CHARLES ORA CARD
PIONEER AND COLONIZER

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Church History
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In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

by
A. James Hudson
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Dedicated to my wife, Gertrude A. Hudson, whose interest and assistance have made her co-author of this work.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This work is a biography of Charles Ora Card, a contributor to the colonization and growth of two Latter-day Saint communities -- Logan, Utah, and Cardston, Alberta. His contribution was in giving leadership to the religious life of both communities, and his particular talent lay in the ability to gather strong men, rich in faith and dynamic in personality, into his councils.

The materials and facts for this work were gathered mainly from primary sources such as the newspapers of the Logan and Cardston\(^1\) regions, the journals of Card and some of his co-workers and contemporary associates, the records of the wards and stakes in which he resided, the minutes of many of the meetings which he attended, supplemented by secondary sources such as books, pamphlets, and interviews with those who knew him personally, including many of his children.

Charles Ora Card was faithful in keeping his diaries up to date, but he was factual and brief in reporting the events of his life.\(^2\) He kept full minutes of the meetings he attended, particularly the conferences, but he was very meagre in reporting his feelings and any outstanding accomplishments, beyond the mere mention that the thing had been done and that he was grateful for the Lord’s help. There can be no question of this

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\(^1\)The jubilee issue of the Lethbridge Herald (commemorating the jubilee year of Cardston in 1937) was of special importance because several of Card’s contemporaries wrote first hand accounts for this publication.

\(^2\)See Appendix E for a description of these diaries.
man's humility in ascribing to a higher power the help he received in the accomplishment of every task.

In scope, this study will deal with the accomplishments of Charles Ora Card in Logan, Utah, and in Cardston, Alberta.

Investigation has shown that others have written of Card's activities in Cardston, but an account of his work in Logan has not been written, and his accomplishments there have remained subordinate to those of the Cardston period.

Four writers have used the twenty-one "Cardston" journals of Charles Ora Card. Stirling Williams, son of Zina Card by a previous marriage, used Card's journals to write the preface to the official Cardston Temple History which includes the early history of Cardston. Unfortunately, Williams has not been able to complete this work because of his advanced age. He has completed only the years 1886 to 1891, a thorough piece of work covering these six years.

Archie Wilcox, who wrote a master's thesis on the founding of Cardston, carefully read all twenty-one journals and extracted from them the important historical information. He did not use the information which reveals the character of Card as an individual.

Jane Woolf Bates had these journals for some time, writing the story of the founding of Cardston, and a short biography of Charles Ora Card. She came to Cardston in June, 1886, and saw the growth of the town from its origin. Her work, though valuable because it contains information not available elsewhere, has many errors of fact and date, and is highly colored by her memory of childhood happenings. It seems that she trusted her memory for much of her history even when the events were
directly mentioned in the journals.

Lowry Nelson used the journals in 1930 for his report on the Mormon ethnic group in Alberta. All of these writers were interested in Cardston as a community rather than in Card as a man. They looked upon his activities as a leader and not upon the man as an individual with a well-defined personality. For this reason these journals were carefully studied by the present writer to find the heart of Charles Ora Card as revealed by his own writings.

Of the life of Card before he came to Cardston, all that has been quoted before this writing has come from the autobiography written by Card for Andrew Jensen's collection of biographies. No previous writer used the eighteen "Logan" journals written by Card while he lived in Logan, including the journal of his short mission to the Eastern States. These journals were used in this work as the basic source of data for Card's twenty-seven year residence in Logan before he went to Cardston. It is regrettable that the journals covering several important events, such as the marriage of Card to his wives, the dedication of the Logan temple, and his famous arrest and escape from custody, are missing. It is not known whether the journals for these periods of time have become lost since the death of Card, or if they were ever written at all. Newspapers and other journals, including the autobiographies of two of his wives, Zina and Lavinia, give much of the missing story, but these sources do not give the thoughts and hopes of the man himself. His feelings on these important occasions would have added greatly to the interest of this work.

This study has been handled by dividing the historical events according to topic, and following an order as chronological as possible.
This work is submitted that a record of the life of Charles Ora Card and his unique contribution to the growth of the Church at Logan and Cardston may be preserved as a part of the history of the Church. The writer believes this work to be important because Card represents a foundation stone in the co-operative efforts which built a Temple at Logan and settled a whole area in southern Alberta. In fact, the story of his life for these periods well represents the story of these mighty enterprises. Although it is true that it required a co-operative effort to conquer these tasks, it is equally true that even a co-operative group of participants require faith and leadership to give them unity, purpose, and direction.

The importance of effective leadership is well explained by Lowry Nelson:

The relation of the religious leadership to the Mormon project in Canada is one of absorbing interest and of vital importance. Crises tend to elevate leaders and to intensify the "all-to-one" relationship of followers to leaders. Life on the frontier is a rapid succession of crises. The homogeneity of the Mormon group made possible an intense polarization around the leaders. Organization of will was from the top down, rather than from the bottom up. This was true of the early experiences of the Mormons in the Great Basin under Brigham Young, and was equally true in the case of Charles O. Card and the settlement of Alberta. There was an unusual degree of dependence upon the insight, foresight, and inspiration of the leader, and it frequently became his function to promise the group better times, to give them encouragement by finding reasons why they should be thankful.

And so the greatness of Charles Ora Card centered in his honesty, integrity, service, loyalty, and devotion to the Church. It can be said that he spent his life giving service to the Church, and an account of that life belongs to the history of the Church he served so faithfully.

Throughout this work all quotations will be recorded as they were found in the sources, including the errors in grammar, spelling, and punctuation. Errors in the original writings will be preserved without any acknowledgment other than this explanation.
CHAPTER II

FAMILY BACKGROUND AND YOUTH

Charles Ora Card was born on the 5th of November, 1839, to twenty-five year old Cyrus William Card and his twenty year old wife, Sarah, in Ossian township, Allegany County, New York. Charles Ora came from a sturdy line of New Englanders, dating back seven generations to Richard Card of Newport, Rhode Island. His grandfather, William Fuller Card, served the American forces in the war of 1812 with Captain Campbell's Company of the New York Militia, enlisting from Painted Post, Steuben County, New York.

The father of Charles Ora, Cyrus William Card, was a wheelwright and millwright by trade. He was the builder of several mills in the Canaseraga and Sugar Creek districts of New York State. The following word-picture of Cyrus W. Card has been sketched by one of his grand-daughters:

Cyrus William Card was not a slow-going man as the text *The Gospel in Action* describes him, but may have had "Early to bed and early to rise" for his motto. And that could have been followed by "Order is the first law not only of heaven but of home." Even his out-buildings and tool sheds were kept in such a neat and systematic way that he could have found anything in the dark, and he exacted the same of his boys and hired help. I should know this because I lived next door to him until I was grown. He kept a watchful eye over mother and her

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1 The family home was in Ossian township at the confluence of Canaseraga Creek and Sugar Creek.

2 Pearl Card Sloan, "Charles Ora Card" (a three-page typewritten manuscript used as supplementary notes for a lesson on the life of C. W. Card as taught from the Sunday School manual, *The Gospel in Action*, written by Thomas C. Romney). Hereafter the reference to this manuscript will be "Sloan ms."

3 Sloan ms.
family during father's absence. He was a wonderful neighbor. Many a little red wagon, sled, or skate found a missing screw or part at Grandpa Card's tool shed. Likewise, the housewives took their milk pans to be soldered and their wooden tubs to have their hoops tightened. Vinegar barrels were converted into tubs to be used for both laundry and for watering the cattle and horses. He never left his place without putting a shovel in his buggy; he always took time to fill a chuck-hole in the road or to divert surplus water that might be flooding the road from a nearby irrigation ditch.

Mrs. Sloan has also given the following glimpse into the character of Charles' mother, Sarah Ann Tuttle Card:

His mother was one of the neatest and sweetest women that ever graced the earth. She took part in church affairs during her younger years, but later she was very retiring. Her home was her heaven, and she made it that for all who entered there. She was a typical New England mother, being an excellent cook and having an enviable, calm disposition. After she raised her own family she raised her little grand-daughter, made motherless through the death of her mother, as well as a number of the children of the other wife [Emma Booth]. Their home was almost like a hotel. Many people coming to do work in the temple found a warm welcome there. To the school children who came into her home she was affectionately known as "Auntie." Although many distinguished guests were entertained in her home, and although demands upon her time were heavy, she never forgot the grandchildren nor her neighbors' children. The doughnut box and cookie jar were never empty. "Paper bag and tin can" living was unknown in those days. Grandfather was a good provider. He always kept a wonderful garden which, when supplemented by the produce from the small farm, including meats and dairy products, almost took care of the larder. As far back as my memory serves me, both he and grandmother always had help, but she did all of the baking and butter making herself, always looking as though she had just emerged from a band box.

During the year of 1843, Cyrus and Sarah embraced the gospel as taught them by a young Mormon missionary, William Hyde, who baptized them and blessed their three young children.

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4 The father mentioned here was Charles Ora Card, who was then in Alberta, Canada, establishing Mormon settlements. He took his wife Zina Y. Card with him, leaving Sarah P. Card and Lovinia R. Card, with their families, in Logan, Utah, and Rexburg, Idaho.

5 Sloan ms.

6 Andrew Jensen, "Charles Ora Card," L.D.S. Biographical Encyclopedia (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jensen Historical Company, 1901),
Thus, at an early age, Charles Ora Card was brought into contact with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the organization to which he later dedicated his life and labors.

DIFFICULTIES IN PARK CENTER

In the fall of 1846 Cyrus Card took his family to Park Center, St. Joseph County, Michigan, where his father's family was located. His father, William F. Card, had died just before this time, in August, 1846, while on his way to Nauvoo, Illinois, leaving a widow and several children. Cyrus, thirty-two years of age and the eldest son, took the responsibility of caring for his widowed mother and administering his father's affairs.

During the four years that followed there was much illness in the families, bringing the death of four more of William's children.7

While the family resided in Park Center, Charles attended the county school of the district. Later in life Card returned to Michigan as a missionary. Concerning his visit to his old home he recorded:8

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7Prior to the death of William Fuller Card at Park Center in 1846, he and his wife had lost five of their eleven children. The four additional deaths left only two living children, Cyrus and his youngest sister Sarah.

8Charles Ora Card, "Journals of Charles Ora Card," (thirty-nine unpublished handwritten journals, eighteen of which are in the library of the Utah State University at Logan, Utah, and twenty-one of which are in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Hugh B. Brown of Salt Lake City). Hereafter the reference to these journals will be "Card Journals," or, when
Jan. 17, 1872. I had the privilege of perus[ue of the old school record which reminded me of all my school days in Mich, finding a correct record of every day that I went to school in this district from 1847 until the spring of 1851.

Jan. 20, 1872. ... On our way to Mendon [near Park Center] we passed the old M.E. Burying ground where we visited the graves of my grandfather, uncle, aunt & friends.

RETURN TO NEW YORK

Since a revision of the family's plans to gather with the Saints to the Salt Lake Valley had been necessitated by the death of his father, Cyrus determined to assume the leadership and arrange again for the trip. However, he too, along with the rest of the family members, was still feeling the effects of the illness that had devastated their home, and a period of recuperation was necessary. Therefore, in 1851, the family returned to their old home in Cassian township, New York, where they could regain their health and gather means to go to Zion. Shortly after arriving in New York they moved to Whitney's Crossing, Barnes township, Allegany County, New York, a short distance from their old home. There they remained until April, 1856. At Whitney's Crossing better educational facilities were available to Charles and his sister.

During the winter of 1855-56 Charles' uncle Joseph France came to stay in the Card home. He was a young man recently returned from a mission to England. Joseph France baptised Charles Ora Card in the Canaseraga...
Creek on April 12, 1856, and confirmed him a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints that same day. This was only a few days prior to the family's departure for the Salt Lake Valley.9

FROM NEW YORK TO THE VALLEY

By April, 1856, the family of Cyrus and Sarah Card, which now included Charles, age sixteen, Polly, fourteen, Matilda, three and one-half, Sarah, two, Grandmother Card, and Joseph France,10 were prepared to travel to the Salt Lake Valley. They went to Iowa City by train to join the migrating saints. Here Cyrus obtained two yoke of oxen and a wagon with which to make the journey. Joseph France also purchased oxen and a wagon.

On June 9th the Cards left Iowa City with the handcart company led by Edmund Ellsworth, arriving in Florence, Nebraska, on July 8th.11 This part of the journey was saddened by the death of Charles' fourteen year old sister, Polly Caroline Card, on July 2nd.12 A member of the handcart company, Archer Walters,13 recorded in his diary:

July 2nd: Rose about 5 o'clock after sleeping in wet clothes, and

9Jensen, loc. cit. Also Sloan ms.
10It has not been determined in this research whether or not Cyrus' youngest sister Sarah came west with the group. She did make the trip at some time however, because she died in Logan, Utah, in 1890.
12The family records list the death of Polly as occurring on July 3rd. She probably died during the night of July 1-2.
13Archer Walter's Journal, loc. cit.
made a coffin for Bro. Card belonging to the Independent Company but travels with us, for his daughter named Card, aged 5 miles from Indian town.

July 3rd: ... Bro. Card gave me $1 dollar for making his daughter's coffin. ... 

The wagons of Cyrus Card and Joseph France remained with the Ellsworth company until they reached Fort Bridger on August 26th. During this part of the journey, Charles, although only sixteen years of age, had the opportunity to prove that he could assume the duties expected of a man. For several hundred miles of the journey his father and uncle were sick and Charles cared for the wagons and oxen and managed the affairs of the family.

In his autobiography Card described some of the duties which devolved upon him as a member of the company.

... I took my turn standing guard with the men. I was also chosen as one of the hunters to aid in securing meat from the vast herds of buffaloes that were traversing the plains in those days. I also aided the handcart people in crossing the streams, after filling father's wagon with women and children, and then continued our labors by carrying the remainder across the streams on our backs. ...

The family arrived in the Salt Lake Valley during the latter part of September, 1856. About a week later they attended the October General

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14 Jensen, loc. cit.

15 How the Cards get into the Valley from Ft. Bridger has not been determined in this research, but it seems that they left the handcart company at Ft. Bridger and travelled with an independent wagon company. The Cards are not listed in the newspaper reports of immigrant arrivals.


Card Journals, April 15, 1903, records: "On return went and saw with Joseph, old Sister John Jilling (87 yrs.) & husband & dtr. Captain E. Ellsworth lead the company she and I came across the plains with in 1856. This woman told me she waded all the small streams & walked the 1500 miles from Iowa City, Iowa to S.L. and now is in good health."

LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, Handcart to Zion (Glendale, Cali-
Conference of the Church where they listened to the General Authorities of the Church\textsuperscript{16} for the first time. This experience came as a fitting climax to the months of struggle which had brought them to the Valley to gather with the Saints of God.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{16}See Appendix F for a description of the organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

\textsuperscript{17}Jensen, loc. cit.
CHAPTER III

A PIONEER SETTLER IN LOGAN

As the Utah War threat passed away, many families were anxious to go to Cache Valley, which had been advertised by the Church leaders as a highly desirable place to settle.¹

The Cards had taken up temporary residence at Farmington,² but were impressed with reports of the opportunities afforded in Cache Valley. Charles Ora Card was sent by his father to Logan in Cache Valley to prepare a cabin for the family. Charles celebrated his twentieth birthday while building a one-room, dirt-roofed dwelling.

In March, 1860, his father's family made the move from Farmington to Logan. The Card cabin was located on present day Center Street and was part of the original group of homes built along that street between Main and Third West. The home is still there today, although it has been framed

¹Joel E. Ricks (ed.), The History of a Valley (Logan, Utah: Cache Valley Centennial Commission, 1956), p. 43, gives the reports Peter Maughan and Brigham Young made of the fertile land to the north, which were published in the Deseret News during the summer of 1859, and then adds, "No doubt these glowing reports stimulated the people living in less favorable locations to consider moving north. To those crowded in the towns to the south with their cattle suffering as drought dried up the grass and to the emigrants from populous Europe, these stirring descriptions truly indicated a land of promise—an earthly Zion."

See Appendix C for a brief history of Cache Valley before the fall of 1860.

²Jensen, loc. cit., also Sloan ms. While in Farmington, Charles gained experience in church affairs as a member of the 56th Quorum of Seventy. During this time also, Charles' parents travelled to Salt Lake City to receive their endowments and sealings in the Endowment House, April 3, 1857.
in and enlarged.  

At the time Charles built the cabin, Logan was no more than a group of one-room log houses, arranged in fort style for protection from the Indians, but by the time the Card family arrived in March, 1860, Logan contained one hundred homes and was growing rapidly.³

With the rapidly increasing population came a need for industrial development. Charles O. Card and his father Cyrus W. Card, working in partnership,⁴ were among the first of Logan’s settlers to engage in industry. The “C.W. Card and Son Sawmill” was one of the first to be put into operation. The Cards also did some farming, and they operated a gristmill, but the sawmill was their main occupation.

Essential to the operation of the sawmill was the construction and maintenance of roads to the timber supply. Card became skilled in road building and efficient in utilizing the timber resources which became available. He also acquired a good deal of experience in canal construction, for these early industries depended upon the river and canals for their water power.

³Ricks, op. cit., p. 43, 47.

⁴Card Journals, April, 1880, gives the tithing record of C.O. Card. He states, “Came to S.L. Valley to Farmington Sept. 1856, paid tithing with father until 1862. . . .”

“Cache County Court Tax Record” (handwritten records of tax assessments with yearly entries. Mss. on file in the Cache County Court House vault, Logan, Utah), shows that C.W. Card and Son owned four and three-quarter building lots in Logan, and eighty acres of land, until 1880. The 1881 tax record lists C.W. Card as owning two city lots and thirty-five acres of land, and C.O. Card as also owning two city lots and thirty-five acres of land. In the division of the lands and titles in 1880, C.W. Card took the west half of the lots and lands and C.O. Card had the east half. It was on Jan. 1, 1880, that C.O. Card had his “new house situated on my corner lot dedicated by Sp. Ballard.” (Card Journal).
The next decade of Card's life was extremely important. During this time he expanded his knowledge and experience in industry, construction, and agriculture, and gained experience in educational, civic, and church affairs. Out of these experiences emerged a leader with a definite contribution to make towards his fellow men and the church.

THE MINUTE MILITIA

On April 29, 1860, the people of Logan organized the Minute Militia with Thomas E. Ricks elected as captain. In June it became part of the Cache Valley Militia under Colonel Ezra T. Benson.\(^5\) The Militia played a significant role in defending the communities against Indian attacks.

Charles O. Card, as he recorded in his brief autobiography, was a member of the militia, "taking an active part with the minute men under Colonel Thos. E. Ricks during the first four years."\(^6\) While it has not been established in this research that Card took part in the following activities of the militia,\(^7\) it is probable that he did, if, as he reports, he was an active member for four years.

The first serious clash with the Indians occurred at Smithfield, July 23, 1860. The red men sought to free one of their number who had been captured for stealing horses and was detained under guard in one of the houses. As he tried to escape, one of the guards shot him and a conflict ensued. John Reed and Ira Merrill fell before the Indian

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\(^5\)Ricks, op. cit., p. 50.

\(^6\)Jensen, loc. cit., also Sloan ms., which adds this interesting note: "I now have the coat of his [Card's] uniform in my possession, and Donald C. Sloan has his sword."

\(^7\)Ricks, loc. cit. See also James H. Martineau, "Autobiography of James Henry Martineau" (unpublished typewritten ms. on file in the Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah).
attack, and two red men also lost their lives. Logan averted an Indian attack the next day because of the vigilance of the minute men.

July 12, 1861, A very large number of Indians about 1500 came to the South part of the valley very hungry, but not appearing very unfriendly. 1300 pounds of flour was collected for them in Logan. The Minute company was called out at night to go to the church farm to watch the movements of their camp, and the foot company was ordered on parade next morning at sun rise in readiness.


On September 14, 1864, the settlers of Franklin narrowly missed disaster. Some hundreds of Indians camping north of town, procured liquor from two of the settlers and became menacing. A drunken Indian tried to ride his horse over a white woman. To save her life one of the settlers shot the Indian and then escaped. The red men then seized one of the white men, messengers rode that night to the other towns for assistance. The next morning 300 minute men arrived from Logan and other places under command of Major Thomas Ricks, accompanied by Bishop Peter Maughan. The white hostage was released as Peter Maughan held a conference with Chief Washakie.

Card was not active in the militia after 1864, but it is evident that he remained a part of the organization since he ranked as major when the militia was disbanded in 1870. 8

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CHAPTER IV

INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

The Cards established the second sawmill in Logan, digging the mill-
race in 1861.1 Water rights were granted by Cache County on March 3,
1862.2 The mill was known as the "C.W. Card and Son Sawmill." Soon, a
Lath and Shingle mill was added. Just across the street was the F. N.
Petersen and Sons Planing Mill.3 These two mills provided much of the
lumber needed to finish the homes of the settlers.4

Timber was obtained for the Card mill from Green Canyon. Logan
Canyon was largely inaccessible. However, Card was active in the "Logan
Kanyon Road Company" which built a few miles of road into Logan Canyon
each year.5 His father was a director in this company. The Cards were
able to obtain some timber from Logan Canyon after 1865, however, most of
the wood they used still came from Green Canyon, for on Dec. 2, 1872, the
County6 gave them:

1Ricks, op. cit., p. 161
2"Cache County Court Records," Book A (handwritten minutes of the
meetings of the Cache County Court. Mss. on file in the Cache County Court
house vaults, Logan, Utah).
3Sloan ms. See also Merlin R. Hovey, "An Early History of Cache
Valley" (unpublished typewritten ms. on file in the Utah State University
Library, Logan, Utah). Hereafter the reference to this ms. will be "Hovey
ms."
4Ricks, loc. cit., reports: "Brigham Young is reported to have told
Cache Valley Saints in the late 1860's, 'It is time to come out from under
dirt roofs,' and so efforts were made to get mills which would provide
shingles, wooden floors, and lumber for lean-tos on the back of the cabins
for additional space and comfort."
5Ibid.
6"Cache County Court Records."
... timber rights for lumber, lath and shingle at the head of Water Kanyon. These rights to be granted for one year from the present location of C.W. Card's house and camp in the said Kanyon to the head thereof.

The lease was renewed again on Dec. 15, 1873.

The C.W. Card and Son Sawmill was operated by Cyrus and Charles Card until the end of 1875, when it became a part of the United Order Manufacturing and Building Company.7 Charles, as manager of the new company, and his father as a member of the board of directors, still directed the work of the sawmill.

Tax records8 indicate that the Cards may have operated more than one sawmill. In any case, it is true that Charles Ora Card, an expert Sawyer himself, was instrumental in establishing several sawmills in Cache Valley and later in the Canadian colony which he founded in 1887.

IRRIGATION

Irrigation was the "life-blood" of agriculture and industry, both in Logan and Cardston. Of Cache Valley irrigation, Arrington9 says:

Cache Valley's history is significant, ... because it illustrates the problems connected with the settlement of a semi-arid region. It is doubtful that any semi-arid region has faced up to the particular problems involved in irrigation agriculture more resolutely, and documented the story more completely, than has Cache Valley. As the result, the valley is today one of the best watered in the West.

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7Ricks, op. cit., p. 198. See also Henry Ballard, "Journal of Henry Ballard" (handwritten journal with daily entries, 1852-1885. Ms. on file in the Utah State University Library, Logan, Utah). Hereafter the reference to this journal will be "Ballard Journal." Hereafter the reference to the "United Order Manufacturing and Building Company will be "U.O.M. & B.C."

8"Cache County Court Tax Record" for the year 1882, "Card Petersen Saw Mill in Logan Canyon, $1,200.00."

9Ricks, op. cit., p. 141.
Water for the Logan - Hyde Park area was taken from the Logan River through several canals. The seven mile Logan and Hyde Park Canal was built between March 27, 1860, and May 18, 1860. It was from this canal that the Card mill-race took water. Card served on the board of directors for this canal. He was president of the nine-mile Logan and Smithfield Canal, built in 1881. Besides activity with these two canal companies, Card was closely associated with a third canal originating from the Logan River (there were three other canals taken from this river, also in 1864). This was the sixteen-mile Logan and Richmond Canal. He helped locate ditches and extensions for this canal, working on several occasions with the engineers and the directors of the company.

Thus in Cache Valley Card was in close contact with three irrigation systems totalling thirty-two miles in length, and irrigating 11,000 acres of land.

After he settled in Canada, Card saw that the new community had irrigation ditches as well as a mill-race for a gristmill. Card's last great accomplishment in life was to oversee the construction of the Kimball-Lethbridge Canal. When completed, this canal had sixty-five miles of channel besides the natural waterways, irrigating about 200,000 acres of land.

10 Ibid., p. 148, 447, and map in a back cover pocket. See also Hovey ms.

11 Ibid. See also Card Journals, July, 1883.

12 Ibid.
ASSOCIATION WITH GRISTMILLS

A gristmill was built in Logan in 1860 by Hezekiah Thatcher, Joel Ricks, and Ezra T. Benson. The construction was supervised by the Cards, who had had previous experience with this type of work. C.W. Card was the miller with James Hawarth as his assistant.\textsuperscript{13} This mill is described by Arrington and Hovey.\textsuperscript{14}

So far as can be learned, these mills and their gearing were of wood with the exception of the turbine and the grinding stones. The millstones consisted of two circular stones, built up of several pieces, one of which remained stationary and the other being the "runner." The effect was to grind or crush the grain.

Mr. C.O. Card with others also constructed one of the early grist mills (using French Buhr stones instead of the S.L. Blackrock stones) and located it where the present building of the Central Milling and Elevator Company is. With the rapid improvements made in milling machinery and processes, this mill soon became obsolete and a new company, known as the Central Milling and Elevator Company, was organized, with William B. Preston as president. A new building was erected and the roller type of machines and other modern improvements, for those days, were installed. Mr. John R. Burns was the first miller and his mill products commanded a ready sale.

