second decade of existence, there was variability in the inhabitants but the drop to sixty families at Clarkston was sizeable. In the 1880 census there were 76 families enrolled. These 1884 relocations were principally due to economic situations as the threat of arrest in Clarkston for plural marriage didn’t come until 1886. However, it was coming as the Edmunds Act of 1882 made it much easier to prosecute those in plural marriage under “unlawful cohabitation,” and, accordingly, the number of arrests using that charge increased dramatically.

The first documented arrest of a Clarkston polygamist came in the early fall of 1887 when Peter S. Barson was arrested, tried and sentenced to six months in the Utah Penitentiary. His sentence was pronounced in late November, almost two months after his second and plural wife had died. As he and a polygamist from Logan were being taken to the prison, a newspaper reporter interviewed Barson and the “genial humorist of Clarkston” stated: “Ralph and myself are going down to camp near Salt Lake for the winter. We are feeling well and happy, and will do our best to be good boys while we stay at the boarding house owned in common by ourselves and all the other citizens of the Country.” Two weeks later on December 7, 1887, there was a “Notice” in the Logan newspaper by John Burt stating: “To all men holding Time Checks on me for labor done on my Contract on the U. & N.R.R. please send them to me in Clarkston on or before the 10th days of December 1887.” Burt a resident of Clarkston since the 1870s had for at least a dozen years taken contracts from railroads to do certain work for them in Utah, Idaho and Washington territories. The latest came in April of 1887 when he took a “large contract on the U. & N.R.R. at Beaver Canyon” wherein a number of local men had been engaged to work for him. Burt was back in Clarkston and settling up on his contract. Although he was away often, apparently there was a Deputy Marshal Whetstone who was keeping track of Burt. On Thursday evening of December 22, 1887, Mr. Whetstone went to Clarkston and arrested John Burt on the “going charge” (unlawful cohabitation) just two weeks after his railroad notice. Burt was taken to Logan to the U.S. Commissioner where he was interviewed and pleaded guilty and his case went to the grand jury the day before Christmas.

Six weeks later Deputy Marshal Whetstone and a companion were back in Clarkston and arrested “Abe. A. Jensen” (Ole A. Jensen), James Archibald and Alfred Atkinson on the charge of unlawful cohabitation. Jensen claimed his arrest came when a deputy marshal in some way “sneaked” into Clarkston and caught him. These arrests came on February 6, 1888, with Jensen and his “alleged second wife” bound over to appear before the commissioner the following Saturday. Atkinson gave bonds to appear in Logan on Friday the 10th. “James Archilde” (Archibald) had his first hearing of his case adjourned because it was found his “alleged second wife” was missing. Up to this point the law officers’ biggest target in Clarkston had not been caught. Then on Thursday, May 17th, the deputies’ arrested Bishop John Jardine on the “going charge,” and he was taken to Logan and on to Ogden where on May 18th he was arraigned on the charge of unlawful cohabitation in the First District Court. According to Jardine, he was caught because the assigned signal man at Newton hill went to sleep, allowing the law officers to ride into town without any warning. According to Ole A. Jensen, his lawyer had his case put off until late November. His trial was held in the First District Court of Utah Territory at Ogden on December 1, 1888. The coverage by the Ogden newspaper was informative and stated in part:

Oleant Jensen, of Clarkston, Cache County, charged with unlawful cohabitation, With drew his plea of not guilty and pleaded guilty to the charge. He was desirous of receiving sentence at once as he wished to have his punishment over by the opening of spring. He was 49 years of age; had three wives; married the first wife 21 years ago and the other two during the winter of 1881; the two last were 29 and 34 years of age; his youngest children by them were 13 and 17 months old; he had sixteen children in all; he was a bishop’s counselor; had heard that there was a law against polygamy.

Court--I find that a great number of your people from Cache County, who have been here for sentence have been to a great extent unacquainted with the fact that there is a law prohibiting polygamy. Now you are a bishop’s counselor, and it is your duty to tell these people about these matters. You have not only neglected your duty in that respect, but you have set a bad example to them. You held an important position among them as

a leader; you have taken an oath to uphold the laws of the land and you deliberately broke them. The sentence of the court in your case is that you be confined in the penitentiary for six months and pay a fine of \$300.

From November of 1887 the principal local news was associated with the government prosecution of Mormon plural marriage. The newspaper squeezed in other items with less coverage such as the finishing of the new rock school house at Clarkston in December of 1887. In February of 1888 the theatrical performance at the Reese Opera House in Logan had an overflowing audience, along with the Cache Valley Stake quarterly conference with fewer attending and again no high officials of the Church present, due to the search for polygamists. On Saturday, March 18, 1888, the amateur Clarkston Theatrical Company made their public debut giving performances of the “Mendicant” and the “Bitter Cold” as a benefit for a departing missionary. We have no idea whether some or all of the Dahles attended the entertainment which would have been the last opportunity for about half of them. That night a local reviewer saw the show and wrote an assessment for the newspaper acknowledging the inexperience of the acting but still called it remarkable. Nevertheless, there was a big disappointment for the audience in the second play when the pistol to be used to kill the villain failed to go off and the scoundrel had to be dispatched via a stab that left the audience disappointed and on their tiptoes as—“It was quite a sell on the listeners and very annoying to Samuel, [apparently the villain] who fell heavily to the floor without being injured in the least.” Murphy’s law (anything that can go wrong will go wrong.) or the best laid plans of mice and men (from Robert Burns’ poem) was alive in Clarkston in 1888, and perhaps ready for an encore performance with some of the Dahles playing leading roles in a drama that unfolded over the next few years with a tiny portion covered in this article. One other pertinent item of significance in a subsequent issue of the newspaper was the weather in Cache Valley reported on April 24, 1888, as “warm and dry” to the point that if the normal April showers didn’t come soon, the planted grain would not put in an appearance. Travelers might welcome the dry weather and make the most of it. During this hectic period (November of 1887 to the spring of 1888), the final decision to move to Idaho took place with any planning and preparation associated with the relocation carried out.

Returning to the Dahle chronicle, we go to the writings of the second family that moved to Idaho. Most intriguing are the explained reasons for the relocation to Idaho that developed later by members of the second family. They connect it entirely to the persecution or prosecution of polygamists with focus on the government outlawing polygamy with marshals seeking to arrest those violating the law. The most detailed account came from a daughter, Elizabeth Maude Dahle Taret, born at Rigby, Idaho, on October 1, 1891, who wrote an account of her parents Johannes and Johanna Dahle and published in the *Dahle: The Johannes and John Dahle Family* book in 1987. She wrote, “After the government outlawed plural marriage” the law officers were after the men with more than one wife and her mother told her “many times” that her father escaped them in close calls. In her words she continued:

There was a family that had left Clarkston and gone to Rigby, Idaho (named after Bishop Rigby, a church man) and had filed on a homestead of 160 acres of irrigated land two miles west of the small town by the same name. The house had one large room . . . where they lived, and the man was getting some of the land ready for farming when his wife became sick. She took spells and he couldn’t leave her as she would fall on the stove or wherever she was, and the children were too young to take care of her, so he wanted to come back to Clarkston so their families could help him. I don’t know how Father found out—by letters, I suppose. So Mother’s home and the ten acres of hay land was traded to Olay Jensen [first name spelled Oley and Olay in same account], I believe, for his homestead in Rigby, Idaho. These things happened before they left Clarkston. . . .

In the spring of 1888, Father, Mother and seven children went in a covered wagon to Rigby, Idaho. They took a few horses, a hand plow and Edward’s riding pony to drive the cows.

They traded Mother’s home and ten acres near Clarkston of hayland to Oley Jensen for his homestead in Idaho. [*Dahle, The Johannes and John Dahle Families*, pp. 54-55.]

The last child of Johannes and Johanna Dahle, Gilbert, wrote the following: “They moved to Idaho in June of 1888. When they moved to Rigby, buffalo were still there and they lived on the wild game. Johannes and his sons worked on the Great Feeder Canal from the Snake River to irrigate the farm. . . . A Bishop Jardine took out the place at Rigby. His wife became ill with epilepsy and he had to return to Clarkston. He made a deal with Johannes on the place and that was how he moved to Rigby.” [*Dahle* book, p. 29] A later generation wrote (also published in the *Dahle* book p. 162) a few more details as they viewed the reasons for the move as follow: “We don’t know all the background and reasons for the family’s move to Idaho. There no doubt was some agonizing. But in 1888 Grandfather left his first family behind and moved his second wife and seven children to Idaho. The most substantial reason may have been our Grandfather’s desire to obey the laws of his new homeland . . . Grandfather was one of the violators. He had two wives and faced the risk of being arrested and imprisoned. To avoid that, he took the only safe ‘out’ provided by the law. Grandfather turned most of his property over to Martha and his first family and took Jo-

hanna and his second family and moved away On their arrival at their new home they found only about an acre of cleared land and a one room log cabin.”

From the perspective of the second family that relocated to Idaho, Johannes Dahle left one family in Utah and moved the other into Idaho because of the persecution (prosecution) of polygamists whereby he took the “only safe ‘out.’” The first family that remained in Clarkston had little to add to the story in the way of written accounts other than Johannes “left his first wife” and family in Utah and went to Idaho. It is not a matter of accepting or rejecting the family stories, but analyzing their weakest points. One of those hard-to-believe aspects was the trading of 160 irrigated acres and a house in the Rigby area for ten acres of hay land and house and lot in Clarkston. But by some reading between the lines of the story and some historical information, the land trade can be viewed as the land in Clarkston for 160 acres near Rigby with the potential of full irrigation, but at the time of trade only about an acre was broken for cultivation, adjusting what looked like a bonanza windfall (sweepstake) to a great land deal but well worth the trade and move if nothing but the economic factor was considered. The biggest errors of the second family’s stories were the claims that Johannes left most of the Clarkston land to the first family, moved to Idaho as the only safe escape and Johannes moved due to a desire to obey the laws of his new homeland. The weakest and shakiest part of the land trade story is in the name of the person (or names) involved—Oley Jensen or Bishop Jardine. There was an Ole A. Jensen residing in Clarkston from 1864 through 1890 who kept a summary diary and he was not involved in the Idaho land exchange. He had a son name Ole A. Jensen, Jr., but he was only thirteen in 1888. John Jardine was the bishop at Clarkston from 1876 to 1902. After considerable research, it can only be ascertained that the two mentioned men were not involved, and to this point none of their children can be identified as filling this role. Plus, the Cache County land records haven’t shown a property exchange involving Johannes Dahle and anyone for the hay land east of town, and it can’t be shown that he ever paid the government for this land acquired from the Church. There is a strong suspicion that the two hay parcels had been sold, traded or given away shortly after acquiring title to the 80 acres in Section 15.

Written communications with the county clerk’s office and recorder office of Bingham County (created in 1885), Fremont County (created from Bingham in 1893) and Jefferson County (created from Fremont in 1913), Idaho, four times has produced only a written response from Jefferson County regarding land transactions on Rigby land involving Johannes and Johanna C. Dahle between 1893 and 1910, plus the comment that they found nothing on the 160 acres inquired about. The property at issue was two Rigby City lots in block #11 acquired from a Bingham County couple in 1893 and sold to the trustees of a local school district in 1897. Then in 1901 Johanna Dahle sold the western half of city lots in Rigby to a couple from Fremont County. Later, on May 25, 2012, a telephone call was placed to the Bingham County clerk/recorder office at Blackfoot, Idaho. After some discussion concerning my earlier written requests with no response, I was informed that the land records of Bingham County had been scanned into electronic format and indexed. By way of their offer, a search was made via the index with nothing found for Johannes Dahle and several variants of both names. In addition they stated their land records were not available via the Internet but their records had been microfilmed by the LDS Church and were available via that source. Several weeks later another researcher telephoned the Fremont County clerk/recorder office and found three land records which were reproduced and proved to be the three same records that the Jefferson County had specially mentioned at the beginning of the Idaho land search. Thus, the question as to from whom Johannes Dahle acquired the 160 acres of land near Rigby, Idaho, remains unanswered.