In the three years of 1865-67, four gristmills were erected in Logan, later to become roller mills surviving until modern times. The Cards helped build the smallest of these, owned by Nels Petersen. This mill grew to be the largest of all, the Central Milling and Elevator Company. It has not been established in this research how the Cards became stockholders in this company, but the journal of C.O. Card reveals their interest during the 1880's:

Sept. 23, 1881: . . . On Central Mill Business, my father and I own

\textsuperscript{13} Sloan ms.

\textsuperscript{14} Ricks, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 160, and Hovey ms., p. 35.
one third.

Dec. 13, 1882: . . . to Ogden & S.L. where I borrowed 3M dollars
for self & father at Zion Saving Bank insured the Central flouring
Mills for 10M dollars.

Dec. 30, 1882: Working on the Logan & Richmond Canal. Went to
Millers Convention.

May 24, 1883: In viewing mill acts I find in keeping up the Build-
ing expenses of the Central Mills I furnished from my private means
$292.47. My father C.W. Card $169.75. The ballance we paid in money
borrowed in co. Giving joint obligations.

THE UNITED ORDER

The United Order, following as a natural step from the successful
operation of the co-operatives,\textsuperscript{15} started in 1868, and the Cache Valley
Board of Trade,\textsuperscript{16} organized March 1872, was organized on May 2, 1874. The
United Order was devoted primarily to manufacturing, using the co-opera-
tive stores as an outlet for the sale of the produce. The United Order did
not replace the co-ops. In order to produce harmony between the United

\textsuperscript{15}Joseph C. Felix, "The Development of Cooperative Enterprises in
Cache Valley 1865-1900" (unpublished Master's Thesis, Brigham Young Uni-

Co-operative efforts had been the means of building every community
established in the valley, especially in housing, irrigation, and roadways.
Starting in 1868 co-operative merchandising was started to promote home in-
dustry, maintain stable prices, and circulate produce through barter since
cash was not readily available. The parent co-operative was Zion's Co-
operative Mercantile Institution (Z.C.M.I.) in Salt Lake City.

\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., pp. 47-51.

The Cache Valley Board of Trade regulated the affairs of the co-
operatives in the valley. They regulated prices, set the standards of
produce quality, and handled exports from the valley. The original Board
of Trade lasted until the United Order came on May 2, 1874. In Mar. 1876,
it was revived, incorporated June 28, 1880, as part of Zion's Control
Board of Trade, and ended in 1888 when the building burned. Card was a
member of this board.
Order manufacturing and the co-operative merchandising, the Board of Trade continued to be necessary.

Every unit of the Church in Cache Valley became a segment of the United Order, operating under the direction of the local bishop. The Logan Second Ward organized the United Order Manufacturing and Building Company. This firm was established on Dec. 8, 1875, and was incorporated on Jan. 10, 1876. Bishop Ballard's diary\textsuperscript{17} gives the story:

Dec. 2, 1875: ... We held a mtg. in our ward to take into consideration the advisability of sending to the States for a Turning Lathe to make broom handles as there was none in the Terr, and to cooperate together as a ward and form a company to do all kinds of wood work.

Dec. 8, 1875: We held another mtg & organized by forming a company of all those that took shares and agreed to send for the Broom handle factory and what other machinery was needed to carry on a Home Manufactory in Wood, also took into the company Bro. C.W. Card & sons Saw Mill and Lath and Shingle Mills, Bro. P.N. Petersen and sons turned their Planing mill in as stock and we made arrangements to attach the Broom handle Lathe to the same Water power the Bretheren all felt well in Uniting together.

Jan. 29, 1877, Our U.O.M. Co. that we organized one year before in the 2nd ward had proved a success and we had increased by attaching a Moulding machine to our other machinery and we now felt the need of a Branch Store connected with our Business.

Jan. 30, 1877, ... 3rd ward joined in our company. They turned in their co-op Dairy. ... we commenced to build a store 18 x 24.

Charles O. Card was named as business manager for the U.O.M. & B. Co. That business was a success is indicated by the following report\textsuperscript{18} taken from the \textit{Deseret News}, Oct. 1876:

The U.O.M. Manufacturing and Building Association have added recently to their stock of machinery and consequently to their facilities for increasing the quantity and variety of productions, being now in a position not only to manufacture sash, doors, blinds, mouldings, floor-

\textsuperscript{17}Ballard Journal.
\textsuperscript{18}Felix, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 112.
ings and all articles of woodwork in the building line, but also furni-
ture of a very excellent quality, and all from the timbers taken from
the adjacent canyons. The most beautiful furniture is produced from
cedar, which abounds in large quantities in Logan Canyon. This wood
readily receives a fine polish, and its variegated colors from deep
red to almost white gives a fine appearance.

The next year the company expanded with the building of a twenty-
four by thirty-six foot carpenter shop, a twenty by forty-eight foot store,
an office, and a kiln to dry lumber, besides the two hundred cow dairy and
store from the Third Ward mentioned by Ballard. The following report\(^\text{19}\) was
issued near the end of the second year of operation:

The company owns a saw mill, woodworking factory, two stores and a
dairy. . . . Last season, they cut and floated about one quarter mil-
lion feet of logs, employing twenty-five or thirty men. . . .

One store does a general merchandise business, having a stock of
$3,000, and doing about $12,000, per annum. The furniture store
carries a stock of $1,000. to $1,500. of home made and imported fur-
niture.

The dairy is located on the west side of the valley, near the Bear
River. It has machinery and improvements valued at $2,000. Work is
carried on principally during the three or four months in the summer.
Last season 200 cows were milked, producing 1,000 pounds of cheese and
300 pounds of butter per month. Most of the cheese was sold here at
13½ cents per pound. Twelve persons are employed at the dairy.

The company takes contracts for building, furnishing all materials
the work being done by mechanics whom they employ constantly. . . .
Broom manufacture has got a start, upwards of fifty dozen per year
being made by George Painter. The corn is grown near Logan, and the
handles are made by the United Order.

Felix\(^\text{20}\) said "... the Second Ward United Order Manufacturing and
Building Company became one of the most formidable concerns in the terri-
tory."

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\(^{19}\) Ibid., p. 113, quoting the Salt Lake Herald, Nov. 8, 1877.

\(^{20}\) Ibid.
When Card became superintendent of the Logan Temple construction, he resigned his post as manager of the U.O.M. & B. Co. but continued to serve on the board of directors.

By the summer of 1880 the U.O.M. & B. Co. had a steam sawmill in Beaver Canyon and a water sawmill [Naughan Mill] in Logan Canyon. Card reported that he selected the roadways to these mills as well as the timber that should be cut.\(^{21}\) He also mentioned that on Mar. 21, 1881, he "took hay and supplies to the U.O. Water Mill." On Aug. 1, 1880, the U.O.M. & B. Co. was awarded the contract to build the new Logan Court House. In 1881, they filled a contract to produce seventy-five thousand ties for the Union Pacific Railroad. By this time the company had built a boom on the Logan River to catch the logs as they floated down the river.

Card continued to serve on the board of directors for the U.O.M. & B. Co. until he went to Canada in 1886.

**AGRICULTURE**

The Cards held title to a few small farms, but were not farmers by trade. Very little mention is made of the farms in the journals; some of the entries are:

April 20, 1880: ... started teams to break my farm land & grub the sage brush.

June 23, 1880: ... visited both my bench & bottom farms.


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\(^{21}\) Card Journals, June - July, 1880.
Mar. 27, 1883: ... started men drilling wheat on my farm.

Aug. 18, 1883: ... went to my farm in the west field in the evening.

Card was chairman of the Cache Valley Fair Committee in 1886, and helped select land for future Fair purposes. 22

Charles O. Card also served as secretary to the Co-operative Pasture Company from June, 1876, to Jan., 1880. 23 In addition to this, Card was president of the Farmers Association, formed to control the sale of grain and give protection against speculation. 24 Later, as a member of the Stake Presidency, he was instrumental in the formation of the Cache Valley Agricultural and Manufacturing Association which called for the "organization of Farmers and Gardeners Clubs in each settled area to get the best methods of operating home industries." 25

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22 Ibid., Sept. 23, 1880 and June 27, 1881.
23 Ibid., see entries for the dates mentioned.
24 Ibid., Sept. 14, 1885. Also Logan Journal of the same date.
25 Ibid., June 3, 1880 and June 4, 1881.
CHAPTER V

EDUCATION

Charles Ora Card believed in education. During his pioneer years in Logan, he travelled to Ogden to attend business school.¹

I attended school in Ogden from December, 1864, until April, 1866, under the kind tutoring of Elder Francis A. Brown and his accomplished wife, Hattie C.

After Card returned home from the school at Ogden, he taught in the public schools of Logan. For the first two years the school in Logan was held in the same building that was used for church meetings. In 1862, the County Court divided Logan into four school districts; the next year there were five districts, corresponding to the five wards of the Church in Logan.

When Logan received its charter in 1865 provision was made for a school district within the city, separate from the county. That year, three of the wards built adobe school houses. In 1870 the First Ward completed a stone school house building. The Fifth Ward did not build until 1880.

Charles Ora Card is listed as one of the six teachers in the First Ward school in 1870.² He was also the sole teacher of the Second Ward school for two years. An interesting anecdote from Card's teaching days comes from the pen of Pearl Sloan:³

¹Jensen, loc. cit.
²Ricks, op. cit., p. 337. See also Sloan ms., and Hovey ms., p. 48.
³Sloan ms.
Returning to Logan [from Ogden] he taught school in the Logan first ward meeting house. His future wife Sarah Jane Painter was one of his pupils. Grandmother told the story that one noon hour, Mother and other girls went picking flowers and were tardy. As punishment they were given turns standing on the "block." When she returned home she cried and said, "I'm never going back to that old Charley Card's school any more." She evidently forgot all about it when she married him about nine years later.

A board of examiners was established to consider the qualifications of the teachers employed. Card was appointed to this board on Dec. 5, 1864, with George Farrell and John Thatcher. He was reappointed to the board on Mar. 5, 1866, with Charles Goodwin and James Martineaux. Card continued to serve until the summer of 1872.\(^5\)

The first school board in Logan was composed of representatives from each of the five school districts. Card represented the Logan Second Ward school from Aug. 3, 1868, until the summer of 1872.\(^6\)

On July 25, 1872, the Logan City Council passed an ordinance which consolidated all the city schools under a single board of education.\(^7\) The

\(^4\)Ricks, op. cit., p. 323. "Teaching certificates were of three grades, and a teacher qualified by taking an examination under the supervision of the county superintendent. The first grade required a passing average of 90 per cent and a minimum of 75 per cent in any one subject, while a third grade necessitated an average of 80 per cent and a minimum mark in any one subject of 50 per cent."

"The early schools were not graded, and no work was offered beyond the eighth grade. In 'school number 6' or 'high school,' advanced third readers, fourth and fifth readers were used with tuition varying accordingly."

\(^5\)"Cache County Court Records."

\(^6\)Ibid.

\(^7\)"Minutes of Board Meetings" (handwritten minutes of the meetings of the Board of Trustees of the Logan City School Board. Vol. I, 1872-1882. Ms. on file in the Logan City School Board Vault, Logan, Utah."
census shows an enrollment of 577 students between the ages of six and sixteen. In the first elections of school trustees, held Aug. 5, 1872, Card was elected, and appointed as chairman of the Board of Trustees, a position he held continuously until June 15, 1880\(^8\) when the pressure of temple building and church work prevented his running for re-election.

The responsibilities of the board were increased with the decision, on Dec. 10, 1872, to establish a high school. Lindquist Hall was rented for this purpose until 1876 when it was purchased for school purposes.

A selection of entries from the minutes of the board meetings\(^9\) will indicate some of the decisions which were made by the Board of Trustees:

May 5, 1876: . . . no more vacation on fast day . . . no raise in taxes but donations will be taken.

Aug. 26, 1876: . . . Bishops to collect the back debts for fees.

Sept. 11, 1876: . . . meeting will be opened and closed with prayer . . . take wheat on delinquent bills and also wood at 5.00 per cord.

Sept. 16, 1876: . . . schools to be opened and closed with prayer.

Oct. 6, 1876: . . . gave the assignments of the trustees and teachers to speak in the wards to talk up school matters.

Dec. 5, 1877: . . . the teachers shall not keep the students in at recess as punishment. Some other mode less injurious must be adopted.

Jan. 22, 1878: . . . delinquent bills are to be turned over to the Justice of the Peace, and no student will be admitted unless the former bills are paid, except in the case of orphans . . . only two schools will be run during the summer.

Dec. 17, 1879: . . . the teachers are to remain in the school rooms during the intermission to take care of school property.

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\(^8\)Ibid. The Board members held office for four-year terms. Card was re-elected Apr. 28, 1876.

\(^9\)Ibid.
Mar. 22, 1880: . . . the teachers must make their reports before they are paid . . . there will be no more renting of the school houses for dancing.

BRIGHAM YOUNG COLLEGE

In 1855, the Territorial Legislature had given the Church grazing and settling rights in Cache Valley. A choice part of this valley remained exclusively a "Church Farm" for many years. This farm comprised nearly ten thousand acres of land in the south end of the valley. In 1871-72, Brigham Young obtained the title to this land announcing that it was to be used for a self-supporting college. By 1874 a board of trustees had been appointed with Charles Ora Card being named among the six trustees.10 (It should be remembered that Card still held his position as a member of the Public School Board as well. Altogether, he was actively engaged in the promotion of education in Logan for twenty-one years.)

The County also had aspirations for a college. The county minutes of Aug. 3, 1863, show that a commissioner was appointed to locate lands for a university.11 Through church and county co-operation, land was chosen on the bench east of Logan. Ricks explains the compromise:12

Apparently, the project at the Church Farm was considered too ambitious, and a compromise was reached which located the college in Logan.

After four years of difficulties, the Church college was finally opened for classes in the Logan City Hall. Card's journal notes:

Sept. 8, 1878: . . . I announced the opening of the Brigham Young

10 Ricks, op. cit., p. 350.
11 "Cache County Court Records."
12 Ricks, op. cit., p. 350-51.
College for its first term tomorrow at 10 o'clock [Monday Sept. 9, 1978).

The minutes of the Logan City School Board show how the college fit into the total educational program of the city.13

Sept. 20: 1878 . . . that we will sell these desks to the B.Y. College. . . . the College will teach the higher grades.

Dec. 17, 1878: . . . all of the property which is at City Hall will be sold to the College. We will have the primers and first readers go to the 1st and 3rd ward schools, the 2nd and 3rd readers go to the 2nd ward school, the advanced 3rd and 4th readers go to the 4th ward school, the primers, 1st and 2nd and 3rd readers go to the 5th ward school, the 4th and 5th and 6th readers go to the Seminary [High School] and the older students go to the new College.

One of the major problems facing the college board of trustees was that of classroom facilities. The Brigham Young College was attracting increasing numbers of students. Classrooms had to be provided. In 1883-84, the Tabernacle basement was used for classes. The fall classes of 1884 were held in the new East Building, and by 1885 the West Building was completed.

Mention of the great need for schools is found in Card's personal journals. These expressions reflect his genuine concern for youth and a realistic desire to provide a continuing opportunity for their educational advancement.

Sept. 8, 1878: . . . Tried to adopt the prepayment of the tuition of scholars, did not succeed with but 3 persons. Same with 3rd ward with the same results.

Nov. 15, 1879: . . . spent my time in promoting education for the college and education in the Sabbath Schools.


13 "Minutes of Board Meetings."
Mar. 5, 1880: ... To B.Y. College to attend exercises of the last day of the quarter.

Aug. 1880: ... Met with the School teachers Normal Institute.

Nov. 24, 1880: ... don't lock up the cattle & let the kids run astray. We need buildings for the children as well as cattle.

June 9, 1882: ... there were sharp words over the purchase of the Thatcher Block for schools. It is useless for this purpose. I feel much grieved that such a sad thing should occur but reparation was made by me on the spot by asking forgiveness for my sharp words etc. Feeling should not stand in the way of learning.
CHAPTER VI

CIVIC AFFAIRS

Charles Ora Card was interested in any project which would be for the betterment of the community. Besides giving leadership in the field of education, Card was also active in civic affairs.

For sixteen years, until the heavy responsibility of temple construction demanded virtually all of his time, Card was listed as a grand and petit juror of the county. As late as June, 1878, he was still serving on active jury duty.

For four years, from Aug. 5, 1872, until he resigned on June 5, 1876, Card was coroner for Cache County. However, his journals do not cover this period of time, and this research has failed to bring forth any specific activity while he served in this capacity.

Both Charles and his father Cyrus served terms as Justice of the Peace. Cyrus W. Card served alternately as Magistrate and Justice of the Peace for the first six years of Logan's existence. Charles O. Card served as Justice of the Peace for the two years immediately following his resignation as a coroner.

The office of Road Commissioner for Cache County was held exclu-

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1"Cache County Court Records."

2Card Journals.

3Cyrus was appointed as Magistrate Aug. 15, 1860; Justice of the Peace Aug. 18, 1861; Magistrate Aug. 11, 1862; Magistrate Aug. 3, 1863; Justice of the Peace Mar. 5, 1866.

4Charles was appointed Justice of the Peace Aug. 7, 1876 and again Aug. 6, 1877.
ly by the Cards from the time of Charles appointment on Dec. 13, 1866, until the resignation of Cyrus W. Card on Dec. 31, 1881, a period of fifteen years. This shows not only the close father-son working relationship which existed, but is indicative of the Cards' knowledge and experience in road building.

Their experience grew from the necessity to build private roads to their timber reserves as well as their work with the Logan Canyon Road company. The necessary roads were also built in order to transport building supplies for the Logan Temple. Their work also involved bridge construction, blasting with explosives, surveying, and land title negotiations.

It is interesting to note that both Cyrus and his son Charles kept shovels and axes in their buggies wherever they went to be used for making emergency road repairs.

COUNTY SELECTMAN

Both father and son also worked together in the office of County

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5 The terms of office held were: C. O. Card Dec. 13, 1866, to Sept. 6, 1875; C.W. Card Sept. 6, 1875, to Dec. 31, 1881, also serving in this capacity while C.W. Card was in the Eastern States during the winter of 1871-72. Charles O. Card also served as Road Supervisor, an office separate from that of Road Commissioner, from Sept. 16, 1875, until he resigned Dec. 3, 1881. Virtually all of the roads surveyed and constructed, and the bridges built during the sixteen years from 1866 to 1882 were under the supervision of the Cards.

6 Card Journals, Jan. 6, 1880: Organized Co. to operate the Logan Kanyon Road; Jan. 7, 1880: Logan Kanyon Co. was formed 1871 with Wm B. Preston as Pres. and my father as a director. In 1892 the road was taken over as a public highway; June 26, 1882: Fitted out a camp of men to work on the Bear Lake divide leading to Garden City; June 28, 1882: To Bear Lake divide & joined my father & Bro. A. Crockett & assisted to lay out the road or locate the dugways & returned to the mill, 40 miles today; July 13, 1882: Borrowed 700 dollars for road to Bear Lake; July 17, 1882: To the divide
Selectman. Cyrus W. Card was appointed a selectman on Mar. 5, 1867, re-
placing William Budge, and was duly elected on Aug. 5th of that year. He
served continuously until 1875.7

Charles O. Card was elected a selectman Aug. 2, 1875, and served
continuously up to the time of his resignation on Apr. 3, 1882.8 The
three County Selectmen [now known as County Commissioners] with the pro-
bate Judge, formed the County Court. Ricks9 has described the duties of
the County Court as follows:

Together with the probate judge, the selectmen were to care for the
insane and care for minors as well as "perform all other duties per-
taining to their office."

The Judiciary Act further provided that "The County Court has the
control of all timber, water privileges, or any water course or creek,
to grant mill sites, and exercise such powers as in their judgment
shall best preserve the timber and subserve the interest of the settle-
ments, in the distribution of water for irrigation or other purposes.
All grants or rights held under Legislative authority, shall not be
interfered with. . . ."

This unusual power over natural resources was given because the
laws governing the federal domain had not then been applied to Utah.
The pioneers were squatters on the land. However, the grants made by
the territory were not to be interfered with by the county officials.

The probate judge and selectmen had authority to manage all county
business, care for all county property, audit all claims against the
county, draw all warrants on the treasurer and audit his accounts, de-
termine the county tax, and submit to the people of the county for
their vote any extraordinary expenditure for public buildings, bridges,
roads, etc. In addition, the appointment of officers, other than those

between Garden City & Beaver. My father is engaged in opening a road over
this divide making dugways up steep hills.

7"Cache County Court Records."

8Card Journals. See also Mar. 13, 1882: Sat in the County Co.
[County] witnessed receiving resignations & filling offices by appointment
[italics his].

provided for by the legislature, was left to the county court. In re-
respect to local government, the act provided that "The County Court
shall district their respective counties into road districts, precincts,
school districts, or such other subdivisions as may be necessary or
proper; locate sites for public buildings, and erect the same." "

Card's journal\(^{10}\) has two entries which indicate that one of his
duties was the placement of orphan children in foster homes. Another was
to serve as water commissioner.

LOGAN CITY COUNCILMAN

Results of the first election after Logan received a city charter
placed Charles Ora Card in the city government as a councilman. Card
served faithfully in this office from that date, Mar. 5, 1866, until Mar.
1, 1882, when he recorded the following:

Mar. 1, 1882: Attended Council mtg. for last time. Have served 8
times as councilman or Alderman, 16 yrs. I yield this position with
pleasure knowing I have done all in my power to perserve the moral &
financial condition of the City. I also feel I am relieved of a con-
siderable labor which will permit me to better fill other positions
of trust.

One of his responsibilities on the city council was to serve on a
special committee which was formed to find ways "to curb the making and
consumption of alcohol."\(^{11}\)

\(^{10}\)Card Journals, July 13, 1880, Aug. 1880, and Sept. 18, 1880.

\(^{11}\)"Logan City Records," Feb. 6, 1867: Thomas C. Ricks and Charles O.
Card appointed to a special committee to draft a liquor bill. The city is
to assume the entire control of the liquor business.
Card Journals, Dec. 1877: To mtg. of trustees of Logan, being one of
that Board, viewing the ordinances of Logan City for the purpose of more
effectively governing the liquor traffic; Mar. 1, 1883: Keep the liquor in
the grain; July 10, 1883: Supreme court ruled Logan could not \(\textit{italics here}\)
stop liquor biz in city.
Over the years he was directly concerned with quarantines for communicable diseases, the city water supply, electric lighting of city streets, and observance of the sabbath. He took part in discussing all the problems which came before the city council.12

Later, when Card went to Canada and successfully established a settlement of Mormons in Alberta, his long experience in Cache Valley gave him the insight and skill necessary to accomplish his assignment of colonization. His experience with church and civic leaders in Cache Valley led to wise choices when the time came to call men to Canada who could give leadership to the new settlement.

12"Logan City Records" show that Card had an almost perfect attendance record for his entire tenure of office and his name is mentioned as a participant in nearly every discussion, and always when the committees he served on gave their reports.
CHAPTER VII

A CHURCH LEADER DEVELOPS

Up to the time Charles Ora Card returned from business school in Ogden, in 1866, he had had little experience as a leader in the church. After that date, his rise in Church leadership was marked by a continual increase in responsibility.

Card was first called to give leadership in the Sunday School organization. He filled the position of Sunday School Superintendent in the Logan Second Ward from 1866 to 1868. His work in this area was undoubtedly very effective because at the end of this time he was called to work in the superintendency of the Cache Valley Sunday Schools.

For eleven years, from 1868 until the spring of 1879, Card served with Superintendents William H. Shearman and Moses Thatcher in overseeing the activities of the Mormon Sunday Schools in Cache Valley.¹ The work involved a great deal of travel and many meetings. This was the beginning of a series of leadership roles which brought Card into near daily contact with the great leaders of Cache Valley and gave him stature in the eyes of the inhabitants of the valley.

Charles Ora Card, at about eighteen years of age, had been ordained a Seventy in Farmington. He continued to hold this priesthood until he was ordained a High Priest in 1877 at age thirty-eight. No record has been found in this research of any of his specific activities as a Seventy, unless the short mission which Card filled during the winter of 1871-72 came

¹Ricks, op. cit., p. 298.
as a result of this priesthood calling. Fortunately the journal which Card made of his mission has been preserved.

MISSION TO THE EASTERN STATES

When the mission call came, Card was thirty-two years of age, had been married for four years to Sarah Jane Birdneau,² and had a daughter, Sarah Jane Card, who was only eight months old.

Taking with them a list of twenty-six names of friends to visit in Michigan, Charles Orr Card and William Hyde, Jr.,³ both of Logan, left their homes Dec. 9, 1871, to perform missionary work in the Eastern States. Card's journal records their route of travel: Logan (Dec. 9th); Wellsville (Dec. 10th); Ogden (Dec. 11th); by rail via Sherman, Ogallala, North Platte, Plume Creek, Grand Island, and Omaha; crossed the Mississippi (Dec. 16th) and continued east via Dixon, Milwaukee, Hartland, Chicago, Kalamazoo, and Grand Rapids to Cedar Springs. On Dec. 28th, in Cedar Springs, Charles Orr Card "wrote to my wife today and sent her my likeness." The missionaries remained in Cedar Springs until Jan. 15, 1872. A few entries from the journal Card kept will give an indication of their activities:

Dec. 30, 1871: Visited the wife of Mr. Dickenson, her maiden name was Canfield. She also gave us a very favorable acct of Joseph Smith and his parents. Said she lived about two miles from the Smith family,

²The name "Birdneau" appears as "Birdno" many times in Card's Journal and in the Card Family Records. "Birdno" is evidently a shortened version of "Birdneau." See Appendix B for the genealogical data on Sarah Jane Birdneau.

³William Hyde, Jr. was the son of William Hyde of Hyde Park. The father was the missionary who converted the Card family in New York in 1843, baptizing Card's parents. William Hyde, Jr. was twenty-five years old at the time of this mission.
said they were farmers & industrious & neat and tidy about the house.

Jan. 5, 1872: Today finds me still trying to improve my mind by reading and studying. [He had just read a treatise on Polygamy and Monogamy, also the printed debate between Orson Pratt and Rev. Newman.]

Jan. 6, 1872: Visited lumber woods, saw small 7 HP engine attached to a drag for the purpose of preparing shingle bolts in the timber.

Jan. 7, 1872: Visited the machinery of the town.

Jan. 10, 1872: Filed saw & wrote letter to wife.

On January 15th, the missionaries arrived in Grand Rapids, Michigan, and on the 16th, in the township of Park, in St. Joseph Co., where the Card family had lived from 1846 to 1851. Here the missionaries found many friends and relatives. These visits led Card to record,4 "we have no cause to complain of either friends or acquaintances, all ask numberous questions, But in these parts they are very peaceably disposed." These visits gave them not only an opportunity to teach the gospel, but as Card records,5 he "chatted over my bohyhood days & contrasted them with the present."

The missionaries now travelled into New York state, visiting friends in Quincy on the 26th of Jan., and Buffalo on the 29th. They stopped at Niagara Falls on the 30th, where they crossed the new suspension bridge and went on to Canaseraga, Card's boyhood home.6

The two young men spent twenty-two days in the area of Canaseraga, visiting, reading, writing letters, and sight seeing, as some of the journal entries indicate:

4Card Journals, Jan. 20, 1872.

5Ibid., Jan. 24, 1872.

6Ibid., Jan. 30, 1872.
Jan. 31, 1872: Went to Ossian with uncle E.O. Beach to view the old scenery which led me to exclaim it seems that I have just awaked from a dream.

Feb. 1, 1872: . . . people wanting to go to SL to buy property cheap when LDS move out. . . . wrote lots of letters . . . visited friends and relatives.

Feb. 7, 1872: Held my first appointment in the outside world. Held our meeting in a district School house, had a respectable audience although not large. The above appointment I filled in connexion with Wm. Hyde Jr. a time to be long remembered by both as we are inexperienced in public speaking.

Feb. 14, 1872: . . . to Portage . . . stayed with relatives . . . crossed that wonderful structure of art, the Great Portage Bridge that was built across the Genesee River abow: 20 yrs. ago. 300' long, 234 ft. above river, 2,500,000 ft. of lumber, 300 tons of iron.

Feb. 21, 1872: . . . to Hornellsville . . . at this place I found grandmother France (Ann France) who is in good health for a lady of her age being in her 86th yr. & the mother of 14 children, grandmother of 63 & great grandmother of 35. Total children, grand children, & great grandchildren 112. This venerable old lady in the passed year has made 11 bedspreads & quilts & a vast amt. of other family sowing.

On Feb. 23rd, Card and Hyde went, via Albany and Hinsdale, to Cum- mington, in the Green Mountains of old Massachussets, to visit Hyde’s relatives.7 Card made two significant entries about the visit:

Feb. 25, 1872: We had the privilege of defending the course of Celestial Marriage with some of our friends & met with a little abuse from an old apostate by the name of . . . Millen. He held in derision the ordinance of laying on of hands for the restoration of the sick by saying he had payed out about 2000 dols. since his wife was administered to. . . . Visited Mr. Otis Pratts, father of one of Wm Hydes sen. wives . . . stayed there most of the time.

Feb. 28, 1872: . . . varnished some canes to take home . . . had

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7 William Hyde was born at Council Bluffs, Iowa, and came as an infant to the Salt Lake Valley with his parents. His father lived in New York until his conversion to the Mormon Church in 1834, when they moved to Kirtland, Ohio, and stayed with the main body of the Saints from that time on.
warm maple syrup. . . .

By March 2nd, the pair were back in the Canaseraga area. Five days later they "tried to dig some butter-nut trees but ground was so badly frozen we gave it up . . . so far have travelled 3571 miles." They seemed determined to get some trees to take back home for they "tried to dig hickory & chestnut sprouts - failed." Finally they "got some beach-nut and maple seeds to take home."  

Having completed their winter's labors, the two missionaries started home on March 16th, visiting on their way, one day at a time in Attica, Balavia, Pittsford, Bushnell's Basin, Rochester (Mar. 18th), North Chili, Spencer's Port (Mar. 19th), Rochester (Mar. 20th), Livonia, Rochester (Mar. 21st), Buffalo (now 3858 miles), and Detroit. Here "the train was ferried over Niagara R. 2 mi. from Buffalo and over the St. Clain R. from Sarnia to Port Huron."

Their next stop was Quincy, Michigan, where the missionaries visited friends. During their stop at Quincy they read in the Chicago Tribune that Mr. and Mrs. T.B.H. Stenhouse were publishing two books against the Mormons called "Exposé of Polygamy in Utah." Continuing on their way, the missionaries travelled through Sturges (Mar. 25th), Mendon, Cedar Springs (Mar. 26th), Grand Rapids (Mar. 27th, where Card purchased some saw mill files), and Lamont, where they obtained the tree seeds mentioned earlier. They had travelled a distance of 4,406 miles. Passing through Chicago, April 1st,

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8Card Journals, Mar. 7, 1872.  9Ibid., Mar. 11, 1872.

10Ibid., Mar. 27, 1872.

11Ibid., Mar. 22, 1872, the article was in the Chicago Tribune, Mar. 20, 1872.
they continued on through Omaha to Ogden (Apr. 2nd to Apr. 5th), and then home to Logan.

During his mission, Card had written a letter to the Deseret News which was published Mar. 6, 1872. This letter might be interesting to the reader since it will explain, in part, why these two missionaries were not more actively engaged in public proselyting.

Whitney's Cross, Allegany
County, N.Y. Feb. 3, 1872.

Editor Deseret News:

We have visited our friends in Wisconsin and Michigan, have considerable to do in a private capacity, but have been debarred from speaking publicly on account of the numerous sects occupying the public buildings with their great winter revivals. They work very hard to bring sinners to repentance, holding meetings every night and frequently keeping late hours, though with very small audiences.

One Sabbath in Michigan Wm. Hyde and myself attended the Baptist Church. After service we introduced ourselves to the Reverend as ministers of the gospel, when he regretted very much that he had not learned sooner; if so, he would have invited us to the stand. At that moment he asked us to what congregation we belonged. "Letter-day Saints," said I. With a partial turn from us he talked very coolly, I thought, for a reverend minister and a fellow laborer in the great cause of redemption. He soon found himself in some other part of the house, chatting with those he considered more congenial.

At the close of the evening I asked the reverend the privilege of their meeting house on some future evening, when he referred me to the deacon, whom we immediately went to, and were refused on the grounds that they felt so interested in the cause they expected to hold meetings every night for two or three weeks.

Religion is at a very low ebb in these parts, the majority of the people seeking after quick fortunes, and it seems to the passer by that every one is trying to see who can make the most with the least labor, and many don't mind grinding the faces of the poor.

Last Monday we left Quincy, Mich., for New York State, arrived at Buffalo in the evening. The clerk of the Mansion House, having noticed on the register that we were from Utah, asked me if I thought those fellows (meaning the "Mormons") would leave in the spring. If they did, he expected to pay Utah a visit, I told him there was plenty of room without our leaving, and he was at liberty to go. He said it was generally expected by the people there that the "Mormons" would leave
and there would be a great sacrifice of property and a chance to get it for little or nothing. He also stated that several of his friends were waiting for us to vacate and then there would be a rush for Utah. No doubt many would like to enjoy the fruits of our hard earnings. This spirit seems to me like the father's dying advice to his son - "Make money honestly, my son, if you can; if you can't, make money anyhow."

O, how they pity us, they would willingly relieve us of our homes and other property.

The general feeling in the parts we have visited is that we shall have to give up polygamy or have trouble, perhaps have to leave our homes. We tell them that we believe the Latter-day Saints would rather sacrifice their property than any principle of the gospel. I think our former works have demonstrated that to perfection.

We tell them to choose the better way to right things in Utah, to send on their shining lights, show the poor "Mormons" the error of their ways, not take harsh measures, and thereby cultivate the spirit of mobocracy, but to labor in the spirit of our Redeemer, cultivate the spirit of peace, and follow the example he set. Many of our Eastern friends acknowledge this to be the better way. I think we have not left any of our friends without entertaining a more favorable opinion of us than they did at first. Many are honest enough to acknowledge it to us and invite us to call on them again. Thus far our relatives and acquaintances have received us very kindly.

Charles O. Card.

GROWTH IN CHURCH ORGANIZATION

During the few years following 1872, the church expanded rapidly to provide more activity and hence more involvement for its members.

Colleges and academies were established for higher education, where the youth of the Church could be taught the theology of the Church along with secular subjects. The Church leaders at this time recognized and were attempting to combat the influence of non-Mormon churches who were sending educator-clergymen into Mormon communities.

Education and community betterment concerned the women of Cache.

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12Information used in this section has been taken from Ricks, op. cit., pp. 275-302, or the Journal History under the dates cited.
Valley also. The Female Relief Society had been established in Cache Valley in 1868. On May 23, 1868, Card's mother, Sarah, was chosen as the President of the Relief Society in the Logan Second Ward. Among the numerous activities of the Relief Society were campaigns against gossip, furnishing of chapels and schools, providing libraries, and making clothing. While the men worked with unceasing efforts to produce foodstuffs, the women labored diligently to uplift the souls of the people.13

Sunday Schools were first established in the Church in December of 1849, coming to Cache Valley in 1860. The Church Sunday Schools of Cache Valley followed the 1867 union of all Church Sunday Schools under one centralized head, by appointing William H. Shearman as Superintendent of Sunday Schools in Cache County, Feb. 1868, with Card as one of his assistants. The Deseret Sunday School Union was organized in Salt Lake in 1872, making a reorganization necessary in Cache Valley. Moses Thatcher was appointed as superintendent and Card continued as an assistant.

The Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association was first organized in Cache Valley in 1875, the same year it was originated in Salt Lake City by Brigham Young.

Apostle Brigham Young, Jr. initiated the organization of the Retrenchment Society in Cache Valley in 1875, following the lead of Smithfield, where a branch of this society was organized in 1871, only two years after its origin with the daughters of Brigham Young in 1869. Three years later the name was changed to the Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association.

13Ricks, op. cit., p. 297.
The Primary Association was organized in the Cache Stake on June 18, 1881.

The Priesthood Quorums were reorganized in 1877, and the Aaronic Priesthood Quorums were organized. Soon afterwards, the Aaronic Priesthood was given to boys for the first time. At this time Stake Presidents and Bishops were given counselors, Bishops were ordained High Priests, and the Melchizedek Priesthood Quorums came under the direct jurisdiction of the Stake Presidency. Apostles were no longer to preside over specific areas of the Church, but were to travel throughout the Stakes of Zion.

It was in the midst of this intense reorganization and expansion of the functions of the Church that Charles Ora Card, then Superintendent of Construction for the Logan Tabernacle, emerged as a leader with distinct organizational ability. He seemed to know the hearts of men and have a persuasive technique to draw the potential abilities from others.

When the Priesthood Quorums were reorganized, the Cache Stake was formally organized, on May 20, 1877, into a more solidified form with independent local leadership. At this time Charles Ora Card was ordained a High Priest, giving service to the Church for the next two years as a counselor in the presidency of the High Priest's Quorum. Moses Thatcher, Card's long-time associate in the Sunday School, became the Stake President. Cyrus W. Card, Card's father, became a member of the Stake High Council.

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14Card Journal, Aug. 13, 1882. Until the young men could manage the Aaronic Priesthood Quorums, men holding the Melchizedek Priesthood were called as "acting Deacons, Teachers, and Priests."

15Romney, loc. cit.

16Romney, loc. cit.
It is interesting to note Card's lineage of Priesthood authority:

Charles Q. Card: Ordained a High Priest May 13, 1877 by William B. Preston, a High Priest.

William B. Preston: Ordained a High Priest Nov. 14, 1859 by Orson Hyde, an Apostle.

Orson Hyde: Ordained an Apostle Feb. 15, 1835 by the Three Witnesses (Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, Martin Harris).


Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery /Presidency/: Ordained to the Melchizedek Priesthood in 1829 by Peter, James, and John.

Peter, James, and John: Ordained Apostles by Jesus Christ. Jn. 15:16.

At the time Card was called to a stake priesthood leadership capacity he was also taken from the work of the Tabernacle construction to superintend the construction of the Logan Temple.

17Card Journals, a loose page located with the "Cardston" journals.
CHAPTER VIII

A DEVOTED LEADER

In May, 1879, Moses Thatcher, who had been President of the Cache Stake, was chosen to be an apostle. A reorganization of the Stake was therefore necessary, and William B. Preston was called to be the new Stake President. Chosen to assist him were Marriner W. Merrill and Charles O. Card.

In addition to his work in the Stake Presidency, Card was superintendent of construction for the Logan Temple, was active on the Logan City School Board and the board of the Brigham Young College which had just started, was serving as a Cache County Selectman and Logan City Councilman, and was a member of the board of directors for several corporations. These were very busy days for Card.

A major part of the duties of the Stake Presidency was to attend conferences. Twice each year they went to Salt Lake City for three days to receive instructions from the General Authorities. Card has expressed his feelings as he attended one of the General Conferences of the Church:

October, 1883: ... finds me in conference ready to receive the valuable instructions from God's Leagally authorized Servants which was meat to me both in the fore & after meetings ... it seems as if the vail gets thinner every conference. ... profitable not only for those present but for those with whom we labor.

Four times each year the membership of the Stake gathered in Logan to receive two days of instruction from the Stake Authorities and a visiting

1See Appendix F for a description of the offices and functions of the General Authorities.
General Authority. Once each year the Stake Presidency presided over meetings in each Ward of the Stake and gave the ward membership specific instructions. Card took minutes of all these meetings, including summaries of each sermon.

A schedule of these conference tours for a two-year period will point out the travel and meeting time involved in this work:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1882</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 15, Sunday,</td>
<td>Paradise</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. 16, Monday,</td>
<td>Hyrum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. 17, Tuesday,</td>
<td>Wellsville</td>
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<td>Jan. 18, Wednesday,</td>
<td>Mendon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. 19, Thursday,</td>
<td>Benson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. 20, Friday,</td>
<td>Smithfield</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. 21, Saturday,</td>
<td>Return to Logan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. 22, Sunday,</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lewiston</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. 29, Sunday,</td>
<td>Providence</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Millville</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 4, Saturday,</td>
<td>Logan - Stake Conference</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 5, Sunday,</td>
<td>Logan - Stake Conference</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 9, Thursday,</td>
<td>Newton</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Feb. 10, Friday,</td>
<td>Clarkston</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 11, Saturday,</td>
<td>Trenton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 19, Sunday,</td>
<td>Dayton (bad weather)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clifton (bad weather)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 20, Monday,</td>
<td>Oxford</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clifton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 21, Tuesday,</td>
<td>Preston</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 22, Wednesday,</td>
<td>Return to Logan</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 23, Thursday,</td>
<td>Salt Lake City (business)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 26, Sunday,</td>
<td>Salt Lake City (business)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 27, Monday,</td>
<td>Ogden (business)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mar. 1, Wednesday,</td>
<td>Return to Logan</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mar. 15, Wednesday</td>
<td>Learned of the passage of the Edmunds Bill</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mar. 16, Thursday,</td>
<td>To City Council Meeting where the old council retired and the new council took their seats.</td>
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</table>

\(^2\)See Appendix F for a description of the offices and functions of the Stake Authorities.

\(^3\)This schedule has been reconstructed from the Card Journals.
Mar. 17, Friday, Wellsville with instructions to incorporate all wards as separate units.

Mar. 18, Saturday, County Court witnessing the resignations of many.

Mar. 19, Sunday, Started a circuit to visit all wards with instructions regarding the Edmunds Bill.

Apr. 3, Saturday, Resigned as a selectman.

Apr. 4, Sunday, Salt Lake City (General Conference). Delegate to the Territorial Convention for Statehood.

Apr. 16, Friday, Return to Logan

During October the Stake Presidency went on their annual "Northern Tour" to hold conference in the northern wards of: Mink Creek, Mound Valley, Mormon, Portneuf Valley, Chester Call Valley, Morrison Ward, Bear River Ford, and then returned home to Logan.

1883 -

Apr. 23, Monday, Hyde Park
          Smithfield

Apr. 24, Tuesday, Richmond
          Coveville

Apr. 25, Wednesday, Franklin
          Preston

Apr. 26, Thursday, Lewiston

Apr. 27, Friday, Riverdale
          Battle Creek

Apr. 28, Saturday, Oxford
          Clifton

Apr. 29, Sunday, Dayton
          Weston

Apr. 30, Monday, Trenton
          Clarkston

May 1, Tuesday, Newton
          Benson

May 2, Wednesday, Return to Logan

May 3, Thursday, Fast meeting

May 4, Friday, Arrange Stake Conference

May 5, Saturday, Logan - Stake Conference

May 6, Sunday, Logan - Stake Conference

May 7, Monday, Hyrum
          Paradise

May 8, Tuesday, Return to Logan
          Ogden to sell tithing potatoes.

The conference tour was followed immediately by extensive travel on Temple business.

May 11, Friday, Bear Lake Valley
          Meadowville

May 13, Sunday, Bloomington

May 14, Monday, Paris
May 15, Tuesday, Bloomington
May 16, Wednesday, Paris
May 17, Thursday, Montpelier
      Soda Springs
May 19, Saturday, Pocatello
May 20, Sunday, Shoshone (had now sold four thousand pounds of
      tithing potatoes at $2.35 per hundred pounds.)
May 21, Monday, Eagle Rock
May 22, Tuesday, Pocatello
May 23, Wednesday, Return to Logan
May 24, Thursday, Sacrament Meeting
May 27, Sunday, Temple Saw Mill
May 29, Tuesday, Petersen Saw Mill
May 31, Thursday, Return to Logan

June 1, Friday, Mandon (Conference)
June 3, Sunday, Temple Saw Mill (to locate a dugway.)
June 5, Tuesday, Temple Saw Mill
June 6, Wednesday, Wellsville (potatoes)
June 7, Thursday, Hyrum
June 8, Friday, Millville
June 9, Saturday, Providence
June 10, Sunday, Return to Logan
June 12, Monday, Wellsville to dedicate meeting house and new
      dame, also for conference.
June 15, Thursday, Smithfield
June 17, Sunday, Temple Saw Mill
June 19, Tuesday, Return to Logan (irrigated at night)
June 20, Wednesday, U.C. Steam Mill to fix a broken boom.
June 21, Thursday, Return to Logan. Attended meetings of Canal
      Co., Temple Committee, B.Y. College Board, Miller's Convention, High Council Meeting.

Card made a very apt statement after one of these tours, "It was a
     week of Sundays." 4

Although he did a great deal of speaking from the pulpit, public
speaking was not Card's strong point. Romney5 summed it up well:

Charles O. Card was not gifted with retorical ability; indeed he

4Card Journals, Jan. 21, 1882.  5Romney, loc. cit.
would scarcely be called a good public speaker, and yet he was capable of giving good timely instructions of a practical nature, well-fitted to the frontier environment by which his people were surrounded. He was a man of great wisdom and sound judgment and at times he was blessed with the spirit of prophecy.

Three of the surviving pioneers of Cardston had these comments to make about Card's public addresses:

President Card was not as popular as President Wood, and he was not too good as a speaker. He was in a high position for years and years. He was honored and trusted. He was very good at talking to people alone and gave good advice with any problem that came along. His wife was just right for that position. She could entertain the best and the lowest, even the Indians, sometimes her house was too full. She was a better speaker than President Card. (Andrew Jensen).

He was quite a leader, and quite firm. The Church had confidence enough to send him up here and we honored him in his position. He was our leader and what he said went, even if he said things that didn't go very well with us young boys. He wasn't a very good talker but he was our leader so we listened to him anyway. To my mind he was a man among men. Aunt Zina was a cultured woman. She was at home with the best educated and with those who had no sense. She was a better talker than President Card but he was our leader and we listened to him because he was our leader. (John Layne).

You couldn't say that President Card was a popular speaker but he had a lot of influence and a lot of good common sense. The men liked him and went to him for advice. He was very persuasive when he talked to you alone, and he could always get things done his way. Once a man accused him of scullduggery but Card took it in good stead. He had lots of backing and figures to show the facts. He could always talk you into seeing things his way. I guess that is one sign of his greatness, but he couldn't explain himself too well in public. He had a rather soft voice when he spoke to the people and he never got excited or yelled at the people like some other speakers we had. His wife was one of the greatest women to live here. She was a good speaker and always had some good advice for the women about caring for their family and children. (Andrew Hinman).

From his own record, Card reveals that his speeches were rambly,

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6 Interviews held during the winter of 1959-60, in Cardston, Alberta, with Andrew Jensen and his wife, John Layne and his wife, and Andrew Hinman, respectively.

7 Card Journals. Card took excellent minutes, with summaries of the sermons, for nearly every conference he attended. Someone made a summary of his sermons at the time he spoke for they are in a different handwriting, but the speeches before and after his own are written by Card.
covering many subjects, and without a central theme. He usually spoke about thirty-five minutes. A summary of one of his sermons, typical of most of them, records that in thirty minutes he spoke on the subjects of tithing, Word of Wisdom, temple marriage, parental responsibility to teach their children, necessity for new buildings, growth of the Stake, members not to follow the fashions of the world, members to set an example to others, importance of keeping the records up to date, children to obey their parents, members to perform the work for their dead, members to be content with what they have instead of backbiting.

The Stake Presidency faithfully discharged their responsibilities as a link in the chain of hierarchal authority. Their sermons were nearly duplicates of the instructions given them by the General Authorities. While much of the admonition was theological, much was also of a practical nature, beneficial to the settlers in the establishment of their homes, the care of their crops and animals, and the raising of their families. The sermons also dealt with social, moral, educational, and political themes. The Bishops of the various Wards were charged with the responsibility of carrying out the instructions which came from the Stake Presidency:

It is the duty of the Bishopric to provide for the saints in their wards. The head should always be able to see a little farther than the body.

I gave all the instruction I deemed necessary and charged the Bishop

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8Card Journals, May 1, 1883.

9This statement is based upon a comparison of the sermons of the General Authorities and the sermons of the Cache Stake Presidency as recorded in the Card Journals.

10Card Journals, Nov. 1879 to June 1883.
to see that the instructions of the Brethren are carried out.

We have much difficulty with the Bishoprics. If they would only learn to follow counsel.

We instructed the Bishops to get the voters out. The Stake Presidency also did this. I spent the day hauling voters in my buggy.

We instructed the Bishops to incorporate all of the wards as separate units, and all the people to be naturalized so we don’t lose votes. We need to apply for statehood immediately.

I instructed the people and the Bishop to haul rock for a meeting house, rebuild the burned saw mill, burn lime and whitewash the houses and fences, build reservoir, get a paper, plant trees, support the Utah Journal.

We instructed the Bishops to control their passions, get their people to stay out of debt, get an education, observe fast day, plant fruit trees and shrubbery, stay away from lawyers and doctors when the Priesthood can solve their troubles, don’t let the Saints go to outsiders for counsel.

THE ANTI-MORMON CAMPAIGNS

Perhaps the most important concern of the Church authorities at this time was the opposition of the Federal Government to plural marriage. As the Church learned the direction taken by those who would eliminate Mormonism by conversion or by force, the leaders prepared their people to withstand the opposition.

The passage of the Edmunds Act on Mar. 22, 1882, created a serious problem in the Church. This law deprived all those who had entered into plural marriage the right to vote, to hold public office, or to serve as jury members for any trial. Since it was virtually only the leadership of the Church that was living in plural marriage, it meant that the leaders now had to encourage those who were eligible to take the initiative in political affairs.

Much of Card’s time as a Church leader was spent in an effort to get
the Saints who could qualify into political leadership, to get them to vote, and exert themselves politically to prevent the enemies of the Church from gaining control of civic affairs. Some entries in his journal show his efforts in this direction:

Nov. 9, 1879: ... those who were not citizens of the U.S. to become so at once & the sts. be united on their Political & other matters.

Nov. 1, 1880: We must be active in the political meetings. The Stake Pres. are to get the voters out and the Bishops to help also.

Mar. 16, 1882: ... all the people to be naturalized so we don't loose votes.

Mar. 17, 1882: To Wellsville to take them the news of the passage of the Edmunds Bill which ejects all Polygamists from offices in the civil government of Utah & U.S. They took steps in accordance therewith.

June 13, 1882: To S.L.C. with Prest. Preston and C.W. Milby to consider the best mode of securing the church property against our enemies.

April, 1881: ... encouraged spirit of unity of sts. in our elections & other political matters. ... We have some miserable hypocrites in Logan that seek our overthrow & continually use their influence against the sts. ... I addressed the sts. upon their duties political and ecclesiastical.

Card himself was stripped of all political power and civic responsibility by April 3, 1882, when he gave up his seat as a selectman for the county.

The General Authorities of the Church could see the aim of those who carried the torch of opposition. Card recorded their feelings as he wrote:

April 1881: [John Taylor] spoke at some length about the false reports abroad about us. They are rotten with disease & then they undertake to correct our morrells.

Mar. 1882: [Pres. Brigham Young] ... while a prisoner in your own house a man should learn to be governed as well as to govern.