While a long treatise could and perhaps should be written strictly on the land situation with and among the Dahles covering a wide spectrum from personal philosophy, the secret arrangements of Church membership to retain their right to vote in Idaho and actual usage of farm land, suffice it to add just one last brief evaluation oriented to the eventual division of the property at Clarkston. In addition the escape-to-safety-in-Idaho spin or excuse needs a good healthy dose of reality and veracity at minimum. Precluding other factors, the land exchange as described by the second family could be seen as inviting even knowing that free 160 acre homesteads were plentiful at the time in Utah and Idaho. So in actuality the windfall land exchange seemed attractive to him even in the economic realm but maybe more so in resolving his other difficulties both legal and personal. When the second family relocated to Idaho they came into possession of 160 acres of farm land while the family at Clarkston had a little less than fifty acres of farmable land. In addition Johannes took at least a hand plow, all the horses and all of the cattle except one three-teated cow. In regard to sharing assets, it was about as fair as the circumstance could allow, and if Johannes had not returned to Clarkston twice to strip away most of the farm land left to the first family then his first family would not have come to view him in such a negative light. They believed Johannes Dahle had totally abandoned his first wife and children, and showed absolutely no interest in their welfare. They wrote no praise pieces on him but harbored in their minds about as much love and appreciation for him as he had shown to them.

After relating the first family story of the separation, for perhaps the first time in print, an examination will be made into the background and reasons for this arrangement. Johannes decided to move the second and much younger favorite wife and her children north into Idaho. Knowledge of the planned move reached the Cache County sheriff who went to Clarkston and forbade Johannes from leaving until his mortgage was resolved. This obstacle

was solved only by his twenty-three-year-old son Hans signing the note so his father could leave. In the spring of 1888 Johannes and Johanna loaded their personal family items, clothing, bedding and supplies in a covered wagon. One item mentioned by name was a “hand plow” which may have been attached to the wagon rather than stowed inside. The parents and children were in the wagon with their oldest child, Edward Peter (age 13) on his riding pony to drive the cows. The 1888 Cache County assessment record showed that no horses belonging to Johannes were left at Clarkston, thus, Johannes took the team and riding pony mentioned and any extras with them. So the second Dahle family set out on a trip of 150 to 160 miles by covered wagon for their new home place. As they proceeded, their course took them by the first wife’s place where a compelling episode in last encounter between the two Johannes Dahle families took place. Martha and some of her family were out in their yard and as the moving family’s wagon passed by, the younger second wife jeered the first wife by calling out, “I’ve got the man! I’ve got the man!” Whatever the prior relationship between the two Dahle families, this parting shot left a bitter feeling with the family in Clarkston who felt they had been deserted and abandoned. The two families would thereafter be estranged. While the whole parting scene was ignoble and reprehensible, none was more so than Johannes Dahle sitting on the rolling wagon in blissful silence, maybe enjoying the whole thing and feeling relieved. It left a lasting negative impression on the family in Clarkston. Several of Johannes’ children wrote complementary reminiscences, if not fawning stories and histories of their father, but not one of these came from the family of the first wife. The second, but now primary, family of Dahles reached their Idaho destination in June of 1888. As fate would have it all didn’t go well in Idaho, plural marriage was given up by the Church in 1890 and Johannes would die in his eleventh year in Idaho, and most of the second family moved back to Utah.

To make sense of this parting scene there needs to be amplified a new avenue of thought above and beyond what has been discussed previously. With Johanna’s words “I’ve got the man! I’ve got the man!” the ugly dark side of the Dahle’s plural marriage comes to the forefront. There must have been a contest or competition to see which wife would be favored, and Johanna boldly declared she had won the rivalry. Likely during the contest Johanna knew that she was ahead in the match or game but total victory couldn’t be proclaimed until the end of the competition—and in this case the move to Idaho. Rivalry between polygamist families was common, usually it was of the milder variety such as which family got the oranges as opposed to the potatoes, or where the husband and father spent the most time but was kept within certain boundaries and not a winner take all tourney or game. Had this competition with the Dahles reached the point where it was the source of the financial difficulties that brought on the mortgages starting in 1885? In the Dahle plural marriage equation something had gone awry, resulting in an unhappy relationship on the rocks for the first wife with a permanent breakup with the husband and father. The specific details are missing, so assigning the blame would be superficial at best, likely all were to blame in varying degrees—the husband, the first wife and the second wife. Apparently this wasn’t just a petty squabble that took place in a short period of time, but more of a long range affair such that the decision to go their separate ways may have been made and shown well in advance of the physical separation in the early spring of 1888. Possibly Johannes had chosen to live full time with his second family for a lengthy period of several months, if not a year or two. The timing of the actual break came about when a seemingly golden opportunity became available by the misfortune of the man with a sick wife.