Mar. 1882: [William B. Preston] ... we are no better than our
Nephite brethren were that lived here once... if our enemies can afford to trail the constitution of these U.S. in the dust, I think we can... Pay all debts to enemies and do not support them.

April 1882: [Joseph F. Smith]... for the world are stired up against the most sacred principles. It is not polygamy they hate so much as it is the power of the priesthood. They are not prepared to live the principle of polygamy.

Nov. 1882: [Franklin D. Richards] spoke of the tyrade against us as a people observing that they act much as their master did when he took Jesus on the pinnacle of the Temple.

April 1883: [Moses Thatcher]... their pretext was marital relations but their object was plunder... the nation wishes to wipe us out but the Lord ordered differently.

Sensing that the legal battle could end with the disincorporation of the Church, most Church property in Cache Valley, as elsewhere, was put into the hands of small corporations to prevent its confiscation by the agents of the Federal Government.11

The worst was yet to come. Card mentioned a period of comparative peace in 1883, but this was only the calm before the storm.

**STAKE PRESIDENT**

The year of 1884 was another big year in the life of Charles Ora Card, now forty-five years old. The Temple was finished and dedicated. He was divorced by his first wife, Sarah Jane Birdneau, and that year married his third wife, Zina Young Williams.

With the calling of William B. Preston to be Presiding Bishop of the Church, Charles Ora Card was appointed to be the new President of Cache Stake, with Marriner W. Merrill and Orson Smith as counselors.

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11Card Journals, Mar.-Apr. 1882. From the Logan Journal we learn that the Temple Association for formed July 9, 1884, with C.O. Card as one of the directors. It was not until 1912 that the Temple Association returned the Logan Temple to the Church.
Upon this presidency descended the full fury of the campaign against plural marriage. President Card and his counselors were forced to go into hiding to escape the penalties that awaited those who were convicted of unlawful cohabitation. It was under these circumstances that Card was sent to Canada to find a place for a Mormon settlement. Bishop George O. Pitkin became the acting Stake President until Card was released from this calling in 1890, and the stake presidency was again reorganized. Although he was in fact president of Cache Stake for six years, Card was in effect president for only two years.
CHAPTER IX

A BUILDER OF SACRED EDIFICES

A man’s abilities are reflected by the tasks with which he is entrusted. A man’s character is reflected in the type of activity to which he devotes himself. Charles Ora Card was not only skilled in building construction and capable of directing the activities of men, but his whole intent was to help to build up the Church. The leaders of the Church undoubtedly recognized these qualifications when they decided to place in Card’s hands the responsibility of constructing two important buildings, the Cache Stake Tabernacle and the Logan Temple.

THE TABERNACLE

A Tabernacle had been commenced in Logan during the winter of 1865, but its construction got no further than a cobblestone foundation. The Tabernacle remained in this unfinished state for several years.

Brigham Young visited the Logan area on June 28, 1873, and gave the people a specific challenge consisting of the accomplishment of four projects which would be for the betterment of the area: (1) To build a new meeting house -- a Tabernacle; (2) To push the Utah Northern Railway to completion; (3) to work a road through Bear Canyon north of Franklin; (4) To build a Temple on the east bench.

1Information used in this section has been taken from Ricks, op. cit. pp. 286-288, unless another reference is given.

2Hovey ms., Card is listed as one of the first donors to the Tabernacle fund when it was proposed in 1864.

3Ballard Journal.
Later that year, Card was appointed to be superintendent of construction for the Tabernacle. It was to be built on a co-operative plan using donated labor. The bishops of the settlements were to ensure Card sufficient manpower and teams to accomplish the assignment.\(^4\)

Much of Card's work was to ensure that suitable materials and skilled workmen were available for each part of the building program. Men were also needed to do the non-technical work.

Card organized men to work the Green Canyon quarries, and to build roads over which the construction materials could be transported.

After the stone had arrived at the Tabernacle site, stone masons prepared it for building. A lime kiln was constructed to burn lime for use in the mortar.\(^5\)

Lumber for the Tabernacle was obtained from Logan Canyon and was cut by contract.\(^6\) There was a continuing need throughout the period of construction of the Tabernacle, for lumber, for workmen to prepare it, and for carpenters and cabinet makers to do the finished work.

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\(^4\)In addition to the construction of the Tabernacle, the Church asked for fifty men from Cache to work on the St. George Temple and money (fifty cents per person per month) for the Salt Lake Temple.

\(^5\)Sandstone and limestone were quarried in Green Canyon under the supervision of Robert Crookston. The buff sandstone used for corners and trim was quarried near Franklin under Ralph Smith. Nathaniel Haws owned and operated the lime kiln. Master Mason was Joseph Hill and Master Mechanic was James Quayle.

\(^6\)The red pine used for main timbers came from Wood Camp (Tabernacle Hollow) and was floated down the river to be cut at the Card Sawmill. The white pine used for the finish came from White Pine Hollow and was cut at the Maughan Sawmill built at the timber site. David Lamoreaux was in charge of the timber work and Christian Garff headed the milling.
Work on the building proceeded well enough that the Saints were able to hold meetings in the basement commencing April 8, 1875. The basement was dedicated in Feb. 1877.

Card was released from his work on the Tabernacle in May of 1877, after four years of labor, at which time he became superintendent of construction for the Logan Temple. The Tabernacle construction went forward under the leadership of Bishop Anthon L. Skanchy.

There are entries in the Card Journals which concern the Tabernacle construction after Card left it to direct the Temple construction:

Dec. 17, 1877: Had the Tabernacle accounts to settle.

Jan. 14, 1878: Carpenters are needed for Logan Tabernacle.

May 19, 1878: Bp. Ballard announced that the Supt. of the Logan Tabernacle desired teams to haul lime.

Aug. 3, 1878: [Stake Conference] Apost. Orson Pratt offered opening prayer which was the first prayer offered in a public meeting in this upper room of the Logan Tabernacle. . . . Cost to date: Temple $78,401.69; Tabernacle $80,000.00.

Oct. 16, 1879: Spent morning on Temple Bus. most of afternoon in Tab. business with the Tabernacle Board.

THE TEMPLE

It is unfortunate that we do not have recorded the feelings of

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9On Nov. 23, 1879, Bishop Skanchy was called on a mission to Scandinavia, which slowed the work on the Tabernacle almost to a standstill. After the Temple was completed, workmen finished the Tabernacle which was dedicated by Wilford Woodruff on Nov. 1, 1891.

10Information used in this section has been taken from Melvin A. Larkin, "The History of the L.D.S. Temple in Logan, Utah" (unpublished Master's Thesis, Utah State Agricultural College, Logan, Utah, 1954.)
thirty-seven year old Charles Orin Card as he received the call from Brigham Young to superintend the construction of the Logan Temple. Just as unfortunate is the lack of a record of his feelings when the Temple was completed after seven years of dedicated labor.11

The Herald Journal12 contains a statement about the building of the Temple which points to Card as the reasonable choice to supervise the construction:

On Monday May 21, 1877, Brigham appointed C.O. Card as superintendent of construction of the Temple. Because of the Tabernacle experience he was the man best fitted for the position, having a knowledge of the local sources of building materials, the best methods of obtaining the same, and being familiar with the capabilities of the local craftsmen. There was no big appropriations available to be used in importing materials and workmen. Necessity demanded the use of materials at hand, and the training of local men to the jobs for which the local force of skilled labor at hand was found to be sufficient.

This opinion is shared by Romney:13

Few men who took part in the building of the great commonwealth in the Rocky Mountain area were more richly endowed than Brother Card in the ability to handle men and to direct them in their activities, whether in a spiritual, mechanical, or agricultural line. Indeed he was shaped by nature to fit into almost any situation that might arise.

Several months prior to the beginning of the construction of the Logan Temple, Brigham Young organized the Northern Temple District14 consisting of the following stakes: Box Elder with thirteen settlements; Cache with twenty-five settlements; and Bear Lake with fifteen settlements.

11 Journals for these periods are missing, if they were written. See Appendix E.


13 Romney, loc. cit.

14 At the same time Brigham Young organized the Central Temple District to work on the Salt Lake Temple, and the Southern Temple District to build the Manti Temple. The St. George Temple was completed in 1877.
A Temple committee, consisting of Apostles Franklin D. Richards, Charles C. Rich, and Lorenzo Snow, was appointed. The collection of donations was started at this time.

For the Temple construction, workmen, teams, and supplies were donated through the organization of the stakes and wards of the district. This organization was complete before Card's appointment as superintendent. The rock and timber supply had also been selected before the appointment was made. But Card was not absent from the picture for he and Thomas X. Smith had explored and selected the timber sites on May 9, 1877.15

The Temple site was chosen early Friday morning, May 18, 1877, and dedicated by Orson Pratt at twelve o'clock noon.

On Monday, May 21, 1877, the announcement of the temple construction officials16 was made: Truman O. Angel Jr., architect; Charles O. Card, construction superintendent; James A. Leishman, chief clerk.

Supplies for construction of the Temple were obtained largely from the same sources used for the Tabernacle. The chief workmen were also transferred to temple construction. These men were paid a salary by the church for their work,17 but most of the other workmen either donated their

15Card Journals.
16Other appointments made that day were: John P. Parry, master mason (he had been master mason on the St. George Temple); James Quayle, master mechanic and master carpenter; Ralph Smith, foreman of the Green Canyon quarries; Alexander Izatt, foreman of the Franklin quarries; David Lamoreaux, foreman of the sawmills; Niels Hanson, foreman of the Wood Camp; Nathaniel Haws, foreman of the Lime Kiln.
17Card, as superintendent, was paid $1,500.00 per year until April 1881 when his salary was raised to $1,800.00 per year. The architect was paid $1,500.00 per year, the clerk was paid $1,300.00 per year, the master mason was paid $4.00 per day, and the others were given credit on a work-day basis.
labor or were supported by their home ward. 18

Within one week of the official announcement of the construction officials, Card had the workmen well enough organized that they had begun making the excavations for the foundations, repairing roads up the canyons, cutting timber, burning lime, and quarrying rock to be hauled to the temple site. 19

Because of the compact formation of the gravel hill upon which the Temple stands, foundations two feet deep and seven feet wide were sufficient to support the building. 20 The corner stones were laid with appropriate ceremonies Sept. 19, 1877. 21

Since the Temple construction was such a large undertaking, industries were established to provide the materials required.

THE SAWMILLS

A sawmill, built by the First Ward United Order Foundry, with a fifty-four inch blade turned by a fifty horsepower Leffel water wheel, was established about twenty-six miles up Logan Canyon at Maughan Fork (Temple

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18 Often a ward would keep a skilled man on the job rather than send men on a rotation basis as was the normal procedure. Particularly was this true of masons, plasterers, cabinet makers, and painters.

19 Deseret News, Aug. 23, 1877.


21 Brigham Young died Aug. 29, 1877, and the Church was under the leadership of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles. John Taylor was president of this Quorum, and so presided at the laying of the corner stone ceremonies.
Fork). Card and the sawmill foreman, David Lamoreaux had the mill operating by Sept. 15, 1877, and by Nov. 3rd, it was producing five thousand board-feet of lumber per day from the bountiful supply of red pine (Douglas fir). This mill was operated by about twenty-five men from the Bear Lake area. The hauling of timber was done by men from the Cache and Box Elder Stakes.

In 1879, a lathe and shingle mill was added to use up the inferior balsam (Alpine fir) slabs. An edger was added in 1882.

Over the seven years of construction, this mill produced two and one-half million board-feet of lumber, twenty-one thousand railroad ties, nine hundred thousand lath, two million shingles, fifty thousand pickets, broom handles, and charcoal. Card seldom missed a week without a visit to the mill.

Another sawmill, steam operated, was set up by the Second Ward U.O.M. & B. Co., to cut the white pine (Englemann spruce) at Beaver Canyon. This mill was not owned by the Temple but it is significant because Card was a director of this company and so gave constant supervision to the mill.

Some comments taken from Card's journals will illustrate his activities with the saw mills:

June 1877: . . . Bro. Andrew Thompson broke leg at the mill. It was set by Bro. Lamoreaux. Dr. Ormsby had been summoned and was on his way but had been thrown from his horse 7½ m. from mill site.

Dec. 1877: I had to make constant visits to the quarries, wood mill, saw mill to keep the men & equip. in proper order.

Dec. 1877: . . . spent much time at "Wood Camp" and Saw Mill to adjust the saw. . . . Ties are needed for the Temple to sell to pay for small expenses of the Temple. . . . Men at mill are going home and we need replacements from Bear Lake . . . Had to run the saw in absence of sawyer. . . . busy selling ties . . . we dedicated the mill & buildings . . . closed all work on the Temple [Dec. 22] except lime kiln and saw-
mill ... had to discharge the cook at the sawmill - too stubborn...
. built stables for the teams.

May 1878: ... to S.L.C. on business and visited S.L. Temple works and walls. Also got 8 saws and 140' of belting for saw mill ... showed the men at Bp. Maughan's Mill how to properly cut and sort lumber. The Bp. Allen mill is going fine.

July 17, 1878: we are to sell lumber to the new Tabernacle in S.L.C.

Aug. 1879: ... there is always a need for wood to burn lime for the Temple ... also a need to lay out new roads constantly.

Oct. 1879: ... the Temple now costs $90,020.76 ... a boy had hand cut by Picket Saw, took doctor who had to amputate 2 small fingers at the wrist joint. ... had mill property surveyed, got title to same.

Nov. 8, 1879: We are to supply 22 ft. poles to Western Union Telegraph Co.

Jan. 18, 1880: Arrived at the mill with a sawyer & found the yard full of teams which showed the brethren had responded to the timely call.

Feb. 27-29, 1880: there was a heavy snow ... the slides buried & killed 2 men [Bros. King and Osterholdt] & 3 teams. It was heavy work to get to the bodies ... the snow had blocked the stream backing up the water which froze there was about 4 ft. of ice ... we worked most of the night ... had to shovel the whole road out ... this hard work has fatigued me to the point of exhaustion but it had to be done. [Funeral services were held Mar. 2nd with 1550 people in attendance.]

May 8, 1880: Went to explore Card's Kanyon which is located about 10 miles up Logan Kanyon ... much good timber there.

May 1880: ... the creek had to be cleared nearly every day to keep the road in shape ... we found the animals killed in the snowslide and took off the harness.

June 1880: ... the gangs at the mills are having songs and dances every two weeks ... wood for the lime kiln is a constant problem, cut slabs in cordwood for this purpose.

Sept. 1880: ... prepared the reports for our Semi-annual Conference ... went to select more timber and hunted for game while doing so ... shot and skinned a lynx ... looked & selected new timber sites and helped move the steam mill up the canyon.

Jan. 1881: took a week to clear roads to the mill ... took a contract to supply 400,000 R.R. ties.

Apr. 15-28, 1881: Exploring on Snake R. for timber ... went NW of
Egin then to Market Lake on the train . . . finally to Blackfoot and home to Logan.


May 24, 1881: Selected trees for 2 x 14 joists 24' long for west tower. . . Maughan Mill is making ties.

Dec. 23, 1881: Closed Temple Mill for the winter. This is the first time it has stopped in past 4 yrs. I have spent nearly all my time with the mill and made very few visits to quarries.

July 31, 1882: Spent the day floating lime wood.

Sept. 5, 1882: Went to men at Hanson Camp & Petersons Mill to get all legal voters out and get those that are eligible to get their papers . . . the U.O. Steam Mill is west of the mouth of Beaver about 5 miles.

Nov. 21, 1882: Phoned the Bishop to get teams to haul lumber, shingles & lath from Temple Mill to the Temple.

In a lighter vein, a story told about J. Golden Kimball reveals much of the character of C.O. Card:

When the call came to Bear Lake for volunteers to go to the canyon during the winter months and cut logs for the construction of the temple at Logan, J. Golden Kimball responded. Joining others from the entire section, he worked in Logan canyon in temperatures ranging from ten to forty below in snow to the waist . . .

Each night they would return to camp with their clothes frozen stiff as a board from the waist down. After supper, they would lie around in front of the fire until they were thawed out, and then go to bed.

Over one hundred men worked at this camp (there was no money paid or expected for this service, it was a voluntary contribution to the church), felling the logs, bringing them to the mill, sawing them into lumber and hauling the lumber to Logan. While the men were decent and wholesome, they were rough and careless in some ways. Golden was one of the ring leaders when fun was brewing. One evening their spirits ran high, he and his brother led the crowd in a spontaneous demonstration against the cook, "a large Danish woman who would take the prize anywhere for being the dirtiest and most careless cook in the country."

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22 Claude Richards, J. Golden Kimball (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1951), pp. 30-34.
No inconsiderate fun was had at the expense of this defenseless, yet careless, woman. Biscuits were suspended by threads of hair found in them, dirty dishes were exhibited, songs were sung, stories were told, and thoughtless comments made, half in jest, half in seriousness, but greatly to the embarrassment of the woman who presided in the kitchen.

During the next visit to the sawmill of Brother C.O. Card, then in general charge of the camp, the matter was reported and a trial was arranged for J. Golden Kimball and the other ringleaders in the affair. Attorneys were selected, the jury was chosen, and the case tried. "We were guilty as could be," says J. Golden Kimball, "but the jury let us off. It was made up of men who were on our side."

Following the trial, Brother Card called J. Golden to him and said, "I want you to take charge of this camp."

"Why so, when I've been causing all this trouble?"

"I can see you were guilty this time, although you were acquitted," responded Brother Card, "but I can see, also, that you have got the right stuff in you."

Included in the directions to the new superintendent were the instructions to have the men stop their swearing, to hold meetings, and to have prayers in camp morning and evening. "Everyone is to pray," said Brother Card, "call on a different man each time."

"That's a pretty big order, either of them," replied J. Golden, "there are men in this camp, I reckon, (I being one of them) who have never prayed in public but have been in this business of swearing all their lives."

But the new man showed that he merited the confidence placed in him. Difficult as the task was, he had the courage to tackle it . . . and though it may sound incredible, the meetings were held, and he induced every man in that camp to pray. Some of the prayers were funny, but they were all sincere. . . . To quit swearing was the hardest part . . . but the whole camp fell into line.

THE WOOD CAMP

The wood camp was located about fifteen miles up Logan Canyon, and employed the full-time services of about ten men.23 These men supplied firewood for the lime kiln, scaffolding for the temple, and poles for sale

23These men came from Cache and Box Elder Stakes.
to the Deseret Telegraph Company of Salt Lake City, and the U.O.M. & B. Co. sawmill.

Not only did these men cut and trim the timber but they floated it down the river to the lime kiln where it was snaked out. The crews at the wood camp had the further responsibility of keeping the bridges and the road to the camp in good repair. This was a particularly hard task in the winter due to the frequent snowslides.

Card always visited the wood camp briefly on his way to the sawmill.

THE LIME KILN

Nathaniel Haws donated his lime kiln for use on the Temple and remained as the foreman for five dollars per day. The rock masons built a second kiln beside the first one at the mouth of Logan Canyon, and the two operated continuously, requiring the services of about twelve men working in shifts.

The lime kiln crews would blast out the limestone, fill the kilns with lime, and then keep wood burning in them day and night. At the end of seven days the lime was ready to be removed and another kiln-full started. It was a real problem to keep the hungry kilns supplied with fuel. They gulped down all the slabs from the sawmills and roared for more. In the nearly seven years of operation, the kilns produced fifty-two thousand bushels of lime, eighteen thousand of which were used on the temple.

Card's concern was not only with the stone, wood, and workmen at the kilns, but with transportation of the burned lime, and storage at the temple site until it was needed for mortar. He was also responsible for selling the surplus lime.
THE GREEN CANYON QUARRIES

About one mile up Green Canyon were two facings of limestone called the Blue Quarries. This rock was used for the arches, and door and window openings of the temple since it could be dressed while the sandstone could not.

Three miles farther up the canyon was a huge formation of red quartzite or fucoid sandstone. Most of the two hundred fifty-six thousand cubic feet, (twenty thousand tons) of rock used in the Temple was of this type. The camp for the quarries was located at this spot, which was known to the workmen as the Red Quarries.

About fifteen men were employed at the Green Canyon quarries, including powder men, drillers, and laborers. In addition, teamsters with horse-drawn sleds were employed during the winter months to do most of the hauling, thus freeing them for summer farming.

Card visited the quarries often enough to see that the men had adequate food, housing, powder, and tools. It was a well organized camp with a good routine, excellent safety habits, and good order. Except for providing them with supplies, Card had very little worry or concern for his "rock men."

The Green Canyon quarries also supplied rock to build the Logan Court House and the Brigham Young College buildings. During the winter of 1881-82, rock work for the temple was completed, and the Green Canyon camp was closed down.

Two other quarries supplied rock used in the Temple. From the Hyde Park Quarry came some softer stone used for corners, arches, and jams. This quarry was not worked after 1879. The Franklin Quarry, owned by the
Church,\textsuperscript{24} produced a light buff sandstone used for water tables, caps, and ledges on the battlements and towers. Card visited this quarry occasionally. It was not used after 1882.

One mile south-east of the Temple was located a good sand pit which yielded the ninety-six thousand bushels of sand used in the mortar and plaster. In Dec. of 1877, Card recorded that "a bridge had been completed to the sandbank to get sand for the temple."

SOLICITING FOR THE TEMPLE

Although Card's responsibility for the actual construction of the Temple was great, foremen and clerks\textsuperscript{25} shouldered much of the burden.

From Card's journals we get the picture of a leader whose greatest task was public relations, a responsibility which could not be delegated to anyone else. The Temple was built by volunteer labor, and with volunteer contributions of money and produce, and this from the people of three stakes spread out over northern Utah and southern Idaho. Numerous meetings were held with stake presidencies and bishoprics to ensure labor and supplies for the building project.

\textsuperscript{24}The other quarries were leased and then turned back to the Territorial Government.

\textsuperscript{25}Responsibility was delegated for the following activities: (1) At the Raw Material Camps: housing and food for men and animals; prayer and church meetings; equipment and supplies; rotation of laborers; transportation of supplies in and produce out; repair of roads and bridges; new roads to new working areas; (2) At the Temple Site: storage areas for rock, sand, lime, lumber, rope, and equipment; working sheds for craftsmen; kitchen and food supplies, along with a boarding house; transportation of heavy equipment; accounts and records of supplies delivered, supplies used, hours of work, and money expended; the actual construction process, laborers, and craftsmen at the building site. See Larkin, \textit{op. cit.}
Equally numerous were the talks given to the people of the area to encourage greater effort and greater sacrifice of time and materials. And this was a task which had to be performed in love and kindly persuasion.

Needless to say, Charles O. Card became a well known figure because of this activity performed in the "public eye" for so many years. It must be remembered that Card at this time was also a member of the Cache Stake Presidency as well as a selectman for Cache County, and a member of the Logan City Council, and School Board.

Finance was a major concern for Card. He accepted the peoples' donations in the form of "temple cattle," "temple farms," "temple eggs," "temple quilts," and "temple donations" of fifty cents per person per month. The care of the cattle fell directly to Card whereas the other major donations came under a department head. The Sunday Schools collected a five cent per month donation from each member. This practice gave rise to an interesting story, noted in Card's journal.26

A little boy came to the Temple and wanted to go up onto the walls. The workmen told him that it was not allowed, but after he told them that he had been paying his five cent donations since the Temple was started, they gladly took him on a tour of the Temple.

The people also donated vegetables, an organ, machines, carriages, wagons, and clothing for the workmen. The wards contracted buildings. The temple workmen plastered homes, built a school house, did carpenter work, built coffins, laid the foundation for the Court House, and built a water tank for the city to get funds for the Temple. The surplus produce from the mills was sold as railroad ties, lumber for the Salt Lake Temple and Tabernacle, shingles, lath, logs, and telegraph poles. The extra lime was

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26 Card Journals, Nov. 1882.
The tithing produce was also given into the Temple fund. Card travelled into the surrounding areas selling the tithing potatoes, wheat, flour, eggs, and cattle.

One further matter required Card’s attention. Each major completion of temple construction called for a celebration, bringing thousands of people into Logan from the three stakes in the Logan Temple district, Salt Lake City, and other southern communities. The dedication of the Temple site on May 18, 1877; the laying of the cornerstones on Sept. 19, 1877; the setting of the keystones and capstones on Sept. 22, 1880; and finally the dedication services which lasted for three days, May 17-19, 1884. Each celebration meant that meals and housing accommodations had to be provided for thousands of visitors, and that the town and Temple site had to be prepared for the occasion. Card and his brethren in the Stake Presidency shouldered this responsibility.

Thus ended seven years of concentrated effort towards a dream which had been in the hearts of the people for many years. The Logan Temple stands today, seventy-seven years later, as a monument to those faithful members who gave their best efforts that it might endure well and be a blessing to the people for generations to come.

The construction of the Temple was one of the most outstanding accomplishments of Card’s life, but it by no means overshadowed the service which he gave during the remaining eighteen years of active participation

27Olsen, op. cit., records that for meat alone, used during the dedication week, the butchers killed 38 beef, 68 sheep, 13 calves, 20 pigs, and a large amount of poultry.
and leadership in church affairs.

The years following the completion of the Logan Temple brought problems which added to the responsibility which Card carried. These years were to be very difficult ones for Card and the other leaders throughout the church. It was Card's responsibility to guide the Cache Stake through this period of turmoil and persecution over the polygamy issue.
CHAPTER X

A VOLUNTARY EXILE

With the increasing effort made by federally appointed officers to make a maximum number of arrests, and with the severe penalties and liberal interpretation of the anti-polygamy laws, the leadership of the church was driven "underground" into hiding, or into voluntary exile. Many Saints went into Mexico to live, and many men went into the foreign mission fields to avoid the harsh penalties which followed arrest.