It would perhaps be superfluous to suggest that Johannes didn't follow the Church's counsel to ask permission to relocate some of his family so the shepherd (the Church) knew where the sheep were going and could keep contact with them. Much more likely he resolved his combination legal and personal dilemmas with a quick decision as soon as he learned it was available. If so, then the idea and thoughts were there but kept in abeyance with a minimum of real planning for the actual move and how the necessary changes should be implemented with the two families. With the quick land exchange, the hard decision of how to do it became easier with a pretext or reason rather than the more difficult dialogue-discussion approach, with or without the aid of the bishop, to resolve the issues that needed addressing but were not “kosher” or acceptable to be admitted by a supposed faithful and practicing polygamist living in a small Mormon community. The short list of these touchy and uncomfortable issues included: leaving or abandoning one wife and their children and the plural marriage along with renouncing any economic responsibility for the first family. At Clarkston in 1888 the admitting and doing such would have made that person the town pariah without question and endangered to be called an apostate. So it was safest to take the easy way around the primary issues by a quick move with enough words and actions to inform the first wife and family of their status and a permanent separation. With all supposedly covered or camouflaged by the same simple pretext, reason or excuse of escaping persecution of plural marriage, which legitimately only applied to the legal problem. To a degree Johannes was successful with his second family accepting the move and associated actions as the “only safe ‘out’” whereby he wasn’t arrested and wasn’t responsible for whatever else that happened by his actions. He was must less successful in Clarkston among his rejected family and the majority of the townspeople who knew what had happened, where the pariah label seemed appropriate.

Another aspect of plural marriage with negative implications was candidly expressed by Emeline Grover Rich, wife of Apostle Charles C. Rich, who spent most of her life raising eight children plus being a midwife in Bear

Lake Valley, just over the mountain from northern Cache Valley, during the same time as the Dahles. Late in life she gave a candid reflection in 1893 relating wherein she had been forced to assume both parental roles, serving as father and mother to her children while her husband “had but little in the rearing and providing for my family . . . and years before his death was when at home, like a visitor— not assuming the care of a family . . . feeling an inclination to be cared for instead of caring for others.” In other words, when this patriarch and head of several families went for a short stay with each wife and family, he came in the role of a guest or visitor with the inclination of being catered to, becoming a care-receiver rather than a care-giver, perhaps willing to be the big decision maker and ruler but not willing to be involved in the details of each families’ daily life. So according to Mrs. Rich, she played the part of both parents so as to transmit to her children “an imperishable legacy.” Regrettably, we know so little of the Dahles’ personal motivation and lives that no definitive evaluation can be made on this situation except for the “imperishable legacy” did not apply for the first family. Martha definitely played the part of both parents after the separation, but likely she had to play the dual role earlier, while her spouse on his periodic visits was prone to be a care-receiver and not a care-giver. If so, after being catered to went on his way with little or no regard to playing a major role to this family. Likely if Johannes fit into the same pattern, the wife who made the decision to turn the Dahle families relationships into a contest had the inside advantage with extra catering to the husband. The end result strongly suggests the second wife, in her quest for the superior position, wielded a double edged sword to this end, promoting hers and encumbering her rival, in her spouse’s mind. Johannes never developed a close relationship with any of his children in the first family. A plausible reason or excuse could have involved the exigencies of changing countries, trying to establish a settlement at Clarkston (admittedly long and in a state of flux for the first seven years) along with struggle for survival in the first years. Whatever, something hindered or prevented Johannes from bonding with his first family children, while by the time of the second family he had both the time and inclination to get to know the children. In the end, Johannes’ venture into what the Mormons regarded as the highest form of Celestial eternal marriage had not been good, a total failure or close to it, especially in the light of President Taylor’s latest strong views on plural marriage in the form of revelations and counsel.

Conceivably, husband Johannes had become tired of the expense, trials and burdens of demanding wives with large families. His Church wanted a tithing of all increase in money, crops and animals along with repeated extra calls for help (labor and donations) with local meetinghouse, tabernacle, railroad, temple, bringing in the immigrants, etc., on top of his efforts to make a living, mortgages and avoiding law officers seeking polygamists, to the point that leaving for Idaho was as much an excuse as a reason for leaving. With the one stroke of leaving, he was permanently resolving two pressing difficulties—the burden and demands of caring for two families and the fear of arrest due to plural marriage. He had chosen one wife he cared for and would live with and support, while the other was forsaken and had to take care of herself and family; in essence he had abandoned the concept of plural marriage, personally and spiritually. He would have no further responsibilities and financial obligations for his first wife and family, unless it was one-sided in his favor. If he played his cards right and spent most of his time on his farm or selling his produce and was not too friendly with nearby Mormons or the Church organization, he could conceal being a Mormon for at least a period of time. Perchance this might help explain why it took three full years before Johannes and family were shown in the Rigby Ward records on date of June 28, 1891, and after the Manifesto ended polygamy. In addition it would help resolve a relevant question or paradox concerning Johannes Dahle, which the second family portrayed as totally committed to the Mormon faith and that presented in this article showing somewhat lesser fervency to the religious belief. On the other hand the seemingly contradictory nature may be explained that after some problems in the 1878 to 1888 period, he started over in Idaho with a renewed zeal for the faith.

The parting scene details wherein the second wife exclaimed her victory boast comes from the family of Hans Dahle, oldest son of Johannes and Martha Dahle. The breakup of his parent’s marriage, total abandonment of the first family and the resultant land sell-off where his mother was stripped of most of the Dahle land at Clarkston had left a deep impact on the twenty-three-old young man. So much so that many years later his wife, Caroline, stated repeatedly that Hans never got over it. Hans was a quiet and reserved person, and he didn’t like to talk about this painful episode he had witnessed first-hand. Whether by direct question or otherwise, he said enough to close family members that they knew it was a sad and painful experience. For over a century the majority of Dahles from the first family presumed that the less said about the family breakup and land grab the better, and to that degree when it was discussed at all, it was a strained subject best kept within the family. This trait seemed to be in the genes of a majority of the first family. As a case in point, another Dahle family’s experiences will be briefly sketched. It begins with the last son, Joseph Norman, born in 1879, making his age under ten when his father left his mother. During his life when some reference or question was made on the breakup and inequitable land deals, he would only say, “The least said, the best mended.” His daughter Ruth, born in her deceased Grandmother Martha’s home in 1910, had the same gene, bent and frame of mind as her father and she would not stir up murky waters of family problems and “would avoid anything unpleasant at all costs.” Her children and relations could not get any information on this unpleasant topic, so those interested had to go to Ruth’s two younger sisters, Martha and Margene, who did not share the reluctance to talk about the family troubles but “would tell it like it was, good or bad.” Here

was gleaned information on the breakup and land situation that didn't portray the male partner in a very favorable light, having him leaving the first family at Clarkston with little more than a "three-teated cow." In addition these sources told of second wife Johanna continuing her byline with pride that she won the man! Once again the stories were only shared with the family and not recorded via a written account but kept inside the family, if not the individual.

It could very well have been that by the time of the relocation to Idaho, Johannes had developed a considerable dissatisfaction with Clarkston and his situation. After twenty-four years in Clarkston he appeared to be losing ground, maybe the best choice might seem to be to go elsewhere, so what appeared as good fortune and chance of a lifetime seemingly tailored for him appeared and he took it. He apparently thought he had resolved all of his problems, personal and economic, and in Idaho any shadow of the PEF debt, the Clarkston mortgages, leaving his first wife and financial responsibility for the first family were eliminated. However, circumstances, cruel fate and time proved otherwise, as prosperity didn't follow automatically on the much larger farm of 160 acres with the potential of much greater irrigation possibilities. Instead, Johannes would have to return to Clarkston twice more to get means to assist (subsidize) the Idaho operations and in each case the economic situation with the first family was worsened.

Seven or eight months after leaving for Idaho, Johannes was back in Cache County to conduct quick sales of Dahle land in the Clarkston area. For the first time in the known land transactions of Johannes Dahle, he had to bring his legal wife (recently castoff) into the land equation. The laws of the country provided that he couldn't sell any of the Clarkston land without the consent of Martha Dahle, the wife he had left behind. Maybe at this point this was another "damnable" law just like those many Mormons viewed the anti-Mormon laws. Whatever, perhaps only a poet could capture the gravity and incongruity of the occasion. Thus, on December 8, 1888, Johannes Dahle and wife Martha sold 8.8 acres for \$24 to William Sparks; 5.6 acres for \$15 to Caroline P. Larsen; 9.66 acres for \$27 to David Buttars; three-tenths of an acre for \$2 to Thomas Godfrey; and 9.1 acres for \$27 to Alfred Atkinson. All the pieces of land were from the cash sale land in section 15 that Johannes had purchased from the government in 1880, and the land description for the parcels sold to Sparks, Larsen, Buttars and Atkinson all have detailed references to Clarkston Creek in them. Only the three-tenth (.30) acre sold to Thomas Godfrey didn't mention the creek. The five parcels of land sold amounted to 33.46 acres or the irrigated land farmed by the Dahles up to this time wherein they assessed a tax on the 35 acres of land. The remainder of the 80 acres was not tilled and planted in any crops being considered worthless. In each of the five cases Martha placed her mark (an "X") on each sale document and all contained a dower clause which for the payment of one dollar on each she released her right of dower. The indenture form was in a printed format with a standard arrangement with sufficient blanks for insertion of specific information on land description and other pertinent information. The dower's clause was included in the printed format. Thus, for all the Dahles' useable land in section 15 amounting to 33.46 acres, Martha gave up her right of dower in return for a mere five dollars, while Johannes received \$95.

Four days later on December 12, 1888, Johannes Dahle and wife Martha sold 14.25 acres to Alma L. Jensen, the oldest son of Ole A. Jensen, for \$575 in Section 35, close to the southeastern corner of the town of Clarkston and fully irrigable and contained some of the best farm land in the area. By now those knowing what had taken place in the earlier sales were disturbed that either Martha did not know what she was giving away or she had been rushed and intimidated into such an unfair arrangement by Johannes. One of those so concerned was Andrew W. Heggie, Justice of the Peace in Clarkston Precinct, and he made a change in the transaction foregoing the partial printed form that contained the waiver on the dower right. In its place he made a complete hand written indenture that included in the right of dower his personal interview with Martha "separate and apart from, and without the hearing of her said husband" explaining what she was giving away, relinquishing her right of dower and that she was doing it freely and voluntarily "without any compulsion or undue influence on the part of her said husband." Heggie attached his sworn statement to the indenture covering everything necessary to fill the legal requirements stating that Martha did not wish to retract execution of the sale of the land. This time in relinquishing her right of dower Martha did not receive even a dollar, and Johannes walked away with all of the \$575. This acreage had come via two earlier transactions by Johannes Dahle when he purchased 11.49 acres from George Godfrey in Section 35 in February of 1887 and 2.76 acres by way of the townsite deed obtained from Judge Hammond in late 1880 wherein some 7.5 acres was farmland in Lot 2 of Block 16 at platted on Plat A of the Clarkston Farmland Survey, just southeast of the town. The arithmetic added up as follow ($11.49 + 2.76 = 14.25$) as the land sold to Alma L. Jensen. Thus, in section 35 just off the southeastern edge of town most of the land sold, leaving Martha only 4.74 acres of usable farm land plus her town lots. In a week in December Johannes sold a total of 47.71 acres for \$670. The sale of the land went off so orderly and fast that much time must have taken place in planning (or conniving) for it and may have all been prearranged except for the final signing. It was as far away from an equitable sharing as one could imagine, and Johannes, as unbelievable as it appears, wasn't through for he would come back one more time for the same purpose.