The Utah Journal records that on March 10, 1886, and again on March 31, 1886, Charles O. Card, as Stake President, spoke to the people in the Tabernacle, but after this time his presence at the meetings was not recorded. In October 1886, a meeting was noted in which George O. Pitkin was recorded as being the acting president of Cache Stake.

The events that took place between April and September are important for an understanding of why Card was sent to Canada.

Since April 1886, President Card, charged with unlawful co-habitation, had been in hiding to thwart the determined efforts of apostates, marshalls, and his former wife to have him apprehended.

However, in spite of his precaution, the efforts of the "enemy" were successful for Card was arrested on July 26, 1886, while he was having a

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1 Unlawful co-habitation was defined as a misdemeanor by the Edmunds Act (which became law Mar. 22, 1882, and was declared constitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court on Mar. 23, 1885), with a maximum penalty of $300.00 fine and/or six months imprisonment for each count of charge.

2 Williams, loc. cit.
meal with his wife, Sarah J. Painter, in Logan. After completing the meal, Card left peaceably with Marshall Garr.³ News of the arrest spread rapidly throughout Logan and the surrounding country.

There are conflicting reports of Card's arrest. Wilcox,⁴ who obtained his information from William's⁵ Temple History, calls the meal "dinner."

Zina Card, whom Card married on July 17, 1884, told the story thusly:⁶

It was a July day 1886 when Pres. Card, who had been in hiding sometime, ventured forth to assist the cutting of his grain down on his farm. One of the men broke the handle of the pitchfork & its being near the noon hour, he jumped in his buggy & drove rapidly to town. Everything seemed peaceful & safe, so he ventured to stay & his wife prepared dinner. While at the table in walked a deputy marshall, Mr. Garr, who had been a playfellow & school mate. Pres. Card asked him his business & he produced the papers & arrested him. Br. Card told him to be seated. "I will go with you, Garr, as soon as I finish my dinner & change my clothes." Garr put his hand back to his pocket as if to produce a weapon. Br. Card quickly laid a little pocket pistol on the table. They looked in each others eyes an instant & President Card said, "I will be back in a minute." Soon he returned & he was taken to the hotel where he was turned over to deputy sheriff Exum.

Lavinia Card, who was married to Card on Dec. 2, 1885, had this to say:⁷

³The Territorial Marshall was appointed by the Federal authorities and invested with power to appoint as many deputies as he desired. The deputies were also considered Federal officers.


⁵Williams, loc. cit.


⁷Lavinia Rigby Card, "History of Lavinia C. Rigby Card" (unpublished typescript of an autobiography in the possession of Stirling Card, Logan, Utah.)
Charlie had to be in hiding all winter as the deputies were hunting for him - they were bound they would get all of the officers of the church.

That summer, 1886, Charlie had planned to take all of his family up the canyon, but on July while eating breakfast at Aunt Sarah's the deputies surrounded the house. Charlie always carried a pistol. He dashed out of the back door and there were men there. He drew his pistol and the deputy drew his. Charlie always said they would not take him alive, but he saw the danger of the children and told the man so. The deputy said for him to put down his pistol, and Charlie said he would when he put his away. One of the men spoke up and said, "Put up your pistol, if Charlie Card said he'd put his up, he will." So, Charlie went in and ate just as long as he could while the deputies waited. Then, he told them he had business to attend to and took as long to do it as he possibly could. In the meantime, George Barber Jr. rode horseback to Newton and told me to get out of the way as fast as I could. . . . my brother, Will, took me to Smithfield . . .

Romney has the story pictured this way:

On one occasion two marshalls approached his house, one at the front door and another at the rear. So sudden was their attack that Brother Card was compelled to submit to his arrest on the charge of unlawful cohabitation.

Card’s daughter, Pearl Card Sloan, makes this comment upon the arrest:

The story recorded about Father evading the deputy marshal seems to have been taken from the old files of the "News" to my mind is neither clever nor worth repeating and as written makes father sound like a renegade. I have heard father and mother recount the story many times but never once heard the statement made that he said he would never be taken alive.

The Deseret News of July 26, 1886, recorded the story in a brief news bulletin:

Charles Card Arrested—A dispatch from Logan, Cache County, says:

"President C.O. Card was arrested this morning, about 9:30, by Deputy Marshall Garr. His house was searched and several members of his family subpoenaed. Will leave for Ogden on the 2 o'clock train.

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8Romney, loc. cit.
9Sloan ms.
The author favors the early arrest, giving time for the news to become so general before train time at 2 P.M. It is probable that the meal was breakfast instead of dinner, and that there were two officers present.

A few hours later Card was entrained and delivered into the custody of Marshall Exum, whose responsibility it was to deliver Card to the proper authorities in Ogden. A large crowd of people had gathered to say farewell to their beloved leader and to watch his departure. Card boarded the train and took his seat beside the Marshall. When the whistle blew, hands were waved and good-byes were said. Card was granted permission to get a drink of water at the end of the coach. As he did so the train started to move and people moved into the aisle between the prisoner and his captor. Card stepped to the platform, dropped to the ground and fled.

The crowd of Saints still gathered at the depot saw Card race for his safety, and a big shout arose — their leader had been delivered from the hands of his enemies.

Aroused by the shouting, the Marshall looked for his prisoner, first at the end of the coach and then in the crowd, only to catch a glimpse of a big grey horse bounding away with the long-sought captive. Marshall Exum rushed to the conductor and demanded that the train be stopped. Even though the conductor was a non-Mormon, or gentile, he smiled blandly and replied, "Gentlemen, you are at liberty to follow Mr. Card, but this train does not stop between stations."¹⁰

Again, there are variations in the story of the escape. Wilcox¹¹ and Williams¹² both claim that Card noticed the horse as he boarded the

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¹¹Wilcox, op. cit., p. 25-27. ¹²Williams, op. cit., p. 2
train, and that he sped directly to this horse once he was at liberty to do so.

Lavinia Card\(^{13}\) indicated a pre-conceived plan of escape:

We heard while we were at Smithfield that Charlie had got away - just as he had planned. (This was when he jumped off the train.)

Zina Card's\(^{14}\) account shows co-operation between Card and the people to effect the escape:

The news spread like wildfire about Pres. Card's arrest. Soon a large number of men gathered around the hotel. It was nearing train time. Indignation & resentment was seen on the faces of the friends. But Pres. Card remained perfectly calm. Joking & laughing with those around him, he slipped a note into the hand of a friend to tell the folks to get out. It was too late, his wife & a cousin of his wife Zina had been supposed in order to prepare to go on the train to Ogden with Pres. Card. The train was borded & a host of people had gathered at the depot to see their beloved President & his wife be carried off for trial, and boarded the train. Marshall Exom saw his prisoners seated and as the whistle blew, hands were waved & good-byes were said. The party remained calm & self possessed. The marshal felt so secure he walked to the smoking car & as they neared the tank for water carefully stepped to a tap for a drink. He was quickly surrounded by friends, the door was jerked open, he lost no time & while the car was moving he jumped to the ground. Not a word was spoken, but the crowd which still stood at the depot saw his bendable form racing for life & safety. A big shout went up from the crowd but no one intercepted or started in pursuit. As he ran up the street he saw a horse which belonged to someone in the crowd. His escape was perfect success, but Pres. Card was not seen again in Logan by the public until his return from Canada until 3 years after. . . .

The dispatch to the *Deseret News* merely reports the uninterpreted facts:

Charles O. Card Arrested . . .

A special to the News this afternoon says:

President C.O. Card jumped from the train near the water tank, just as they were pulling out of Logan. He mounted a horse near by and successfully escaped.

\(^{13}\)Lavinia Card ms.  \(^{14}\)Zina Card ms.
The next day a dispatch from Ogden to the Deseret Evening News, printed Tuesday evening, July 27, 1886:

Ogden City, Utah
July 26, 1886.

Editor Deseret News:

A lively sensation was created on the streets of this city at an early part of this morning by the rumor that

PRESIDENT CHAS. O. CARD,

of the Cache Valley stake had been arrested. Many of the "anties" rejoiced at this intelligence, which was shared by federal officials in and out of the court room. One large legal limb said to this writer, with much glee, that they had been on the watch for this man for some-time and they had at last turned up a big trump Card! His arrival in this city was anticipated with smiles, jokes, and visions of fees for services in the United States Commissioner

BLACK'S COURT,

and preparations were made to receive Mr. Card with appropriate honors. But, oh! what a "duce" of a "trump" that "Card" did turn up! Long before the arrival of the train the joy of the crusaders was turned into mourning — by the rumor that the ace had been tricked by a left bower; and later that the Card had played them a trick the devil never did, by leaving them. They were much chop-fallen when it became known that their prisoner had actually made good his escape.

The owner of the horse, Aaron Farr, mayor of Logan, was arrested for aiding an escaped prisoner. Card wrote a letter to the Deseret News which gave his own account of the escape. 15

HE WAS NOT AIDED—A few weeks ago the NEWS published an item concerning the arrest of Mayor Aaron Farr, of Logan, on a charge of aiding a prisoner to escape. He is now under bonds pending the action of the grand jury in the case. One of the reasons for the prosecution against him is that when President C.O. Card, of Logan, escaped from Deputy Marshall Exum, he rode away on a horse belonging to Mr. Farr, which was tied near the railroad station. In reference to this matter, the following extract is made from a letter from President Card to the Utah Journal:

"The Journal, of October 29th, announces that Mayor A. F. Farr had been arrested for "leaving near the depot the horse which Pres. C. O. Card galloped away on some weeks ago." If they are going to prosecute Mr. Farr for that they will punish an innocent man. When I sprang from the train I expected to depend entirely upon my own muscle, but upon a second thought I determined I would make for the group of carriages and appropriate the first one I found most convenient, but on discovering a horse on the opposite side of the street, I ran to that, mounted it, and galloped away without any questions, for which I am the only party responsible. There was no officer in pursuit, no officer was resisted. I will here state that there were no pre-arrangements about this matter. If so, I would have had one of my own horses put there that was gentle and not have trusted to an unbroken animal or a broncho so self-willed as the one I refer to. Had the horse belonged to any other gentleman, it would have been all the same to me. Even if it had belonged to Marshall Eum I would have rode it away, not thinking of any evil consequences to that gentleman. I will here state, I have been informed that it was rumored that I bribed Mr. Eum. Not so. No money or other values ever passed between us. I most emphatically deny the charge. Bribing is not my style. He treated me as an officer should treat a prisoner, very kindly and gentlemanly, for which I shall ever hold him in high esteem."

In 1890 Card met the conductor of the train and heard his account:

Feb. 14, 1890: On route to Logan. Shortly after we started the conductor arrived on the scene gathering the tickets. I was seated in the rear end of the coach and when he called for mine I was reading with specks on thinking he would not know me. After he punched my ticket he smilingly and roguishly reached down his hand and gathered mine and said, "how do you do Mr. Card, you need not have any fears of my giving you away if the deps (Marshals) did give me hall for not stopping the train when you jumped off." (July 26 at 2 pm. 1886) We then conversed a little and he stated that when Marshall Eum commanded him to stop the train, "Marshall you are out of Luck; you should have got off while the train was standing still, I can't stop the train between stations." The conductors name was M. J. Hogan. The Brakemens name was John Shields. Both Gentiles.

For the next seven weeks Card was compelled to remain in hiding.

Wide spread publicity of the arrest and escape put real pressure on the deputies to bring the fugitive to justice.

As he left the depot, mounted on the large grey horse, Card had cir-
closed through southwest. Logan until he was no longer noticed, dismounted and tied up the horse. According to Zina's account, it would have been a relief to leave the horse:

It was not a large animal, but he sprang to the saddle - but he was not very tall - but found that his feet would not reach the stirrups. As the horse sprang into a gallow the stirrups began pounding him at every jump. But clinging fast the horse sprang at breakneck speed, and was soon running as fast as he could go guided in the direction which meant safety to him.

Card then took to the brush, skirting the Logan river and remained in hiding until darkness enabled him to go to friends and to send a message informing his family that he was safe.

In such towns as Hyde Park, Providence, Hyrum, and Paradise, Card was concealed by his friends with whom he dared spend only a few days at a time. Feeling unsafe in Cache Valley, he travelled by night over the canyon roads seeking refuge in Weber and Bear Lake counties.

Williams made this comment about this period:

From July 26th until Sept. he was in hiding among his friends ... He was often accompanied by his wife Zina Y. Card, whom he married in June 1884. She too had to keep in hiding. They were both blest with many true and tried friends who gave them a hearty welcome when they felt impressed by the Spirit's direction to change their place of abode. And these warnings of the Spirit enabled them to keep clear of their enemies, who at times would come and search the premises where they had been but a few hours before. All travelling had been done during the night, and while these were indeed trying times for President Card and his family, they rejoiced in the fact that he had been preserved from trial and imprisonment.

Lavinia Card had this to say:

Charlie had called on his Father and Mother, Aunt Sarah and Aunt Zina and then he came to Joel Rick's home where I was. He stayed there
two weeks. He could not go out in the daytime, but held meetings at night. I stayed there for about two months. He went up the canyon and to Bear Lake.

To escape the continual fear of recapture, Card made arrangements to leave the territory. Apostle Moses Thatcher was going to Mexico and Card was persuaded to go with him to assist Erastus Snow in the establishment of Mormon settlements in that country.\textsuperscript{20}

Card prepared a wagon for the move south. Lavinia Card\textsuperscript{21} said:
"Charlie made arrangements to go to Arizona to get out of the way of the deputies, and I was to go with him."

Knowing that he could not leave his responsibilities as Stake President without permission or a release, Card sought an interview with John Taylor, president of the Church. President Taylor was also in hiding and was difficult to find. However, Card's search was successful and the interview was granted.

About September 1st, President John Taylor and Charles Ora Card met in secret. Card explained his situation and his plans to go into Mexico. President Taylor told him not to go south into Old Mexico, but to go north into British territory and find a place suitable for colonization.\textsuperscript{22} This

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\textsuperscript{20}Williams and Wilcox both have the destination of Card as Mexico while Lavinia Card said it was Arizona. Other writers have followed the story as told by Wilcox.
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\textsuperscript{21}Lavinia Card ms.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{22}It is hard to determine the charge given by John Taylor to Charles O. Card.
\end{flushright}

Williams, \textit{loc. cit.}, claims the words were, "Go north and seek a place of refuge for the Saints upon British soil."

Jane E. Woolf Bates, "Founding of Cardston and Vicinity -- Pioneer Problems" (unpublished typewritten ms. on file in the Glenbow Foundation Library, Calgary, Alberta), p. 3, has recorded: John Taylor said, "I am
was a great surprise to Card. Nothing daunted, however, he set about with his usual zeal to carry out the task as outlined by the Prophet of God. 23

Card returned to Logan, and as authorized to do, proceeded to select a few companions to help him explore and locate a suitable location for a settlement. After interviewing several men, he decided upon James W. Hendricks and Isaac E. D. Zundell. On Sept. 10, 1886, Card and Hendricks were set apart for their mission by Apostle Francis M. Lyman, he being authorized to do so by President John Taylor.

Joseph Young Card, "A Thumb-nail Sketch of the Life of Charles Ora Card" (unpublished typewritten ms. in the possession of Mrs. J.Y. Card, Lethbridge, Alberta), says: The president hesitated a few moments and said, "No, I feel impressed to tell you to go to the British Northwest Territories. I have always found justice under the British flag."

Card himself merely said: In 1886 was appointed by Pres. John Taylor to explore British Columbia with a view to founding a settlement of the Saints, as a place of refuge for certain families who were driven into exile under the Edmunds law.

John Taylor was born in England. As a youth, aged 24 in 1832, he came to Canada settling in Toronto where he married Lenora Cannon and became very active in the Methodist Church. He was converted to the L.D.S. faith by Parley P. Pratt in 1836. It is only natural that he would think of the British law and the Canadian soil as a good dwelling place for the Saints.

23 The President of the Church is sustained by the membership of the Church as a Prophet, Seer, and Revelator to the Church.
CHAPTER XI

AN EXPLORER

On Tuesday night, Sept. 14, 1886, at 11 p.m. after blessing his wives, children, and parents, Charles O. Card left Logan with James W. Hendricks, an experienced pioneer from Richmond, in a wagon driven by Card's old missionary companion, William Hyde, Bishop of the Logan Fifth Ward.

The three men drove all night, arriving in the morning at Washakie, where the Church had a three thousand acre land tract for the Mormon Indians, over which Bishop Isaac E.D. Zundell presided. Here they expected to meet Zundell, but found that he had gone north.

An Indian by the name of James Brown was hired to locate Zundell while the party went to Samaria for the night, expecting to join Brown and Zundell the next day. By the 16th, Card's group had arrived at the ten mile spring on Rock Creek Road where they found Brown, who had not been able to locate Zundell. In one last attempt they gave Brown a pair of blankets and requested him to meet them at Warm Creek in two days with Zundell.

At this point occurred the first of several spiritual manifestations which Card received on the journey.

Sept. 16, 1886: Just as we were instructing the Indian a man rode up who had been with Bro. Zundel and revealed his whereabouts to us in accordance with the prayers we had offered. The Lord is always on our side when we trust in Him for surely we did, for not a person in Washakie knew of Bp. Z's whereabouts.

Assured that the party would soon be assembled, Card and his associates progressed twenty-five miles that day, stopping at nightfall to lodge at an Indian farm. Indian Sim furnished them with free hay "because we were his Mormon brethren."
The fourth day the wagon made Warm Creek where the group met Bishop Zundell and his brother Abram. Brown was with them. He reported finding Zundell and his brother on the north side of the Snake River, three miles above the ferry (four miles above the appointed meeting place).

Having dismissed the Indian, the four men drove four miles to the depot at American Falls, bid Bishop Hyde farewell and at 8:30 p.m. took the train for the west, "closely watched by the conductors and others as much so as if we were desperados."

By 9 a.m. of the fifth day, Card, Hendricks, and Zundell arrived in Huntington, Oregon, having travelled three hundred and one miles. After changing to the cars of the Oregon Navigation Company, they proceeded to Armatella, Washington Territory, a two hundred mile journey, and then to Spokane, another one hundred eighty-nine miles, where they disentrenched and procured a room at the Keystone Hotel. Although it was Sunday (Sept. 19, 1886, 11 a.m.) when they arrived in Spokane, they found "business houses and saloons doing a roaring business."

The men purchased two ponies from Charles Wilson that day and retired early, tired after their long train ride. The next day they purchased three more horses, pack saddles, and provisions. They were now ready to move on.

As evidence of the complete faith these men had that the Lord would assist them while they were engaged in His work, the following story is taken from Card's journal, dated Sept. 21, 1886:

We heard someone come upstairs and hold a conversation at the head of the stairs which was within a few feet of our room but Bro. Hendricks and I went to sleep again being very weary and had lost so much sleep during the past week. But Bro. Zundell remained awake and heard the party speak of the "renegade Mormons" and demanded admittance to our room but was refused by the landlord until daylight. Bro. Zundel
came to my bedside and related the above and I told him to go back to bed and listen further which he did but could only hear parties whispering and could not understand what they said. As I lay reflecting over the probabilities of being arrested in the morning, the thought struck me to ask the Lord to cause the party or parties to sleep long enough for us to pack up and get out of the way. We all exercised our faith in this direction. We got up one at a time, went downstairs and all three went out SW on the river and prayed again and invoked the aid of the Almighty in our efforts to continue our way and at 9:30 a.m. we were on our way with three saddle ponies and four [two] pack horses carrying our belongings.

About seven miles out, with Zundell still suffering from an illness which had delayed them the previous day, the party stopped. Card blessed Zundell by the "laying on of hands" and set him apart for his mission.

That night, in contrast to the spiritual experiences of the past twenty-four hours, they camped beside some "ungodly miners" who razzed Zundell for being sick because of "whoring too much."

At this point the men were misdirected to Loon Lake by the natives, but even though it was discouraging to take detours, they were optimistic because it gave them a more extended acquaintance with the country and roads.

By Sept. 26th, the party had reached the Columbia River where they noted with interest seven or eight Chinamen working a placer mine. After difficulty locating horses which had strayed into the timber, and trouble finding a ferry across the river, arrangements were finally made for ferry passage with a Mr. Brown who charged them seven dollars for the crossing.

Wednesday, Sept. 29, 1886, the little band of explorers crossed the line into Canada at 9:35 a.m. Card recorded on this occasion:

For the first time in my life placed my foot upon the soil of British Columbia and in fact it is the first time on british soil for any length of time (crossed from Buffalo in Detroit in spring of 1872). As we passed the stone monument that designates the line, I took off my hat, swung it around and shouted in COLUMBIA we are free. [Italics
Card and his companions were very interested in the home made wagons used by the Indians and whites in the area. This type of wagon was very similar to the famous Red River wagon as Card described them:

Sept. 29, 1886: ... It is all wood except the draw belt, king bolt and 4 small belts that held the bolster and sand board to the axles. The wheels were made by hewing a log down to about 12 inches in thickness and on this huge plank are scribed wheels 3 feet in diameter. Then a hub is formed by beveling the wheel about 5" on the face. These vehicles are used without tires on their farms, both by Indians and white men.

For the next two days the men travelled through the grand scenery of a heavily wooded area with small valleys and rocky cliffs. They found that the most valuable portions of land on the Canadian side of the border had already been taken by ranchers, or had been given to the Indians as a reserve.

At the Canadian Customs, the Mormon explorers were required to pay twenty-eight dollars duty on their outfit. Zundell immediately went to the U.S. Customs, about six miles away, to record the horses and men in order to avoid duty when returning. This was Saturday night, and as Card wrote his journal entry he gave a summary of the trip to date:

Oct. 2, 1886: ... thus ended another hard week's toil in the saddle over hills, mountains, through rivers and canyons and heavy timber shaded our pathway the most of the way from Spokane Falls. But little prairies on our route. The prairie called Grande Prairies on Kettle 25 m. north of Marcus is partially covered with timber. To Mr. Ekelts 30 m. to Mr. Ingrams 5 miles here we crossed the Kettle R. the 11th and last times 6 miles to Rock creek and old abandoned mining camp except a few china men. On the point of the hill on the north side of the creek the place was marked by some ½ doz. graves where some sturdy miners or outlaws here laid down their bodies to await the resurrection of the just or unjust. To US Customs 23 m. To British Custom 4 m. a total of 106 miles or 206 from Spokane Falls. We have travelled in all probably 30 miles extra being turned to the right and left. ...

Card was continually alert to the soil, water, and timber possibilities of the country through which they travelled.
Oct. 2, 1886: ... the variety of timber here or that which we have passed is white pine, pitch pine, black pine, and tamarack, also cottonwood and birch on the stream. The soil up the Kettle R. is generally a light sandy loam generally, some parts a rich black loam, mostly alluvial and free from alkali. Stock is above average being both long and short horned mostly of the former.

The following day, Sunday, October 3rd, was a day of rest "for man and horses." A sacrament meeting was held in which President Card opened with prayer, Bishop Zundell blessed the bread, Brother Hendricks the water, and each spoke in turn. Card's thoughts as he wrote in his journal this day were of their mission, their homes, and the future of the land upon which they were camped.

Oct. 3, 1886: Our prayer is constantly Father direct us by revelation that we may seek the right place. Up to the present we have not had a cross word in our little trio but have morn and night invoked the blessings of God upon us in seeking a haven of rest for the persecuted and imprisoned.

We not only remember ourselves but the dear ones at home that pray for us and all the faithful and that the cause of Christ may triumph.

Probably this is the first meeting if not in this District B.C. it is certainly the first here under the authority of the Melchizedek Priesthood in the Latter days. I trust yet these rugged mtns. will echo from the sounds of the voices of the servants of God omnipotent, for truly he reigneth and holds the destiny of all men and nations.

Following a bath in Osoyoos Lake and a good supper, all three men retired early at the end of "a day long to be remembered by our little party at least."

Travelling on, they encountered many Indians and at one stop paused to watch with interest some Indians spearing red salmon. They noted that the whites in the area were indolent and mixed with the Indians, much to the detriment of the natives. The land was not much good for farming "because of no irrigation possibilities," and was already taken up in large tracts.
The next valley was described by Card as "the least level and arable land I ever saw."

Wednesday, Oct. 6, as the party traversed extremely rough country, around huge boulders, across ridges and ravines and through dense forests, Card's thoughts were of the General Conference back in Salt Lake City, and he reflected upon the many conferences he had attended over the years.

After the party made the rugged descent into Mission valley that day, an incident occurred which directed their travels into the southern Alberta area and consequently determined the whole future of Mormon colonization in Canada: 1

Oct. 6, 1886: . . . at noon we met an old mountaineer from Montana who gave us some information in regard to the country east of the Rockies. His name is McDonald. I understand there is a mtn. peak named after him. This information comes as we need and we feel to acknowledge the hand of the Lord in it.

As they travelled up Mission Valley the next day they noticed heavily laden apple trees but expressed regret because it was "most excellent land but monopolized by but few." This was the general complaint with Bri-

1 Several people believe that on this occasion Card made a definite decision to settle in southern Alberta.

Jane E. Woolf Bates, "Charles Or Card, Pioneer Leader, Founder and Builder" (Unpublished typewritten ms. on file in the Alberta Stake Historical Library, Cardston, Alberta). Hereafter the reference to this ms. will be "Bates Biography." ". . . when McDonald told them of the grass covered buffalo plains, where the country could be plowed for miles, President Card said 'Where the buffalo can live the Mormons can live!'"

Joseph Y. Card, loc. cit., "Card said to his companions, 'If the buffalo can live there, we can. Let us go and see it.'"

Zina Young Williams Card, "An Incident in the Settling of Canada" (Unpublished typewritten ms. in the possession of Mrs. J.Y. Card, Lethbridge, Alberta). "Brother Card gathered them close and with their arms around each others' shoulders, said, 'Brethren, I have an inspiration that Buffalo Plains is where we want to go, that if the Buffalo can live there, so can the Mormons.'"