The mystery of why Martha allowed her estranged husband to return and strip the Clarkston family almost to the bone remains hard to comprehend. Perhaps the very fact that her husband of twenty-six years left her and abandoned her family was such a hard blow that she found it difficult even after several months. Perchance there were other factors, ranging from Martha concluding that the least she had to do with Johannes the better, so instead of resisting the sale of the lands, she went along thinking he would be gone quicker, or maybe she had been indoctrinated too much in the old Mormon rhetoric that wives must obey their husbands. Possibly she knew Johannes all too well and believed that if he was hindered in the legal sale of the lands, he would devise something else, via hook or crook, to get what he wanted. Another consideration could have been that in Johannes' hasty move to Idaho, he had failed to calculate all that was involved to the degree that after a short summer of trying to re-establish himself on the new land, he was in desperate economic straits and forced to return to Clarkston with the sad story that all was lost in Idaho unless he could secure needed emergency funds. Instead of thinking out the situation, he had jumped in head first instead of a well-planned and staged move to the new location after more than one acre of land was ready to be farmed. After the precipitous move north in early 1888 now as winter approached, he may have found the Idaho family in such a condition that Johannes thought he must strip enough from the Clarkston holdings to sustain the Idaho farm and family. Whatever the reason, Johannes took full advantage of his rejected wife's tender mercies and good nature. There was also the probability that Johannes had executed oral arrangements sealed with a handshake regarding the disposition of those first five parcels of land before he left for Idaho. Several months later Johannes returned and the legal transfer of the title made it official. If this was the case, then Martha may have thought challenging the sales could create legal problems and be unfair for the new owners. Johannes, whether by need or greed, or both, had stripped Martha and her family of most of the useable farm land at Clarkston, which sustained their lives.

But that wasn't the end; unbelievable, to the point as being mindboggling, Johannes Dahle came back to Clarkston again to sell more land. Wife Johanna's family at Clarkston kept the Idaho Dahles informed of the situation at Clarkston and particularly on Martha and her children. Maybe among the Malmberg stories sent north was that in 1890 Martha's oldest son Hans was attempting to farm some of the heretofore worthless land that couldn't be irrigated in section 15 north of Clarkston, and the Cache County officials were starting to tax Hans on this land. Within a year or two Clarkston was experiencing a boom in regard to dry farm lands, and now the land once considered worthless, was in great demand and valuable. When Johannes learned this, he knew what to do when dollars could be placed in his pocket, whether the need was still great or the greed preponderant to the degree that there was no consideration for his children in Clarkston or making life better for the first family. He was well aware that Martha was taking in borders and scrapping by with little to spare. Nevertheless, Johannes Dahle returned to Clarkston four years after his first selling spree, when on February 23, 1893, he with Martha's consent sold 62.1 acres of the remaining land in section 15 for \$550 to Charles W. Buttars in an indenture in which there was no dower clause and no money for Martha. Both Johannes and Martha appeared before John Thompson, Justice of the Peace in Clarkston Precinct, in the recording of the warranty deed. Different from the earlier land transactions, this time Martha sealed this one with her signature rather than a mark, having learned to do so since 1888, and on the 1900 census she was listed as able to read and write in English. There was a problem with the land sold in section 15 that was not immediately discovered. Johannes by cash sale had purchased 80 acres with the patent received in 1880. In the land Johannes sold in December of 1888 there were 33.46 acres and now in February of 1893 another 62.1 acres making a total of 95.56 acres or some 15.56 acres more than was ever acquired. At this late date it hasn't been ascertained the reason for the discrepancy, however in many such cases it was either survey errors with or without improper input from the owner. There could be a larger story behind this difference of acreage.

The Clarkston farm was sacrificed for the benefit of the Idaho operations. The more compelling question than the one over why Martha allowed this to take place, would be the query as to why Johannes Dahle did this to his first wife and family. Except for a negative effect, Johannes Hansen Dahle did not leave any legacy to his first family, and to the youngest children he was little more than a name, and maybe they were the more fortunate ones in the family. Not even a few acres of inheritance were left to his sons in Clarkston in any of the sales—apparently a few dollars meant more to him than his children. The breakup of the marriage could be understood but from the time of this family patriarch's giving his quiet approval to the "I've got the man!" incident followed by sacrificing one of the families for the other, he grew smaller and smaller in the estimation of some—his first family and probably a large part of the Clarkston residents as he could have been seen as delinquent on his loans and behavior prior to the formal break with his first wife, then abandoning his first wife and returning to strip away most of the land she needed for her large family. In a final analysis, polygamist fathers came in several varieties, ranging from great way down to bad. Two examples with Clarkston connections were Bishop Simon Smith and Bishop William F. Rigby, the latter went through much to keep all of his families in the fold in different places, while the former lost all of his families but one and blamed polygamy, both the practice and the institution, for all of his troubles in the Clarkston Ward and thereafter. In comparison, Johannes was much closer to Smith than to Rigby. Perchance Johannes'

thinking in the late 1880s was very much in line with Smith's view that plural marriage was too demanding, burdensome and not worth all the extra effort.

A late tale from the second family has Johannes and his family getting word from Clarkston that Martha, as first and legal wife, was intent upon trying to find out if the Idaho land was in Johannes' name so she could get her share of the Idaho land. Thereupon, Johannes went to the county seat and had the land titled to Ephraim Malmberg, Johanna's brother. If this had even a tiny kernel of truth, then the family, friends and neighbors of Martha in Clarkston must have finally persuaded her that she had been grossly cheated out of her share of the land at Clarkston and was belatedly thinking (more so than trying) to get more than the tidbit she received. Those familiar with the details of the land sales of Johannes in 1888 and 1893 find the suggestion of Martha being the nasty villain in this Dahle tragedy to be more than preposterous and more the result of overzealous Clarkston relatives of Johanna passing along the imaginings of their minds. Nevertheless, it became evident from family stories that Martha sometime after 1893 concluded that she and her children had been cheated out of their fair share of the Clarkston lands. The Idaho land records so far haven't revealed this Malmberg transaction.

Martha Dahle at Clarkston

Martha and Johannes Dahle were the parents of eleven children with eight living to adulthood. With the departure of her husband in the spring of 1888, Martha, at the age of 46, had her children, her home place and a few acres of farm land that Johannes didn't sell. When her estranged husband left, the children were: Hans at the age of 23, John Helge at 19, Martha Ann at 17, Emma Jane at 15, David King at 13, Joseph Norman going on 9, Alice at 7 and Kate who would be 3 in the fall. There appeared to be a hardship pattern in Martha Dahle's life. Her trials of early life had a counterpart at the end of her life. In 1888 she was rejected in favor of the younger wife and had to provide her way with only her children's help for the next 14 years. Sadly the author did not find a master key to unlock Martha's long-hidden story but perhaps that could only be obtained in some form of self-representation whereby it could be seen from the inside out like she experienced it. Martha, apparently unloved and unappreciated by her spouse in the closing period of their life together, with hard work and the assistance of her family, took care of the farm that would shrink each time Johannes returned and sold land. On their town lots they had a cow or two, chickens, sometimes a swine and a good garden that helped keep the family fed and clothed. She soon found it necessary to take in boarders at her home to make a living.

From the Cache County Assessment records we find the following:

1888 – What Martha Dahle possessed and paid a tax on: [The assessment listing was in the name of Johannes Dahle.]

Fraction of town lots - 4 valued at \$450
 Acres of land - 20 acres valued at \$150
 - 30 acres valued at \$300 (the land assessments were made prior to the late sales.)
 Cattle - 2 valued at \$80
 No horses, sheep or swine listed. (The Dahle's horses went north with husband).
 Vehicles - 1 valued at \$75
 Total taxable property - \$805 - Amount of tax \$9.66

1889 – Martha Dahle – [only Dahle listed]

Fraction of town lots 3 valued at \$400 (one of these lot removed from the 1888 listing).
 Acres of land 20 valued at \$ 200
 Cattle - 1 valued at \$15
 Horses - 3 valued at \$85 (Purchased recently by Martha to replace those taken by Johannes).
 Vehicles - 1 valued at \$25
 Value of machinery \$25
 Total taxable property - \$750 - Amount of tax \$9.00

1890 – Mrs. Martha Dahle

Fraction of town lots 2 valued at \$400
 Acres of land – 2 ½ in Section 26 valued at \$150
 Cattle - 1 valued at \$5
 Horses - 2 valued at \$100
 Vehicle - 1 valued at \$25
 Total taxable property - \$780 - Amount of tax \$7.02

Two of Martha's sons were beginning to be on their own and were taxed on their possessions.

1890 – Hans Dahle - [son of Martha at age 26]

Fraction of town lots 4 valued at \$10
 Acres of land 15 valued at \$150 [land in section 15]
 Acres of land 160 valued at \$150 [location not shown]

No animals or vehicle

Total taxable property \$310 - Amount of tax \$2.79

[NOTE: Hans bought a block in west part of town in Jan. 1887 and was married in 1890.]

1890 – John Dahle of Clarkston [son of Martha at age 21]

Fraction of town lots 2 valued at \$225.

No animal or vehicle

Total taxable property \$225 - Amount of tax. \$2.02

We know little of the trials Martha encountered in rearing her sizeable family by herself, but she accomplished leaving a living legacy and heritage with no assistance from her husband of record. Before the two Dahle families separated, Martha had become the heart of the first family, apparently with little assistance from her husband, afterward she continued this core role with pluck and resolution. On Thursday May 26, 1892, Martha Dahle sent her young daughter Alice on an errand to the home of Samuel Stewart north of Clarkston. The eleven-year-old girl reached the home when a sudden storm forced her inside the home with three of the Stewart children. Mrs. Stewart was in town and Mr. Stewart was in the process of returning home after a ten day trip to the Snake River country. He had reached home about four o'clock and went out on his north porch to await his wife's return and to watch the approaching storm. While he was standing on the porch lightning struck the house "tearing the whole south east corner completely out." This knocked Stewart down where he lay unconscious on his face for some two hours until revived after his wife returned. He was "badly burned" across part of his body and would be bedridden for a time. Inside the Stewart home there were more injuries. In the same room the three Stewart children were scared but physically unharmed, but Alice Dahle was standing before a "big looking glass" (mirror) when the lightning struck the house, causing the mirror to shatter. Alice, as the blood poured from her wounds, ran about the room crying and saying she was blind. According to a newspaper account, the mirror glass "was slivered in ten thousand pieces driving the child's face and body full of the fragments. Great gashes were cut in her head and arms by the larger pieces, while the finer dust literally filled her skin." When Mrs. Stewart returned home she attended to her injured husband and Alice. In time Alice was taken to her home where she was placed in bed under the care of her mother and assisted by kind neighbors while word was sent to Logan for a doctor. Somehow word for a doctor reached the railroad depot at Cache Junction where an emergency message by telegraph was made to Logan for Dr. O. C. Ormsby, the most noted physician in Cache Valley at the time. The Saturday report by the Clarkston correspondent to the Logan newspaper added a postscript to his report saying: "Dr. Ormsby had just arrived and in dressing the wounds of Alice Dahl [sic], finds that she has lost her right eye. The Doctor took quite a number of pieces of glass out of her face and body. It is now thought she will recover." He went to Clarkston and treated both of the lightning victims. The doctor found Alice had great gashes in her head and arms with a number of punctures from smaller glass fragments, and he removed the glass pieces. Later the doctor told a reporter, "that there were not less than two hundred wounds or cuts on her body, some of the scalp wounds being from an inch and a half to three inches in length. A piece of glass penetrated one of the eyelids and destroyed the sight." A week later a newspaper report had the lightning patients at Clarkston slightly improving, and a few days later Dr. Ormsby in an "extremely difficult operation" removed the damaged eye of Alice Dahle.

Money was hard to come by and the needs of a large family were seemingly never ending. Martha had to replace the horses that her estranged husband had taken to Idaho, and there were doctor's bills, clothing, food, school, Christmas, etc., all took a toll on the family funds. Sometimes even all the hard work, ingenuity and wherewithal couldn't resolve the financial difficulties in a timely fashion. Martha acquired forty acres east of Clarkston in Township 14N Range 1W in Section 31 (NE 1/4 NE1/4). Just over a mile and one-half east of town and north of Clarkston Creek and near the Newton Reservoir. In 1897 the delinquent taxes on Martha Dahle's forty acres in section 31 had her scrambling to get the \$6.55 tax paid in December when the delinquent tax list made the newspaper. This was a minor item in her struggles of life, which never got easier for Martha. But she endured to the end.