The present author believes that on this occasion, Card and his com-
tish Columbia.

Reaching Priest's Valley at the head of Okanagan Lake an unexpected experience occurred. Rain forced the party to a nearby ranch where the owner was in the act of destroying himself. Card said, "we gave him good moral advice and thus prevented at least for a time his suicide."

By Saturday, Oct. 9th, the company had reached the Salmon River where they bought some butter, "the first since Spokane Falls, and milk but twice." They found the country here still cursed by the grand monopoly of large ranches. Card's closing journal entry for this day expresses again the great faith in and reliance upon the Lord which characterized these brethren:

Saturday, Oct. 9, 1886: . . . Very weary but did not forget the Lord and to invoke his blessings that we might be guided in the right path to the land of refuge that our labors may be accepted of Our Father, God, and our brethren.

The Thompson River was reached by Monday. Card took a stage to Kamloops and after he had inquired about the country north, west, and east, he decided that they should sell the horses and take the train for Calgary, Alberta. Card walked back a mile to meet the others and they camped by the river bank. Within two days the horses were sold and the men with their saddles, bedding, and satchels were aboard the train for Calgary. The fare was twenty-six dollars and ten cents apiece, nine dollars and thirty cents to express the saddles, a total of eighty-seven dollars and sixty cents.

The train journey was made on Thursday, Oct. 14th. Card recorded it briefly:

companions were merely directed to an area which had settlement possibilities, and that he made no decision concerning it until after he had seen it.
We rode all day through mts, gorges and around sharp curves and over high trestle bridges, across gorges and dry ravines wending our way to the Territories of the North west. We crossed the Selkirk and Rocky mtn ranges and landed in Calgary in the morning at 3 o'clock severe snowstorm.

The severe climatic conditions which prevailed at the time of their arrival gave them a very unfavorable impression of Alberta:

Friday, Oct. 15, 1886: . . . had we not known previously of the beautiful prairies in the northwest we would have been discouraged like some of the newcomers and took the next train for a warmer clime.

Card and his companions needed horses, but because of the prohibitive price of good horses they finally settled on two broncos and a second hand wagon. Card described the animals:

Saturday, Oct. 16, 1886: . . . the bronchos jumped and floundered about and charged, as they drove them about the streets one of the horses threw himself under the tongue in trying to get away while being hitched to the wagon and in our judgement this being the best team we bought it and a wagon and harness and at sundown we were rigged for our Southern trip.

In the spirit of the occasion the men named the horses "Brit" for British Columbia and "Bert" for Alberta.

On Sunday, Oct. 18th, they left for the south making only eight miles that day. Zundell was kicked by a horse that evening, but this did not deter the group. "We bathed the right thigh in spirits of turpentine and he gradually got better."

The land around Calgary\(^2\) was found to be very sparsely settled, the soil very rich and fairly well watered but a pronounced scarcity of timber. It was observed to be a desirable location for settlers.

Travelling south, the men found "a beautiful prairie . . . with the

\(^2\)Card reports his estimate of the population of Calgary as 1200-1500 people.
soil a dark brown or black loam." As they near Macleod they noted the climate to be a little warmer and no sign of frost. Still further south, at the junction of the Kootenay [Waterton] and Belly Rivers, they observed that "there is a fine district of country here and an excellent place to form a settlement or settlements." They well knew that "good land and water are the 2 essentials for the farmer and husbandman." From the railway settlers they found that timber was available about thirty miles west, coal about thirty miles east, and the winters moderate. After crossing the Blood Indian Reserve and observing the condition of the Indians, Card observed:

Oct. 22, 1866: ... Here would be a good place to establish a mission among the Lamanites who in these parts seem to be rather lighter complected than we usually find them and seem intelligent for an uncivilized race although they are much degraded by many low lived white men that allure them to whoring.

The party reached Stand-off on Saturday, Oct. 23rd, a week after leaving Calgary. On Sunday President Card and Bishop Zundell "walked up Kootenay about 2 miles and kneeled down and dedicated the land to the Lord for the benifit of Israel both red and white." Later the same day they drove to the junction of Lee's Creek and St. Mary's River where they camped for the night.3

3Some writers claim that the choice of a site for a settlement was made on this occasion.

Woolf's Card ms., "On October 25 they camped at the mouth of Lee's Creek and decided to move [return as settlers] to the location of what is now Cardston."

Zina Young Williams Card, loc. cit., "Saturday night ... they camped on the banks of Lee's Creek ... and in the early morning ... with their heads bowed in reverent inspiration they knelt before the Lord and asked his blessing to rest upon them for a decision that would meet all the requirements that were asked. His spirit was with them in great abundance ... and he turned to them and said, "Brethren, this is the place."

The present author does not believe that this assumption is justifiable. As will be shown in this work, the actual decision to locate the settlement at the present site of Cardston was made by the vote of Card and the other brethren, on Tuesday, April 26, 1887. *Infra*, p. 105.
When the sun set Oct. 25th, the explorers had crossed the border and were back in the United States. The exploration was complete.

BACK TO LOGAN

As they journeyed homeward, Card was careful to note the trail conditions, knowing that this information would be valuable to the settlers who would soon be making the journey to Canada. After crossing the south fork of Milk River he recorded:

Oct. 25, 1886: . . . on the last 3 streams there is no wood on this road [Upper Benton Trail] and parties traveling have to provide themselves with fuel or burn Buffalo chips wet or dry, the farmer is rather smoky uphill business.

For the next six days the homeward bound explorers moved as rapidly as possible. Out Banks, Two Medicine Creek, Peigan Agency, Birch, Dupuyer, Muddy Creek, Teton River, Chouteau, Freeze-out, Ft. Shaw, Corum, Flat Creek, Dearborn, Rock Creek, and Carterville all were passed with mileages and travelling conditions carefully noted. They averaged thirty-three miles a day.

November 1st brought them to Prickly Pear Canyon where some Cache Valley men were working on the Montana Central Railway grade. Among these men were the Allens, and Orson Smith, Card's second counsellor in the stake presidency. The funds of the party were exhausted, and Orson Smith

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4 See Appendix G for a typescript copy of the Overland Guide prepared by Card to guide the immigrants from Utah to Cardston.

5 The Allens had come to Alberta in 1883 to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway construction in the Medicine Hat area. In the spring of 1886 they took a contract to build 18 miles of railway grade north of Helena, Montana.
collected seventy-five dollars for the return trip of Hendricks and Sundell.

Having written a report of the exploration to President John Taylor, Card remained at the camp to wait for the acceptance of his report and to receive further instructions from President Taylor. He was very anxious to return to his home and to know what his next assignment would be. His time was occupied in reading, writing letters, and repairing clothing. Reading of the arrest of Mayor Farr for aiding him in his escape from the train, Card wrote a letter on Nov. 6th to the Utah Journal exonerating Farr. 6

During his twelve day stay in Smith's camp, Card celebrated his forty-seventh birthday. His journal entry for this day is a tribute to his parents. 7 Also during this time Orson Smith cut off Card's beard with shears. When Card shaved three days later, he recorded:

Nov. 6, 1886: ... today I shaved myself the first time for about 15 yrs. ... all of this suffering in consequence of the enemies of truth and their intense hatred toward the sts.

The awaited letter arrived Friday, Nov. 12th, accepting Card's labors and granting him permission to return home. He left for home immediately in company with some men returning from their railway contracts. Saturday they reached Boulder City; Sunday, Willow Creek; and Monday, Dillon, where Card took the train to Preston, Idaho. As he neared home the possibility of being recognized and recaptured concerned him.

Nov. 16, 1886: Brethren and sisters and acquaintances began to get on the train with whom I am acquainted. I lifted up my heart to the Lord in silent prayer that I might be passed by both friends and ene-
mies unknown and unnoticed and some of my friends went to the sleeping car some to the smoking car and one young man was taken up with his

6 supra, p. 77. 7 infra, p. 149.
sweetheart so much that he did not recognize me with my beard off. . .
. None of my friends at Preston at first knew me.

Friends conducted Card from Preston to Franklin, then to Richmond
where he met his former companion, James Hendricks, who took him home to
Logan. He arrived home Wednesday, Nov. 17, 1886, having completed a jour-
ney of over four thousand miles in two months and three days.
CHAPTER XII

THE LONELY WINTER

The first part of the assignment given to Charles Ora Card by President John Taylor had been completed. The larger task of organizing and establishing the foundations for a permanent settlement lay in the immediate future.

Back in Logan, Card was obliged to stay "underground." Thus the work of preparing for colonization in Canada went slowly.

ORGANIZING THE PIONEERS

During the four winter months in Cache Valley, Card carried on his work from places of hiding. Secret meetings were held at night, behind locked doors and drawn curtains, with individuals or in small selected groups. Some excerpts from Card's journal\(^1\) describe some of his activities and feelings:

I delight in being in Zion and being in the Stake that I have the honor to preside over and remaining in private is a test for me for it is a delight for me to be active.

I left it with him [Wm. Rigby] to notify the brethren of Newton and Clarkston about a land of refuge that is expected to be settled in the great North west that myself and brethren have explored.

I can assure my friends I appreciate their little calls. It cheers the lingering and lonely moments. We [Card and his wife] conversed over our trials and determined to do right let what fellow may.

I related my observations and travels in the north and the chance for a refuge in Alberta. Enjoined secrecy on this matter upon the bre-

\(^1\)Journal entries for this chapter were taken from Card's Journal, Sept. 14, 1886 to Apr. 18, 1887.
threw that we may not have our route of travel cut off.

A select few from both wards that are exiled came. I instructed them in relation to the Land of Alberta.

I described to them the land of refuge that they might prepare the brethren of their wards, to go if they so desired.

I dressed in female attire and walked to their home.

I explained to them the best of my ability the land of refuge in the north, had a very pleasant time with the brethren although I became very tired talking so much with the brethren as they came only one at a time and I had to tell my story over so many times.

President Card also expressed how much he missed being able to participate in the meetings of the Church.

Today is a day that I miss much the society of the Saints. It seems hard that I am deprived of attending meetings in the house I assisted in erecting in fact superintended the construction personally for 3½ yrs and had more or less to do with until completed as one of a committee of 5.

When I saw from the window of my room the saints gathering for meeting I felt I were about to lose something by being exiled from my sacrament mtgs; and the teachings of the Elders, but the thought arose that Father was willing and ready to make up the contingency consequently I bowed before him in my lonely retreat and implored Him so to do, . . .

but he was not one to complain or be embittered:

. . . and feel that I am no better than my brethren and that crowns are not cheaper now than in any other dispensation.

Time had its effect upon Card's health, for he wrote,

I have been penned up behind curtains so long and read and wrote so much my eyes have got a little weak.

The journey to Ogden to talk with President Shurtleff fatigued me so much because I had been so closely confined I had become very tender not having more than one days exercise in 2 long month only reading and writing. . . . My body was so bruised and strained I could hardly rest.

Broke in a heavy sweat every night. . . . I felt as if my lungs were all raw.

Card spent many of his solitary hours studying the scriptures, and
preparing himself for his coming assignment by studying the history and
geography of Western Canada.

I busied myself studying the History of British America that I may
be posted in that country that I expect to make a short stay in with
others of my exile brethren.

The journal entries for Dec. 31, 1886, and Jan. 1, 1887, reveal
Card's feelings about his situation:

Let us review the scene of 1886 and see if we cannot make a better
record in 87. 86 has been the most eventful year of my life [Italics
his]. I have been arrested for the observance of the Laws of God,
been in the hands of the minions of the Law, have been exiled have
been on British soil to seek a refuge for the oppressed and down trodden
of God's people.

I have my failings as a man but have tried to overcome all by the
observance of God's Laws. My object and aim is to live first for the
Kingdom of God that is in embryo. Second, to build up a happy family
and strive with might and main to unite them in the cause of truth. In
this the Lord has blessed me although I am not without my rebuffs in
that direction.

I welcome another year although my fate seems to be an exile and
driven or compelled for freedoms sake to seek a foreign land. It seems
strange to think that my Grandsires fought to establish religious li-
berty and that great struggle that stained our fair land with a deluge
of blood to free us from the rule of a Tyrant king that now it seems
their Grandchildren should be obliged to gather into the domains of the
government that is ruled by a Queen.

Card's task was fraught with many discouragements. March brought so
many reverses that anyone who did not possess the zeal and determination
which Card exhibited would probably not have continued the assignment. Dur-
ing the winter a list of forty-one families who desired to go north\(^2\) had
been submitted to, and approved by President Taylor, but by March 3rd,

Many of the brethren that had promised to go north with me to aid in
forming a settlement in Alberta and I reported their names that I might
present them to the Presidency I learned some thought of going to the

\(^2\)Card called this list, "Names of Missionaries for the Land Desola-
tion."
Ry to work and some concluded to stay and run their chances and others felt too poor although I had reported some 41 names It seemed I would get 10 to accompany me. Though I resolved to go if I went alone.

The Church leaders at Salt Lake were behind the program of settlement but could not offer financial assistance. They did give Card permission to approach the more wealthy for assistance, but this was either risky or impractical because he was not free to contact them.

Word that the Edmunds-Tucker Bill had become law, bringing heavier individual penalties for those convicted, and confiscation of Church property, caused Card to exclaim, "we have only God to rely on now." In the wake of the passage of this law came a determination on the part of the marshalls to apprehend the Mormon leaders who were in hiding.

On March 10th, Card bared his soul to Apostle Richards:

I told him I felt I was left nearly alone to go to Alberta and because the brethren were not called to go but left to act on their own volition ... many had weakened and I felt I was nearly alone but expected to go.

He encouraged me much and told me if I went I would be a founder of a city and do a good work as a pioneer of a new country and should be known of my good works.

The date for departure of the expedition to Alberta was set for March 25, 1887. Card had arranged to have the settlers assemble as a group, and board the train, with their wagons and equipment, for Dillon, Montana. From there they were to travel by wagon.

Bishop Hyde had delivered the message to the settlers, but events struck with such rapidity that all plans were completely discarded. The federal authorities made a bold move to capture all polygamists, striking communities by day and night. When the deputies raided Providence on March 16th, Card barely escaped by hiding in a barn. With this pressure there was neither time nor opportunity to gather the colonists together, and word
was sent out that they should go northward with all possible speed.

Hasty, last minute preparations were made and on the night of March 23, 1887, Card left Logan, bound to fulfill his northern mission.

Card was the first to leave for the north; the other settlers followed as soon as they could. One of these settlers was Jonathan E. Layne, who has left this interesting account:

In accordance with this, arrangements were made and about forty men gave their names to start the first of April 1887 for Alberta Canada. Bro. Card started early so as to be there when the brethren arrived. When the time came to start, or just before, two or three of the men that were to go were arrested by the US Marshall and under heavy bonds to appear in court when wanted, so they, of course could not go. This also discouraged others who wished to go so they did not go and we could not safely start all together we started each as we got ready, and went on as they saw fit till they got further on.

I had made up my mind, sometime before I heard of this movement that I would go south and see the country and visit my relatives, who lived there, some in southern Utah and some in Arizona, and perhaps I could find a place that suited my need, but after thinking of the situation all over and the character of the people in Canada and their government, and the character of the Spanish in Mexico, decided that the English Government was the most likely to give all men their rights before the law so I decided to go there.

On April 1 Bro. Wm. Hyde of Logan came to my place and said as soon as I was ready I ought to go at once.

On April 3rd, Sunday I started out. I bid the family goodbye and started north, I knew not where, and on reaching the sand hills north of Lewiston I stopped and looked back on the peaceful homes of Cache Valley and my own homes which contained nearly all I held dear in this world, my wives and children. The homes I had built, the farm I had bought of the Government, I had injured no man and broken no righteous

3Card did not take his heavily loaded wagons with him, but travelled as a pathfinder. His wagons came soon after under the direction of his wife, Zina, who had two hired teamsters.

4Jonathan Ellis Layne, "Writings and History of Jonathan Ellis Layne" (typescript of a narrative based upon the Layne Journal, 1887 to 1891. Ms. on file in the Glenbow Foundation Library, Calgary, Alberta.)
law of man or of God and I am an exile, going, I knew not where. Well, it was a clear day but there were large drops of water on my cheeks for sometime, but I saw this would not do to be standing there looking back so I turned my face northward, braced up and pulled my cap over my face and drove on . . .

Card too felt reluctant to leave the city he had helped to establish and which had been his home for twenty-seven years.
CHAPTER XIII

NORTHWARD BOUND

Card's days of evading the Marshals were not yet over, nor were his days of adventure.

Wednesday, March 23, 1887, at 8:00 p.m. Card left his home in Logan in company with his brother-in-law, William F. Rigby, who had offered to drive him to the depot at McCammon, Idaho.

Card was in his newest disguise, consisting of a haircut which was "much shorter than usual," a clean shaven face, a heavy maple cane, and a pipe which cost him twenty-five cents. In the darkness the men ran the buggy off a four foot embankment, upsetting the rig, Card, Rigby, and most of the contents of the buggy were drenched and Card's new three dollar hat floated away in the darkened stream.

As the men were collecting their gear a new danger threatened in the form of a group of marshals who had been just across the stream, and came hurrying to investigate the commotion. Card assumed a heavy Irish brogue with such success that the marshals permitted them to go on their way unmolested.

The two men drove on to the Rigby home where they changed their clothes and repaired the buggy. Soon they were on their way again. This accident was fortunate, and Card acknowledged it to be providential.

Had we not met with this accident I fear we would have driven into a worse wash in the hollow just south of the Trenton school house that had been washed out by the floods caused by the melting snows, but on our return to get dry blankets and clothing we were warned of the missing bridge and took another road.

Soon Card was on the train, and after travelling for two days with-
out being recognized, reached Helena, Montana. There he met Thomas L.
Smith, Orson Smith, S.F. Allen, Joseph Ricks, Michael Johnson, and Niels
Monson. Monson and Ricks were to go with Card, Monson supplying the horses,
and Ricks the tent and wagon.

The group waited at Helena for President Thomas E. Rich, who wished
to accompany them. During this week of waiting they bought farm implements
and supplies for the journey. Card’s comments reveal some anxiety.

for the pioneers to start at once and all others to follow as soon as
possible that they may get there as soon as possible ahead of high
water.

Thur. Mar. 31, 1887: I am sorry to be delayed waiting for others
when I should be travelling northward but such is the case. I am now
a creature it seems of circumstances and have to abide the time of
others which teaches me the great lesson of patience.

Fri. Apr. 1, 1887: Passed the day much as usual not forgetting to
appeal to God to aid me in my mission and those that follow.

By April 2nd the group felt that they could wait no longer, and con-
sequently President Card, with Bishop Smith, bid farewell to his friends
and left with Monson as teamster. That night it was cold enough to put a
quarter inch of ice on the water pail in the tent.

The next day they arrived at the Monson and Johnson railroad camp
near Carterville. Again they waited for President Ricks. At 11 a.m. Wed-
nesday, the three men pushed on without Ricks, but the following day he
overtook the party about 2 p.m. as they were having dinner, just over Bird-
tail Divide. Card was now satisfied and grateful that they could at last
begin to travel more rapidly.

The next part of the journey, to Dupuyer, Montana, was through very
hilly country.

Sat. Apr. 9, 1887: The last 18 miles we encountered some very steep
hills and in order to successfully make our points in time we were obliged to aid our team by hitching ropes to the end of the wagon tongue and then to the horns of Prest Ricks and my saddle horse pulled by the horns of the saddles and done good service in aiding the faithful span on a load of 2500 pounds.

A heavy snow storm held the group in camp for three days, giving them an opportunity to tally the cost of the pioneer outfit. Expenses came to $124.21, which was divided between Card, Ricks, and Smith, costing them $41.40 each.

By April 13, 1887, the four men had gone as far as the Peigan Indian Agency in northern Montana. They found the "stockmen somewhat afraid of attacks by roving bands of Blood Indians." Pushing the horses as hard as possible, the group crossed the border Saturday, April 16, 1887, and reported in at the Mounted Police Station for a pass across the Blood Indian reserve to Ft. Macleod.

A HOME IS LOCATED

With a pass granted them, the pioneers crossed the St. Mary's River Sunday morning and proceeded north. They crossed Lee's Creek near its mouth and camped on the Blood Indian reserve between Lee's Creek and the Belly River. Heavy wind and snow forced them to pitch their tent and remain there until the storm passed. Then they drove on to Stand-off on the north bank of the Belly River. By morning there was about two inches of snow on the ground, but the sun shone brightly and it was gone by noon.

The search for a settlement location began Monday, April 18th.

In the afternoon Thos E. Ricks & myself went on horse back up the north side of the Kootenay or Waterton R. Crossed to the south side and came down the river. Saw much good land on both sides but the most preferable in our judgment was on the south side near Stand-off.
Tuesday Card went to Macleod with Fred Pace, who ran the trading post at Stand-off, "to fill the ends of the law and pay the required duties," while Ricks, Smith, and Monson scouted the Kootenay River to view the country for a possible location. At Macleod Card paid thirty-five percent duty ($10.67) on his new plow, harrow, garden rake, and hoe. He searched for information about entering lands, oaths, customs tax, and so on. He was annoyed because the officials "required the other brethren to come in and report in person which was wrong but I consented that they should." Card and Pace returned to Stand-off that night in a snowstorm.

The other three men went to Macleod on Wednesday as required, leaving Card at Stand-off for two days, which was very distasteful to him.

Apr. 20, 1887: . . . the brethren did not return consequently I had to stay in this ungodly place with adulterous and ungodly men who care for nothing only filthy lucre seeming lusting after the Indian women rolling in filth daily.

Apr. 21, 1887: I plowed my first furrow on British soil for Mr. Fred Pace of the place . . . the brethren returned just after dark which was a great relief to me to have the priviledge of their company instead of wicked men who know not and care not about the ways of God. Slept happily in the tent tonight with my colaborers.

Still seeking a location for the Mormon colony, the foursome called on a large lease holder, Mr. Carr, to arrange a rental or sale of land, but they met with failure. After checking their horses with the Government Veterinarian at Macleod, the group continued their quest for land. What seemed to Card to be the most plausible solution was to get a small piece of land and expand from there. With this in mind Card "wrote a letter to Prest. John Taylor suggesting he aid us to buy a place near the Blood Indian reservation that we may gain a foot hold to start with as an entering wedge." He also wrote to the Honorable Thomas White, Secretary of the Interior about leases for settlement.
Sunday they called on a Mr. Smith at his farm, also with negative results. Then they "called on young Mr. Cochrane to see if he would admit us to settle on his lease, but he said he had no authority to act in the matter."

Leaving the Cochrane ranch, the group crossed the Bellly River, went south-east for four miles, made camp, and prepared to hold a sacrament meeting.

During the meeting Brother Monson declined to partake of the Lord’s Supper because of some remarks which had been made by President Ricks. An apology followed. Using this as a lead Bishop Smith said he thought President Card and President Ricks were holding back information about the business at hand. Again apologies and forgiveness were exchanged, the Sacrament was administered to all, and harmony was restored. The sacredness of the Sacrament, and the seriousness with which the brethren regarded its covenant, was an important factor in maintaining harmony in the group, as it continued to be during the years of colonization.

The next day Card and his colleagues moved twelve miles south-east to Lee’s Creek. Card and Monson

\[\text{Apr. 25, 1887}\] . . . started up the Creek and had only proceeded up the stream about 1 mile when we came to a house and learned of 2 men that occupied the cabin that they claimed about one mile of the land up and down the Creek their cabin being in the middle of their claim. . . . We found several nice flats unoccupied on the stream surrounded by hills covered with a luxurious growth of grass.

Back in camp, the day was climaxcd with a tasty pot pie at supper, made from the abundance of prairie chicken.

The impressions of the country around Lee’s Creek must not have been too good, for the next day the men explored again on the St. Mary’s River.

\[\text{Apr. 26, 1887}\] . . . we concluded to explore the St. Mary’s River
for 10 or 12 miles from the mouth of Lee's Creek ... drove about 3 miles above the Mounted Police Station and camped for dinner. Ep. Smith and I went up the river about 5 miles and explored the valleys and hills the former only extended about 3 miles and found most of the river bottoms were very gravelly. The good land being mostly in the minority however it will all afford good pasture but the best soil is not so good as that on the bench or platteau on the south side of Lee's Creek.

After a hearty supper, supplemented with "3 nice trout caught by Niels Monson--the first from Canadian waters" the brethren concluded that a decision must be made. Card's journal entry for that day carried a note of finality.

Apr. 26, 1887: ... This evening we voted unanimously that Lee's Creek was the best location at present and decided to plant our colony thereon.

The following day Card and Ricks "called at the Police Station and instructed the Sarjt. in command to direct our wagons and parties following us to our location about 3 miles up Lee's Creek."

With the decision made, Card wrote letters to President Taylor, Bishop Nicols, President Orson Smith, and to his wives. The company must have felt at home on this spot as they "rested here on our location for the second night."

THE COLONISTS ARRIVE

Now that the location of the settlement had been established, Card and Monson went to Lethbridge, the nearest settlement of any size, to purchase some equipment, seed, and supplies. They visited Mr. Fred Champness, Receiver of Customs, to get information about land laws and settlers rights in Alberta; they also visited the Dominion Lands Office to ascertain the legality of settling on the expired lease at Lee's Creek.
The men had their horses shod and started back to Lee's Creek, but were unable to cross the swollen Belly River to pick up the supplies which they had left at Fred Pace's trading post. However, the high water did not stop the Indians from crossing any time they wished, so Card hired an Indian for fifty cents to take a note to Mr. Pace. Card's journal reads:

May 1, 1887: ... he [Mr. Pace] came down to the opposite bank and told me he would bring plow, harrow, potatoes, oats, tools etc. that we had left and an Indian swam his horse to and fro and packed over the small things and dragged the plow and harrow over with a rope.

As they arrived at their Lee's Creek camp about sundown, the brethren were cheered to find that the first of the pioneers from Cache Valley had arrived. The next morning the new arrivals, Andrew R. Allen and his son Warner H., were taken for a short tour of the country. Then the work of settlement began in earnest as:

May 2, 1887: Bro. A.L. Allen hitched his team of 3 horses onto my plow and I plowed the first furrow. Bro. T.E. Ricks next, Bp. Smith the third, Bro. N. Monson the fourth, Bro. A.L. Allen the fifth and Bro. B.H. Allen the sixth and we continued changing more or less for 2 or 3 hours and plowed about half an acre which was well plowed and the soil being a rich alluvial.

May 3, 1887: ... aided by the brethren I planted the first garden on the north bank of Lees Cr. We planted onions, lettuce, carrots, beets, radishes and potatoes. We can readily and properly call this the Pioneer Garden although small it was well done in a hasty manner. Bro. Allen continued to plow for oats for me. I left him oats and potatoes enough to sow and plant about 5 acres.

The as-yet-unbuilt community was evidently christened at this time for Card's journal contains a large, underlined heading which reads:

**Lee's Creek, Alberta, Canada**

**Tuesday, May 3/87:** ... The community bore this name consistently for several months.

Tuesday was also the day chosen by the four pioneers to return and direct the on-coming immigrants to the new Canadian settlement. The Allens
remained on Lee's Creek.

The first night the brethren were camped by a pond when their evening meal was interrupted by:

One of the Blood Indian Chiefs by the name of Red Crow with his wife family and relatives to the number of 10 or 12... we gave them supper and had quite a chat with them in their way. As the chiefs son James could speak a few words of broken English I took the occasion to learn all I could from them.

Moving rapidly over the now familiar trail, the party headed south, not even stopping to rest on Sunday, for they found no wood and a poor water supply.

The settlers had been moving northward in small groups. On May 9th the first of these groups was encountered, Robert Daines, Mark Preece, Samuel Matkin and his wife Sena. May 10th the party met Thomas Leavitt and Johannes Anderson with their families. With renewed hope for the success of the Lee's Creek venture, Card directed these hardy pioneers on to their destination.

There was also a note of sadness this day as Card, Monson, Ricks, and Smith "took our last meal together as a Pioneer Company of our hardy camp of Pioneers to our Lee's Creek Colony, Alberta." President Ricks stayed at his son's railway camp near Silver City, Bishop Smith and Niels Monson left Card at Helena and started back to Cache Valley, their assignment complete.

After travelling alone on horseback for nearly two days, late in the afternoon of Thursday, May 12th, Card was overjoyed to meet the... company that my wife Zina and her 2 sons Sterling and Joseph were travelling with who were composed of Bro. John A. Woolfe & wife Mary and son J.A. Jr. and 5 smaller children, Bro. Wm Rigby Jr., who drove one of my teams, Geo. W. Lewis who was driving Bp. G.J. Farrells teams, also Francis C. Preece and Henry Matkin who were driving the
cows and other loose stock and were sons of Bro. Mark F. and S.M. whom I met Monday last. I can assure the future perusers of my Journal that this was a happy meeting for me to meet a faithful wife and sons who had toiled through a month of cold stormy weather over mountains, hills and bleak plains and snow capped mountains.

I found this little spartan like band in good spirits for they had leaned on the Lord. I returned about 2 miles with the company and we camped for the night and after returning gratitude to God rested in peace.

There are two interesting accounts of this meeting as seen through the eyes of the occupants of the wagons:

Johnny, as usual driving the lead team, spotted the lone, khaki clad rider approaching. The man alighted, tied his horse to a post of the wire fence along one side on the road and started for the wagon train. Johnny kept his eye on him, and as he stopped Aunt Zina's team, climbed in her wagon and kissed her. Johnny shouted to his father who drove the team just behind him, "Pa, that old galoot is getting in Aunt Zina's wagon -- he's kissing her." Father had recognized his bewhiskered friend, C.O. Card, and gave the go-ahead sign and the wagon wheels rolled along.

It was just south of Helena where Brother Card met them. He had been traveling on horseback and had on canvas trousers and a canvas coat which were much too large for him; his hat had been hanging on a nail and had been rained on, so there was a high peak in the middle of it, and the brim was all out of shape; he needed a haircut badly and his whiskers were long and shaggy. He was indeed a queer looking man, and Brother Wolfe and his son, who were ahead of Aunt Zina, looked back and saw him getting into her wagon. Then Brother Wolfe's son said, "Oh, look father! that old galook is getting into Aunt Zina's wagon," His father replied, "Yes John I saw him, and Aunt Zina is kissing the old galook."

From the memory of Jane Woolf Bates comes the picture of the wagons as they rolled north:

It was arranged previously for these two families to travel together and each was furnished with two wagons, one of which had an extension built out to fit large-sized bed springs, so that trunks and packing cases could be placed under the beds, with extra clothing, bedding and

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food packed conveniently near the front. Mother's rocking chair was strapped securely on the back end. "Aunt Zina" Card had a folding camp chair on the rear of their wagon. The second wagon carried the cook stoves, plow, shovels, axes, picks, pitchforks, wrenches, camp cooking utensils, such as iron bake oven, iron pot, iron skillet, and iron tea kettle, also nose bags and oats for horses, bags of flour and vegetables, wash tub and wash board, table utensils of an unbreakable kind and other necessities.

Some wagons carried a crate of chickens on the back, and once a rack was made on the back of a wagon for a new born calf, which, when crossing deep water, was taken inside the wagon.

The cows often became lame with cracked hoofs or with gravel in them, then stopovers for two or three days were necessary. The hoofs were washed clean of gravel, filled with tar and wrapped in gunny sacking.

In those days there were no good roads, only old wagon trails with ruts, stones, stumps and tree roots to keep one bumping. The weather was often stormy with snow or rain adding to the discomfort. The party some times overtook or came upon others who were hopelessly stuck in the mire until other help arrived. Then the help came and one wagon was dragged out backwards, another one pulled out by several horses hitched to the end of the wagon tongue.

Card directed the wagons of the company back to Canada, taking twenty-two days to accomplish what he had done in nine days coming to meet them. With the heavily loaded wagons, twenty-six head of stock, sixteen horses to drive, heavy snow, poor feed, lack of water and wood, and hazardous stream crossings, it was no wonder that the company were forced to travel slowly.

Wilcox caught the spirit of the journey as he wrote:

With their indomitable leader at the head, the little wagon train again wound its way across the hills and through the woods over a badly rutted trail. The roads were soft and the loads heavy but the light of their mission burned brightly in the minds of these visionaries. Ruts might hinder them, snows discomfort them, swollen streams delay them but undaunted and undismayed, they pushed steadily on toward their objective.

Other families joined the wagon train, Josiah A. Hammer and his wife

Wilcox, op. cit., p. 55.
Elizabeth, George L. Farrell and his wife Lizzie, Edward R. Miles and his wife Jeanette.

On May 23rd, the emigrant train halted as they emerged from the wooded country into the treeless prairies. Card was well acquainted with the country that lay ahead so they "cut wood to make up the deficiency for the balance of our journey to Lee's Creek, Alberta." Onto the heavily loaded wagons went wood, wherever it could be placed. At the Peigan Indian Agency, six days later, lumber with which to build a boat was purchased and lashed under the straining wagons.

The rivers were rising rapidly so no rest came on Sunday. Each crossing was a hazard, and each time a crossing was successfully completed Card recorded an expression of gratitude for the guiding hand of the Lord and the prayers of the family back home.

The Canadian border was reached at ten-thirty a.m. Wednesday, June 1st -- in a rainstorm. Here they stopped and "gave three cheers [italics his] for our liberty as exiles for our religion." Again, Wilcox⁴ has given a description of what the pioneers might have experienced:

Let us step here and try to recapture that memorable moment when the Mormon immigrant train caught its first glimpse of Canada, their Zion in the North. They were poised on the northern slope of the Milk River Ridge which extends in a wide crescent from Old Chief Mountain on the western skyline to the point where it disappears into the eastern horizon. Before them lay mile after mile of rain-swept, rolling, treeless prairie. Not one thing existed to break the endless monotony of that lifeless plain except the blue slopes of the Rockies some thirty miles to the west with Old Chief Mountain standing out majestically in bold relief. Behind them extended eight hundred miles of open country with not a link of any kind to connect them to the beautiful settled valleys and homes they had left. After one long look a-

⁴Ibid., pp. 59-61.
head and perhaps a short glance behind, the teamsters gathered up the lines and urged the horses to take up the slack in their traces. There was no turning back, there was only the road ahead for these exiles with new homes and a new life to carve out of this wilderness of grass-covered prairie.

Silently, these intrepid pioneers moved forward and by two o'clock had reached Willow Creek. As the rain continued to sweep across the unbroken prairie, the company decided to make camp for the balance of the day. Perhaps their hopes had been too great for the first glimpse of Alberta to be reassuring. However, they soon discovered reasons to feel encouraged and they regained their spirits. The feed was found to be excellent. At that time in many places the prairie grass was belly-high on a horse and very succulent, too. The soil was dark, rich and well-filled with humus. Crops should grow abundantly and no tedious clearing of the land would be necessary. Perhaps the first look had been deceptive after all.

The pioneers went to sleep that first night on Canadian soil with rain beating against their covered wagons. As they awoke the next morning, they were greeted by four inches of newly fallen snow—a typical Canadian welcome!

Knowing that the St. Mary's River would be high, Card ordered the boat to be built. This was the first Thursday of the month, "fast and testimony day" for the Mormons. Card wrote:

June 3, 1887: ... I should here relate we held fast day and had a little meeting in the evening. I advised the brothers and sisters to be guarded in their sayings before strangers. Also told them to ask the Lord to open the way that we might cross the river in safety. We all made it the burthen of our prayers in public & secret.

The next morning the wagons moved to the St. Mary's River. They were met by Sargeant Brimner of the North West Mounted Police, who bore good news. He said that the snow had actually checked the rise of the river and it was now lower by eighteen inches than it had been the previous two days. By doubling the teams on each wagon, the crossing was completed safely in about three hours, without the use of the boat. Card's closing thoughts for that day were optimistic.
June 3, 1887: ... About 4 p.m., we landed in a snow and rain storm and thankful to be safe even in a storm. However the rain was timely as the brethren reported it very dry the day or two before. ... Our addition increased the camp here to 41 souls.

The pioneers were home at last, but they did not all share Card's enthusiasm for the spot which he had chosen. Sister Hammer put her head through the tent opening and shouted to Brother Card who was making a survey, "Brother Card, is this the kind of a place you have brought us to?" "Yes," he shouted back, "Isn't it beautiful? Have you ever seen anything like it?" "No, I never have!" was her reply.

Jane Bates⁵ has given us the reaction of four year old Wilford Woolf.

There was talk of going home; "We'll be home tonight," etc. On nearing the location in the rain with nothing in sight except one covered wagon box setting on the ground, "(the others being out of sight), Wilford Woolf, aged four, gazed all around and said, "Ma, you said we'd be home tonight."

"Yes," she answered, "this will be home from now on."

"But Ma," (the question came with quivering lips and tearful eyes) "Where's all the houses?"

She gazed around too, who can tell with what longing, but she bravely and cheerfully reassured him with promises of home and happiness until all felt that spirit. Bad weather overhead and underfoot could not dampen the spirits of that dauntless company.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE COLONY GROWS

The story of Charles Ora Card in Cardston is not a repetition of the story of Charles Ora Card in Logan. In Cache Valley he was a pioneer leader who could look to those of higher office for inspiration. In Cardston he was accepted as the divinely appointed leader, expected to give inspiration to the rest.

CHURCH ORGANIZATION IS ESTABLISHED

Religion was the driving force behind the Mormon colony. Card had the church organization completed long before there was a building in which to meet. Church services were of prime importance, and even on that first Sunday, June 5, 1887, the immigrants were called together for a meeting.

Although it rained most of the day I called all together we could get and held a meeting in the tent of Bros E.R. Miles and Josiah Hammer. We administered the sacrament for the first time on this stream. The tent where we held our meeting was in the first bend above the 16 mile stake on the south side of the River on a claim taken by myself, making me the first Latter-day Saint to locate on Lee's Creek. In this meeting Elders Robt. Daines, G.L. Farrell, A.L. Allen, John A. Woolf, J.E. Layne, and self expressed our pleasure of having a peaceful place to meet, also our satisfaction with our location. All seemed pleased with our first meeting although we had to crowd in a 14 x 16 tent to worship the Lord our God in and partake of the Holy Sacrament for the renewal of our covenants & refreshing of our spirits.

The poor circumstances under which these Saints were forced to meet did not detract from the Spirit of the Lord, which was poured out upon them. Two weeks later, in a sabbath meeting, Jonathan E. Layne prophesied that this new land would produce for them all that their Cache Valley homes and lands had produced, and that Temples would yet be built in this country.

This must have seemed an impossible thing to the people assembled,
who had nothing but wagons and tents to call their home. However, it must have been inspiring to Card, who just finished building a magnificent temple at Logan three years before, to know that this land had a glorious future and that he was to be the instrument in the hands of God in laying the foundation for its development.

HOUSING IS DELAYED

The prime concern of the new settlers was the building of homes. However, timber was not readily available on the prairies. They made an attempt to procure timber, under the guidance of Mr. E.N. Barker, but the roads were too soft and plans for homebuilding had to be postponed until fall. For the entire summer the settlers lived in tents and wagons.

During August and September log houses were finally started. By the end of the first year the settlement consisted of eleven log homes built by Ricks, Farrell, Layne, Hammer, Card, Daines, Leavitt, Anderson, Woolf, Roberts, and Matkin. The Monsons lived in a dugout home that first winter, making a dozen homes in all. Wilcox has described these homes and their furnishings:

Most settlers' houses were built of logs on a square plan with a sod roof and gable ends. Short beams supported the weight of the long rough lumber, then a layer of tar paper for waterproofing and finally sod squares to protect the paper and act as insulation against heat losses in winter. The chimney was frequently a round five-gallon can set in a square hole in the roof for the stove pipe to pass through. The walls were chinked with split timber and plastered with mud both inside and out. Only rough lumber was available for flooring. Doors, windows, lumber, nails, and tar paper had to be purchased in Lethbridge. Each man built his own cabin with assistance in raising the log walls and he could always get advice from the four experienced carpenters.

1 Wilcox, op. cit., p. 73-75.
among the settlers in Cardston.

No one felt self-conscious about the crudeness of either his home or its furnishings because everyone was experiencing the same difficulties. The settler built his own table, benches, stools, washbowl and cupboards. The bed frame was constructed of peeled poles and nailed to the wall. When the bed springs were available, these were placed on top of the frame and in other cases a mattress of straw was used. The larger families found it necessary to put extra mattresses on the floor at night and these were piled on the bed during the daytime.

Three coal oil cases, two on end and one across the top, served the purposes of a dressing table. Covered with curtain material and a scarf, this could be made an attractive piece of furniture. Tallow candles, coal oil lamps and various toilet articles were placed on the vanity and a mirror was nailed to the wall above the table. Large packing cases, fitted with shelves and lined with paper, made useful cupboards when fastened to the wall in a convenient place. The wood stoves usually had four holes and a wide, removable hearth which covered the ash pan. The oven doors swung out and were fastened with a latch. Reservoirs and warming ovens were conspicuously absent. With their iron tea kettles, iron pots and skillets, bake ovens and sheet iron dripping pans, the Mormon women were able to prepare such tempting things as salt-rising bread, graham gems, cornmeal Johnny cake, pancakes, buttermilk or baking powder biscuits, and others. Of course this was only temporary equipment which, in most cases, was replaced within two years by more useful furniture and utensils. Nevertheless, the sisters proved themselves worthy pioneers and complained very little about the inconvenience with which they were plagued.

During November and December the men were very busy "plastering log cabins and building stables for the stock." Christmas was made a week of relaxation. A Christmas party for the children, but attended by all, was held in the Card home December 24th.

The combination school and meeting house was erected in December but not completed until January, 1888. Card has preserved the story of the plastering and dedication:

Jan. 23, 1888: ... the thermometer registered 20° below zero and by 1 or 2 pm it was 40 degrees above and although we were enjoying 8 inches of snow It was all gone and the boys playing ball on the Prairie on the 26th inst. We so far completed our house we hold meetings in it on Sunday the 29th.

Feb. 3, 1888: ... on Thursday the 2nd inst. We held our fast meeting in our school house and dedicated it to the Lord for the purpose
of meeting, Schools and social purposes. We continued our labors until
the house was very neatly seated. We held a dance on the eve of the
day we dedicated our house, where old and young of our colony partici-
pated. Two of the Mounted Police and a few of our gentile neighbors
joined us by invitation.

THE TOWN IS PLANNED

It was decided that the townsite should be located on the west side
of Lee's Creek. In order to divide the surrounding land among the families,
giving each an equal chance, lots were drawn.

Bates² has given this account:

... a council meeting was held to determine the amount of land
necessary for a city and a site for its location. It was moved and
carried that they sink a well on the bench and to lay out land running
½ mile north and south and one mile east and west and held the same for
a townsite. It was also moved and carried that the surrounding quarter
sections be numbered and the corresponding numbers placed in the hat
and draw for them. This was done and each man drew his own quarter
section.

According to N.W. Macleod³

When the town was first laid out ... it comprised only three tiers
of blocks, twelve blocks in all, each lot seventeen rods square, with
four lots to the block.

In 1894, the town was resurveyed, and extended to one square mile
with blocks thirty-four rods square, and streets six rods (ninety-nine feet)
wide.

ECONOMIC CONCERN

Many of the families became greatly concerned about survival during

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³Norman W. Macleod, Picturesque Cardston and Environments (Cardston,
the coming winter. They had very limited supplies, even less money, and
no prospect of getting any work. Card, however, had implicit faith in his
mission and in God's sustaining hand, as he has indicated in his journal.
Those who followed his counsel were blessed with the opportunity to obtain
the things they needed.

Aug. 1887: When we first came upon the ground of Lee's Creek several
of the brethren became despondent for fear they could not obtain sus-
tenance for their families. While speaking upon our situation in one
of our meetings in June I was prompted to predict if we would remain
here and serve the Lord and not complain the way would be opened and
they would be able to procure labor remunerative enough to give them
food and raiment. Which has been literally fulfilled. The brethren
were employed building and haying for the Cochrane Ranching Co. and
earned enough for their winters bread, and also picked up enough odd
jobs to occupy all of the spare time they had outside of making their
families comfortable, also preparing to stable horses and cows . . .
By the time winter weather set in, our families were comfortably housed
and bread provided to eat . . . Truly I feel that we have a very faith-
ful band of Exiles here and those who are bound to make a mark in this
land that will weigh on the Credit side for the Saints.

Feb. 25, 1888: . . . our past trip was for the purpose of securing
labor for the brethren who need bread and seed or will soon. But we
seemed to be a little in advance of the season but live in hopes to
obtain all that is necessary. The Lord has always provided for our
wants and certainly we can trust him in the future. . . . [March 12,
1887]: the brethren left to haul flour to the Blood Indian Agency to
fill the new contract.

Further evidence of the wise counsel of Card comes from the Layne journal. 4

Aug. 24, 1887: Bro. Card told me I should meet my family and all
would be well with them. . . . [Sept. 5th]: met my family, all were
well and getting along well, just as Bro. Card said I would.

Summer 1888: . . . left to haul oats from Standoff & Lethbridge for
3 weeks. . . . When I left home my field fence was not complete. We
had to watch stock and the grain was very short, the ground had been
dry and it looked as though we would have but little grain, if any,
when it began to rain copiously. Bro. Card came to me and said he
wished me to take my teams and go to Lethbridge to help haul hay as
just then they were not getting along very well with the contract, the
roads were so muddy that they had to put two teams on one wagon to get
along. I explained to Bro. Card the situation, my crop and haystack

4Layne Writings.
just to the square, no top on it. I felt as though I could not go, he told me if I would go and do the best I could that I should lose nothing of what I left and would earn quite a sum and I would not regret going. I went, agreeable to his request and was gone three weeks and when I got home I found the grain had grown about one-half higher since I left, the stock had not touched it and I had a fair yield of grain and one hundred and twenty-five dollars to cash as our earnings from the contract of hauling hay. As no rain fell after that, I started to load hay, road was soon good and we almost hauled two loads with one team by the time we were through, and the stack of hay I had left without a top kept well and I finished it and had plenty of hay for the winter and this was the blessing of the Lord because I had hearkened to the voice of the Lord, through the mouth of His servant, Bro. Card.

OUTSIDERS' VIEWS

The new settlement on Lee's Creek attracted wide publicity. Several people made visits to the community and some of these observers made favorable reports to the newspapers of the area:

The Lethbridge News, Aug. 17, 1887: Settlers on Lee Creek and St. Marys River appear to be steady industrious men and are for the most men with sufficient means to make farming a success. They appear to belong to the most desirable class of settlers and their immigration should be encouraged rather than discouraged.

We note that the Montreal Star opposes this settlement. We think it will be enough for the Star to speak of teaching these Mormons to respect the law when any attempt is made by them to set it at defiance.

A number of families arrived this spring and settled on Lee's Creek. They lost no time getting to work and broke up and cropped a large acreage. The crops thrived and are now equal to any in the country, and we may consider ourselves in luck in getting such valuable settlers. Considerable fencing has been done and a well sunk on the bench struck excellent water at thirty feet.

This settlement has applied for mail service. The probable name will be "Charlestown."

Being asked how the country compared with Utah, Mr. C.O. Card, who is at the head of the settlement said that the soil as a whole was better than in Utah. Altogether he expressed himself as well satisfied with the location.

Fort Macleod Gazette, Aug. 30, 1887: All the settlers, except one family are living under canvas. Already twelve houses are in course of erection, and will be occupied before very long. The main part of the
settlement is on the south side of Lee's Creek . . .

. . . The oats were only put in on June 1st and are over five feet high . . . wheat is growing and thriving, which twelve days from the date of sowing was five inches high. Corn is now in the silk which was planted on June 10th.

. . . the progress made is wonderful and stamps those who compose it as people of more than ordinary energy.

Mr. Farrell has started a store at Lee's Creek. No one can form any idea of the hospitable way in which they will be received at Lee's Creek until they try it.

The Lethbridge News, Sept. 21, 1887: The Edmonton Bulletin has voiced their objection to the Mormons, and brand the Gazette and the News as the champions of Mormonism.

We wish to say that we want to see that these settlers should have fair play. They should be judged innocent until proven guilty.

We have seen the colony and declare that not all Mormons are polygamous.

We shall continue in our opinion that the settlers on the St. Mary's will prove an acquisition to Alberta and will assist in building up a prosperous country.

The Lethbridge News, Dec. 17, 1890: Mr. Sweet of Winona, Minnesota was here on a visit to see about ranching.

He visited the Mormon colony at Cardston and was struck by the fine appearance of the stock.

. . . These families should be given every encouragement to locate in this vicinity, as from what Mr. Sweet says for them, they would make good settlers.

But not every reaction was positive because of the unfavorable reports about Mormons that were so widespread in the United States.

PROBLEMS ARISE

The immediate concerns of housing, food, fuel, transportation, and mail service, were not the only problems facing the community. The repercussion, in Canada, of the "Mormon problem" in the States seriously hamper-
ed the efforts of the Lee’s Creek Colony to forward their project.

When the Mormons asked for tracts of land to be held in a block, the newspapers set up a howl of protest, calling for the Mormons to be dispersed and not be allowed to form a colony. When they requested timber and water rights, the ranchers sent letters of protest declaring that there had been an infraction of their grazing rights. When a charter for a co-operative enterprise was requested, meetings of opposition were held in several parts of southern Alberta, and petitions of protest were sent to the Territorial Legislature. The greatest opposition arose when the Mormons asked that they be allowed to bring their plural families into the country.

All this meant that Card had to be very careful and cautious in building the community. He not only had to be sure that every enterprise was legal, but he was quick to see the necessity of good public relations. This led the colony to express Canadian patriotism on every occasion possible.5

What was to be the first of many such occasions was the 1st of July celebration held just one month after their arrival in Canada, under a hastily erected bowery, to which were invited the neighboring ranchers and policemen.

5There has never been, as far as this research has determined, a celebration on July 4th among the American settlers in Canada. Even from their entry into Canada in June 1887, July 1st, “Dominion Day,” has been celebrated with much enthusiasm by the Mormon communities.
CHAPTER XV

POLITICAL AND LEGAL PROBLEMS

The very reason for the Mormons coming to Alberta was to find refuge from persecution and political oppression.

The Settlers were quick to learn the regulations controlling immigration and settlement, and were willing to comply with every law, even though it was sometimes inconvenient. As each group of settlers arrived they were duly registered with the immigration authorities at Macleod or Lethbridge.

Card made the trip to Macleod and Lethbridge at least once a month for the first year to comply with the ends of the law and learn the rights and privileges of citizens. This brought him into a close friendship with the government officials in these two neighboring towns.

In a very short time Cardston was established on a firm legal foundation and Mr. Shaw was appointed by the government to be customs agent in the town. The North West Mounted Police outposts were consolidated with barracks in Cardston.

DELEGATION TO OTTAWA

Card and the other brethren of the community had located enough timber and coal to establish homes and provide fuel for the settlers, but could not proceed with any large enterprise without property rights.

Consequently, in October, 1888, the Church sent Apostles Francis M. Lyman and John W. Taylor, to assist in such matters.