On June 13, 1900, the census was taken in Clarkston and the census taker stopped at the home of Martha Dahle and had a little trouble with some of the details concerning the family. He wrote their name as "Dahila," and Martha was born in November of 1843 making her 57 years of age at the time. She was the "head" of the household and a widow. She had been born in Norway where both of her parents were also born. It was recorded that she immigrated to America in 1862 where she had resided for 38 years. Her occupation was listed as "Boardinghouse keeper," and she owned her home free of any mortgage with no farmland in her name. Four of her children were still living at home. Son David was listed as being born in June of 1876 (should have been 1875) and the 23-year-old bachelor listed as a "farmer." He owned his farm without mortgage. Next on the census form was son Joseph born in August of 1883 with the occupation of farm laborer. But the birth date was wrong as he was actually born in 1879, making him 20 approaching 21. The third child listed was Alice with a correct birthday in May of 1883, making her 17. Last on the list was Kate (written as "Katie") born in November of 1885, making her 14. Martha's other living children were as follows: oldest son Hans and his family were living in Clarkston; next son John Helge

after five years of marriage had been called on a mission to the Southern States where he served from December 19, 1899 through March 5, 1901, and was on his mission when the census was taken; daughter Martha Ann was married with three children and living in Clarkston; daughter Emma Jane had been married just over two years and she and her husband lived in Clarkston. The other Dahles listed in the Clarkston census for 1900—Garrett Dahle and Joseph Dahle—were the sons of John and Janetta Dahle of Logan (Johannes brother who immigrated with him in 1862). We know next to nothing about Martha's role as boardinghouse keeper. Apparently her boarders were short term occupants such as doctors, dentists, traveling salesmen, peddlers and entertainers who came to Clarkston for a short time, practicing their profession for a few days and then moved on. The extra income helped provide needed support for Martha and her family. After Martha's death, her two youngest daughters remained in the home and continued to take in boarders, and Kate recalled a few of them as Doctor Sweden, Doctor Canfield, "Pete the Peddler," and other tradesmen. Her youngest daughter Kate Dahle Rasmussen stated that her "mother was the grandest person who ever lived on this earth."

Martha died at Clarkston on May 28, 1902, some four decades after coming to America from Norway. Her death came two years and eight months after the death of her husband of record. They had been estranged since 1888, after she was left alone to care for her family. A small headstone marks her grave with "Marta" on the stone. Three years later her husband's body was brought from Rigby, Idaho, and reburied near Martha's burial place, and a large headstone placed on the grave. All of Martha's children, except the first born Nettie (died and buried at Sessions in Davis County) and daughter Alice (buried in the Heyburn, Idaho, cemetery), were interred in the Clarkston Cemetery.

The aftermath -

By the year 2012 this writer had heard and read several assessments of Johannes Dahle as an ancestor and forefather that ranged from praise pieces to the far opposite evaluation. He can't recall any in the middle range except one great granddaughter who appeared to bend over backwards to keep a non-judgmental status until she had concluded much research on the sale of Dahle land at Clarkston in 1888 and 1893. Then she burst forth with her opinion on what her great-grandfather did to her great-grandmother in regard to their land assets at Clarkston in a written communication. Based on what she had learned of the inequitable division, she expressed some very sharp and pointed opinions. This author asked the permission of this great granddaughter to place the written statement in his article. She initially agreed but later the same old gene which had affected her mother and grandparents came into play causing her to doubt the wisdom of her critical opinion of Johannes, feeling it could ruffle some feathers among her friends and acquaintances in the second family. So her written statement was excluded except for the following extract that said in part: "It is my belief that after the split, Martha concentrated on her children. She raised a wonderful family! . . . I believe she regretted the sale of the land . . ." If you have read the above article you should have a good impression of the author's beliefs and opinions based on family stories and considerable research. Furthermore, I have two older sisters still living who are unabashed in their sentiments on their Great-grandfather Johannes. Before old age reduced their activities, they consistently placed cut flowers on the grave of Martha Dahle, but not even a dandelion on Johannes' grave. If they said anything under their breath or aloud as they passed the large marker of Johannes to reach Martha's small gravestone, it wouldn't be polite to print it; nevertheless, it is what they whole-heartedly believe. Perhaps, with just cause they view the whole thing as a Dahle family tragedy and not as a resourceful safe way "out" but more along the line of a first family abandonment and stripping away their land with Johannes taking the easy way out!

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AUTHOR'S NOTE: To my knowledge the foregoing version of the life of Johannes Dahle is the first account from a descendant of his first family that goes beyond the one to three page genealogical sketch of his life. In my earlier history of Johannes and Martha Dahle I carried my great grandfather's story through the Idaho period. For this offering I chose to end the account with the breakup of Johannes' marriage with Martha, focusing on the Clarkston period. I, a great grandson of Johannes and Martha Dahle, write this story not to excite the issue or the other family but to relate it without either using simplicity to skip over crucial elements or the fancy wandering in the past oriented to praise but from a perspective long believed, but not publicly revealed, and develop it upon more solid content before that little which is known becomes lost and forever forgotten.

I am not bitter but saddened by what took place, and acknowledge if the couple had parted company in the spring of 1888 without ever seeing each other again or if they had divorced and let the court divide their assets, my impression of Johannes Dahle would be much greater than it is. Perhaps, spurred by the "Sesquicentennial Dahle Family Reunion" and whatever byproducts it fosters, this is the time for pondering and reassessment. Especially if one thinks the words, printed or oral, failed to see the forest for the trees, then those so inclined should with deep thought and thorough research assist to strip away the misconceptions, myths and fables to reveal the facts and truth so hopefully all can see both the forest and the trees more clearly.