The two Apostles, with Card, went to Ottawa to obtain several rights, including the privilege of moving plural families to
Alberta. The plea was made in the form of well organized letters which were presented to Edgar Dewdney, Minister of the Interior, who in turn gave copies of the requests to each department concerned.

The request for an acceptance of plural families was rejected by every government official interviewed from the Prime Minister, Sir John A. McDonald, to the Honorable MacKenzie Bowell, Minister of Customs, who said, "you are free to bring anything you like, except your polygamy which cannot be admitted." These officials were not anxious to arouse political opposition by supporting the unpopular Mormon cause.

The final reply has been summarized by Archie Wilcox in a concise manner.

The final reply came far short of what the Mormons had hoped to get. They could purchase the half section for a townsite but no land would be made available in a block for purchase at $1.25 an acre or at any other price. The Mormons were required to take out homesteads, buy pre-emption or make purchases in the same manner as all other settlers. The Minister referred to the failure of the group settlement which the Mennonites had been permitted to make and he declined to allow any more. Stone was free except in instances where quarries were opened for the purpose of selling building materials in which case the Government charged a 5% sales tax. There were no laws governing water rights in

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1 This request, when discovered by the press, was given wide publicity in Canada and led to severe criticism by the editors. This was one of the factors that finally alienated the support of the Lethbridge News and the Macleod Gazette in defending the new communities against the attacks of other newspapers. It also led to an amendment of criminal law statutes by the Canadian Parliament on Friday, April 11, 1890, making polygamy punishable by a five year prison term.

2 Copies of these letters are found in the Card Copying Book and have been duplicated by Archie Wilcox, op. cit., pp. 123-124.

3 The requests were for nine items: Title to the hamlet; lands in a block for the church; timber; water power; stone quarries; free customs duty for settlers' effects; ferry boat across the St. Mary's river; weekly mail service; free transportation for immigrants. The marriage requests were made in a separate letter, a copy of which is in the Card Copying Book and Wilcox, op. cit., pp. 126-129.

4 Wilcox, op. cit., pp. 132-133.
the North West Territories and none were contemplated at the time. The Mormons were advised to secure timber permits covering their needs. All other matters were regulated by existing laws except the all-important question of polygamy which was referred to Sir John A. MacDonald. He left no doubt in the minds of the delegates that the practice of polygamy would never be tolerated in Canada.

While in the east, Card and Apostles Lyman and Taylor obtained interviews with other officials whom they thought could help further the interests of their colony, including the head of the North West Mounted Police.

The three men also visited places of historical interest, industrial and manufacturing plants, experimental farms, and lumber mills. Undoubtedly these visits stimulated Card to begin in earnest the industrial development of the new colony at Cardston.

THE CO-OPERATIVE

Returning to Cardston, Card proceeded to establish the Cardston Company Limited, a co-operative organized for the purpose of establishing industries in Cardston. The settlers of Cardston, coming from well established Mormon communities in Cache Valley, were quite well founded in the operation of co-ops, but to the neighboring townspeople, this appeared to be an attempt to organize a communal order, like the Mennonite or Hutterite societies with which they were acquainted. The Hutterite and Mennonite groups were unpopular; the Mormons were looked upon by outsiders in much the same way.

Card had been working with a Macleod attorney, Fredrick G. Haultain, to get the co-operative legally established. Representatives of the people of Macleod and Lethbridge opposed the co-op. They also opposed the Mormon policy of buying land blocks and living as a colony. However, the Mormons
had complied with the law, and could not be denied a charter for their com-
pany.

Establishment of the co-operative turned the here-to-fore friendly
newspapers of Macleod and Lethbridge against the Mormons.

THE COMMUNITY IS NAMED

Judging from the Card journals, the name by which the settlement was
known for many months was "Lee's Creek," but was sometimes referred to as
"Card's Colony." After its official inception as a ward of the Church, the
settlement was called "Card" and "Card Ward" on the church records. A few
addressed envelopes have survived to verify this fact.

The change to the name "Cardston" is fairly well revealed by the
entries in Card's journals. From June 1887 to July 1888 all of the refer-
ences to the community are "Lee's Creek, Alberta." From July 1888 to May
1889 both "Card" and "Lee's Creek" are used without discrimination. The
journal entry for May 18, 1889 reads: "Card is a place named in honor of
myself as its founder where I broke the first ground May the 2nd, 1887." For
the next two months all references to the settlement use the name
"Card." July 13, 1889 is the first entry in the journal calling the com-
munity "Cardston," and it is used consistently after this date. On Novem-
ber 5, 1889, Card's fiftieth birthday anniversary, the official name of the
community became "Cardston." The First Presidency of the Church were in
Cardston at this time and gave full approval to this change. The journal
entry of Nov. 5, 1889 reads:

... I presented the name of the place to the Presidency which was
formerly called Card and stated that the people would prefer Cardston
and the matter was voted upon at the party and changed to Cardston.
In light of the comment made in the *Lethbridge Herald*, one wonders what happened to the suggestion of the name "Charlestown."  

**CANADIAN CITIZENS**

Card and many other pioneers of the Cardston district came because they were called by the church to carry out this mission. They considered their personal contribution to be of temporary duration, and felt that they would soon be free to return home to Cache Valley.

However, the First Presidency of the Church released Card from all of his Cache Valley assignments in 1900, and asked him to remain with the colony in Canada. Card then began urging all of the permanent settlers to become citizens of Canada in order that they might have all of the privileges of citizenship and show their loyalty to the government which had granted them a new home.

One of these early pioneers was Jonathan E. Layne who was naturalized in the fall of 1889. Nearly all of the immigrants had been naturalized as Canadian citizens by the end of 1890. Charles Ora Card obtained his naturalization papers on October 16, 1890, at Macleod, Alberta.

Now that the immigrants were citizens of Canada, and the Manifesto was bringing the practice of polygamy to a halt in the church, the wave of resistance towards the settlers of Cardston receded, and harmonious relationships were resumed with the inhabitants of the neighboring communities of Lethbridge and Macleod.

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5 Supra, p. 118.  
6 Layne Writings.  
7 Card's naturalization papers are in the possession of Mrs. J.Y. Card, Lethbridge, Alberta.
CHAPTER XVI

CO-OPERATIVE ENTERPRISES

The leader of every new community has to face the immediate problems of housing, fuel, food, water, and sanitation. Co-operative effort was the method used by the early settlers to accomplish these tasks with a minimum of time, effort, and discouragement. By the time Card was appointed to take charge of the new settlement in Alberta, he had had considerable experience in directing the efforts of men and women in co-operative enterprises.

During the first three years, the new settlers directed all of their energy into establishing the community. Housing, fencing, crops, gardens, and fuel supplies were the main objects of concern. As the settlement grew in numbers\(^1\) the advisability of establishing some industrial and agricultural projects became apparent.

LANDS AND RANCHES

The General Authorities of the Church at Salt Lake City assisted the colony by purchasing the townsite of Cardston and leasing an eighteen thousand acre ranch just east of St. Mary's River.\(^2\) The land purchases were made through Charles A. Magrath, business manager of the Northwestern Coal and Navigation Company. Card's friendship with Magrath and with the Galts

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\(^1\)The population figures are: July 1887, 41 people; January 1888, 77 people; July 1888, 126 people; July 1893, 593 people; July 1901, 631 people. The present population of the town is about 2500 people.

\(^2\)The Church bought the \(\frac{3}{4}\) of Tp 3 R 24, 9,840 acres, and leased \(\frac{1}{2}\) of Tp 2 R 24, 18,400 acres. This leased land was later purchased by the church.
of Lethbridge led to the settlement of the whole southern country by the Mormon people.

Card devoted most of his time to the problem of lands. He was a land agent for Dominion Lands, Calgary and Edmonton Land Company, Hudson Bay Company, Alberta Railway and Irrigation Company (Northwestern Coal and Navigation Company), and the Canadian Pacific Railway.

To effectively handle the land sales the Alberta Land and Colonization Company was formed. Card issued $12,500.00 in stock.

Due to the pressure of public opinion, the government would not allow the church to buy land in a large block. Therefore, Card established the policy of homesteading each of the even numbered sections as they became available, placing four families on each section. The townsitewas on Section Nine and had to be purchased. The government allowed the Mormons to buy all of the available lands in four nearby townships (excepting the Hudson Bay lands and School lands) at $1.25 an acre, providing each purchase was made by an individual to be used for his own purposes. By the summer of 1891, the Mormons had also purchased the Hudson Bay lands at $2.50 an acre.

Well over a million acres of land were handled through Card's land office but it did not profit Card financially. His own comment was, "With all this land speculation and business association I never did become wealthy but had only a comfortable estate."

At first the Church Ranch was operated under the direct supervision of Card himself, but soon he found a man, Noah Shurtliff, to take charge of the ranch and its five hundred head of cattle. Although Card welcomed
the cattle business, it placed extra burdens upon him:

Arrival of the herd occasioned much extra work in the colony. Not only had the cattle to be branded but constant herding was necessary under the law which required animals to be kept within twelve miles of the international boundary for the first ninety days. The long drive to Canada had left the saddle horses in such poor condition that they were of little value in herding the stock so Card was kept very busy employing help and looking after his new charge.

Two years later, in November 1891, Card gave up the management of the ranch to Richard Pilling. Some of the ranch land was put under cultivation and sold to the incoming settlers, but most of it has remained a Church ranch through the years.

The Church has since purchased the Cochrane Ranch, MacIntyre Ranch, Bar K2 Ranch, and the Knight Ranch. These purchases gave the Church extensive holdings of more than one-half million acres of ranch lands in southern Alberta.

During the fall of 1890, while in Utah, Card arranged to obtain sheep for his colony. This project was entered into with some difficulty:

Oct. 10, 1890: Tried to raise money today to buy sheep to take into Canada but could not in consequence of the fluctuations of the market.

Oct. 13, 1890: Sought without success to borrow money to invest in sheep in Montana to drive into Canada to start his in this legitimate business. I always have sought a business that will not excite jealousy with or in the people.

Oct. 14, 1890: ... went to SL this morning to try to get cash there but did not succeed.

Oct. 24, 1890: ... got 3500 from State Bank of Utah ... 500 from church for rentals and fencing.

The stock arrived suddenly and rather unexpectedly causing a frenzied effort to make all the necessary preparations to care for the cattle during the winter. It took a whole month of concentrated effort to put up the house, sheds, corrals, and haystacks to care for such a large herd. See Wilcox, op. cit., pp. 136-137. 4Ibid.
Card then approached Ephraim Harker and was successful in persuading him to come to Canada to look after the sheep. On Nov. 7th Card and Harker bought 2227 yews and lambs at 2.50 per head, and 15 bucks, from a Mr. Smith in Great Falls. By Nov. 13th Card had selected a place for the sheep in Cardston, and had purchased slabs for the corrals.

THE CARDSTON COMPANY

The need to have household and food supplies closer than Macleod or Lethbridge was seen during the first year of settlement. Therefore, on Dec. 5, 1888, Card organized several citizens into a co-operative company known as the Cardston Mercantile and Manufacturing Company. Card turned his granary into a small store which opened for business Dec. 17, 1888 with four hundred dollars worth of stock. Business was lively, and even with the small margin of profit allowed, there was a twenty-five percent return on the investment in the first six weeks of business.

The Mercantile Company was incorporated as the Cardston Company Limited on June 15, 1890. As indicated previously, the incorporation of this company met with much opposition, but due to the persistence of Card, aided by Charles Magrath and Sir Elliot T. Galt, the company was approved by the territorial and federal authorities.

The Cardston Company took control of the co-op store and moved its contents from Card's granary to the empty meetinghouse that had been built early in 1888. The people had built a larger meeting house, 21' x 40' that was put into use the first Sunday of 1889. Card's granary became the of-

5Supra. p. 123.
for his land business. A new co-op store was completed and dedicated Sunday, June 12, 1892.

At the end of 1894, the store was paying twenty-five percent dividend to the stockholders, had capital stock worth $7,000.00 and a surplus of $4,500.00. Heber S. Allen managed the store which employed three other persons.

In the fall of 1889, Charles Ora Card imported a steam thresher with the intention of using the $1,650.00 engine as power for a sawmill and gristmill. This thresher, with its steam engine, became part of the Cardston Company during the fall of 1890.

Card immediately launched into a concentrated effort to make the proposed sawmill and gristmill a reality, but the problem of surplus milk demanded his attention also, and plans for a cheese factory were made as well.

During the fall of 1891, the planning of these projects had advanced to the construction stage. The site for the cheese factory was located by the creek at the south end of town, and the site for the gristmill immediately west, also beside the creek. Card then went into the timber about twenty-five miles southwest of Cardston and chose a site for the sawmill. This was like old times for Card after the numerous times he had gone into the mountains near Logan to select timber sites for the sawmills there. He located a roadway to the timber site at the same time.

During the winter of 1890-91 crews of men worked on the road and built the 20' x 44' log cheese factory.

In the spring of 1891, Card, as was his custom, went to Utah for a few weeks to visit his families and attend General Conference in Salt Lake City. During this time he made several attempts to find competent personnel
to come to Canada to run the new enterprises. He succeeded in getting Joseph M. Wight, a skilled blacksmith, wheelwright, and carpenter, to come to Alberta for the three summer months at $65.00 per month plus travelling expenses. Card also contacted a cheesemaker by letter far away in Ontario, Canada and persuaded him to come to Cardston. Card failed to find a miller at this time. Before he returned home, Card purchased a shingle mill and had it shipped to Lethbridge, Alberta.

June 1891 brought the activities of establishing two of the three industries to a successful start. June 5th, the sawmill, purchased from the Northwestern Coal and Navigation Company, was brought from its location on Belly River to Cardston. June 12th, the shingle mill was brought in. That same day the Wight family arrived in Cardston, and Brother Wight commenced the task of tearing down, repairing, and rebuilding the sawmill.

June 16th, Robert Ibay, the cheesemaker from Ontario, arrived and expressed satisfaction over the cheese factory facilities, except for the water, so the next day a new well was dug which yielded the "good clean pure water" required for good cheese. There still remained one problem -- no curd cutter. After attempts by several people to make a curd cutter, Card himself found the answer:

June 17, 1891: I invented a curd cutter made of wire . . . an iron band 10 x 20 with holes punched about 5/8 of an inch apart & small wire woven in & a handle put to it like a hoe which was thought will do the business.

This was Card’s triumph for the day, even superceding the celebration of his seventh wedding anniversary, much to the chagrin of his wife, Zina.

Monday morning, June 22, 1891, two hundred and sixty-three gallons of milk were delivered, and processed into cheese by Robert Ibay, assisted by virtually the whole town, including Card, who called this day, "A noted
President Card was not one for resting on his laurels for the very next day, June 23, 1891, they started with the sawmill to the mountains. Card's journal entries record the eventful journey:

June 23, 1891: . . . we loaded the saw & shingle mill on 6 wagons.

June 24, 1891: At 8 O'Clock AM our mill started for the timber via Boundary Creek. Engine drawn by 4 horses and one wagon by 4 horses the other 5 wagons were drawn by one span each. I went on horse back to look out road & pilot. We drove about 10 miles and just before camping for dinner in crossing a hollow we upset the engine which detained us an hour & we drove to where we left Boundary Creek & camped for the night. John Furman called my attention to the fact that U.S. Authorities were watching for me for fear I was going to cut timber on their side of the line.

June 25, 1891: . . . ½ horses gone . . . we started with 3 wagons and engine and had proceeded only a mile or two until we were stalled with engine in the mire and had to raise it with leavers and put brush in the road also the holes the wheels had made & with 6 horses pulled it out. we drove a mile or so farther and it began to rain. We arrived at the dugway & found it sticky and slippery. We leveled the dugway & took off the leaders from the Engine team chained the Engine back to another wagon locked it & another span of [horses] behind the wagon & by the 3 span of horses holding back & the locked wagon we made by this point then over the stream & mud holes with wet feet & shirts we toiled away until 7:30 pm. . . . camped here in the rain.

June 26, 1891: . . . went with Neil Hansen to search the boundary line . . .

June 27, 1891: Instructed the teamsters to bring up the mill machinery and leave the engine . . . by the aid of the Police field glasses I discovered the line from Pike Lake to be south of the timber I design cutting into lumber and shingles.

His sawyer, Joseph M. Wight, set up the saw and had a very successful season. He had plenty of help for the citizens were allowed to work out their lumber costs with labor at the mill.

At the end of the summer, thirty-five thousand pounds of cheese had been made at the factory, and the mill had produced one hundred and four thousand board feet of lumber and one hundred and fifty thousand shingles.
During the next three years, these two industries alone brought ten thousand dollars to the citizens of Cardston.

In the fall of 1891, a bounteous crop of twenty-five thousand bushels of grain was harvested, thanks to the efforts of Samuel Layton who had taken forty pounds of Odessa wheat brought to Canada by Card, and through successive planting made it produce the proverbial hundred-fold.

In early October, as soon as the harvest was complete, the settlers put up a 24' x 26' x 16' gristmill. Lumber for the gristmill came from the sawmill. The machinery and the two thousand dollar French Buhr millstones were brought to Cardston from Lethbridge on Dec. 28th by Samuel Matkin. The building was finished at the end of the year, just in time to be the site for a New Year's wedding dance for Richard Brown and his bride.

Feb. 5, 1892, the first wheat was ground to flour, with Samuel Matkin and Joseph Wight supervising the operation. The mill was powered by the steam engine which had been brought from the sawmill site. Until 1894, the steam engine made the journey into the mountains to the sawmill each summer, and was returned to Cardston for the winter to power the gristmill. After 1894, the mill was operated by water power.

A noted miller in Cache Valley, Sylvester Low, was persuaded by Card to come to Cardston to cast his future with the Canadian Saints.

The cheese factory expanded into the creamery business and still operates successfully as a co-op in Cardston today. A cheese factory is still in operation, although its location has been moved to one of the other settlements in the Cardston area. It is also interesting to note that Card established a piggery to use the whey from the cheese factory.

The sawmill and gristmill only survived a few years, and were re-
placed by larger, privately owned concerns. But it is to the credit of Charles Ora Card that these industries, part of the Cardston Company, served the citizens well during the early years when the community was being established.

Other co-operative enterprises, initiated through Card's influence, were the telephone line to Lethbridge in 1894, the steel bridge erected across the St. Mary's river in 1893, and an irrigation ditch in 1894.

Card was instrumental in the formation of the Cardston Chamber of Commerce, started as an instrument for the co-operative marketing of grain and dairy products, on Aug. 25, 1895, and a branch of the Industrial Bureau of Lethbridge, Aug. 7, 1897, to promote irrigation and industry.

The promotion of industry and agriculture did not make Card wealthy. In fact, money was very scarce in Cardston for the first twelve years. Credit was extended to nearly everyone and debts ran high. By 1895, in an attempt to get the co-operative enterprises back on a cash basis, the Cardston Company issued five thousand dollars in printed notes bearing Card's signature.

Card encouraged private enterprises as well as co-operatives. By 1895, the following private industries were in operation: shoemaking, dressmaking, glovemaking, carpet weaving, knitting factory, harness shop, blacksmith shop, wheel factory, sash and door mill, candy shop, two hotels, and a stage coach route. That year Card advertised for a carding mill and a steam laundry.

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6 There was so much difficulty over the establishment of the Cardston Company Limited that all other co-operative enterprises were established as part of the expansion program of the Cardston Company.
Within three years, two stores, a tin shop, meat market, and two carpenter shops, a bank, newspaper, coalmine, roller mill, and a lumber yard had been added to the list.

The success and permanence of these business enterprises testifies to Card's ability, both in promoting industry and business, and in selecting competent men to operate these services.
CHAPTER XVII

IRRIGATION

A very important part of the development and settling of southern Alberta was played by the irrigation project in which Charles Ora Card was a key figure.

Because of the experience which Card had had with irrigation in Cache Valley, he could see great possibilities for the land of southern Alberta if it were put under irrigation. He established a limited irrigation system in Cardston,¹ but had bigger things in mind.

There were others also who were interested in the future of southern Alberta. Two of these men were Sir Elliot T. Galt and Charles A. Magrath. Galt owned huge coal deposits and vast amounts of land in southern Alberta. These lands had been granted to him as payment for the building of two railway lines in southern Alberta. Charles A. Magrath was business manager for the Galt Enterprises.

As has been stated earlier, C.A. Magrath knew C.O. Card. Magrath had used his influence to help Card establish his Cardston Company and to incorporate the Alberta Stake of Zion.

Magrath had a great deal of respect for Card's ability as a leader and for his knowledge concerning irrigation. Card and Magrath had discussed irrigation many times, and Magrath was convinced that Card had the experience and knowledge to make a project work.

¹The first irrigation ditch was started Mar. 24, 1891. The second irrigation ditch, started Oct. 13, 1894, was called the "Real Pioneer Irrigating Ditch" but soon lost the title to the shorter name, "Pioneer Canal" when the water was turned into the ditch July 28, 1896.
In fact, Card was widely recognized as an authority on the subject of irrigation. The Honorable Mr. MacIntosh, Lieutenant Governor of the North West Territories, had invited Card to write a paper on irrigation that would be used for general circulation. That Card had seriously considered doing so is shown in his journal.

Oct. 22, 1894: . . . reading and studying the Irrigation laws of this country with a view of writing upon them as requested by Governor McIntosh the Lieut Governor of the North West Territories Canada.

Besides having a great deal of land, the Galts had money and political influence. The Mormons lacked money, but they had manpower and experience. Therefore, the Mormons and the Galts made a logical combination for carrying out the irrigation project. An agreement was finally worked out between the Galts and the Church with Charles O. Card as the middle man.

The Church agreed to supply the skilled labor to complete the irrigation project, and the Galts promised to pay the Church in money and in land, for the job.

Card was the man who chose the key workers he thought would be best suited for the job. The Church leaders then "called" the men to the work. The leaders had great confidence in Card, and gave him the responsibility

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2. It has not been determined in this research if Card ever wrote the proposed paper.

3. The project called for $100,000.00 to be allotted for labor costs with the entire contract for labor being given to the Mormon Church with the First Presidency as the contractor.

4. The Church was to get one-half of the contract in cash and one-half in land at $3.00 per acre.
of organizing the labor force for this project.\(^5\)

Church authorities told Card that they depended upon him to see that the work was done and that the contract was fulfilled. Card was an exceptionally busy man from this time on. He visited many Utah towns preaching the gospel of labor and land to a people hungering for new outlets. Many people came to Alberta at this time to join the construction outfits to work on the canal. President Card himself returned to Alberta to turn the first three furrows at Kimball with the aid of Earnest and Alma Kimball who stayed with Card until the work was finished.

Card had a keen sense of his responsibility and trust.\(^6\)

It has been a peculiar matter to arrange. I have had to work for the interests of both the Church and the Irrigation and Railway Company, and I have not betrayed either.

When the men had completed their "mission" in southern Alberta, Card signed their release before they were permitted to return to their homes. This policy, formulated by President Joseph F. Smith, emphasized the seriousness of these labor mission calls.

The owners of the canal were the stockholders of the Alberta Irrigation Company (originally the Northwestern Coal and Navigation Company and later the Canadian North West Irrigation Company), which was part of the Galt Enterprises.

The water was taken from the St. Mary's River about five miles above the international boundary. Card plowed the first furrows that broke the ground for the canal on Aug. 26, 1898. The channel was about twenty feet wide at the bottom and thirty feet wide at the top. It carried five feet of water. The channel ran eastward for several miles where it crossed Willow Creek. This crossing required two trestled flumes, each sixteen feet wide and seven hundred eighty-four feet long, carrying five feet of

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\(^5\)The engineer was George Anderson and the superintendent was M.D. Hammond. Both were requested by Card and obtained for this service by the First Presidency. See Bates, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 283.

\(^6\)Card Journal, Nov. 12, 1899.
water. The flumes were set upon trestle work thirty feet high and thirty feet wide.

A few miles further east the water was turned into Spring Coulee, a natural depression which carried the water for another twelve miles. Another channel two miles long connected Spring Coulee with Pothole Creek, another natural waterway used for another twelve miles. A further five miles of channel carried the water into Nine Mile Coulee, a six mile waterway. At this point the irrigation system was forked, with one channel running eastward to Stirling and the other channel running northward to Lethbridge. The project was completed to Stirling during the fall of 1899. Water flowed into Stirling Nov. 14, 1899, and into Lethbridge Sept. 12, 1900.

The canal had about sixty-five miles of channel in addition to the forty miles of natural waterways which were utilized as part of the canal, irrigating about two hundred thousand acres of land.

In recent years the whole St. Mary's River has been dammed to form the St. Mary's Irrigation Project and new channels have been cut to carry water from the Cardston area through the very fertile Taber district to Medicine Hat, Alberta. The original channels, made in Card's day, served southern Alberta for half a century, and are not used any more.

The irrigation canal opened up large areas of southern Alberta for colonization. As a result of this project the towns of Kimball, Spring Coulee, Magrath, Raymond, and Stirling came into being, and were originally settled by the Mormons.

During the three years the canal was under construction, Card spent eighteen hours a day actively engaged in this enterprise and his other du-
ties. The work took a heavy toll on his health for he was no longer a young man. However, he felt that he was performing a labor which would continue to be a great blessing to the people, and in this he was not mistaken.
CHAPTER XVIII

CHURCH LEADERSHIP IN ALBERTA

Card's greatest strength as a leader in the colony came by virtue of his appointment from Salt Lake City, the headquarters of the Church. To this calling Card added his special talent for selecting able councils to promote and complete his assignments.

When he first came to Alberta to establish a settlement, as directed by President John Taylor, Card was still president of Cache Stake. For three years this continued to be the case. Under these circumstances he considered his stay in Canada to be of a temporary nature.

Card had an opportunity to return to Utah in February 1889. He saw in that opportunity the renewal of association with his families and the chance to ask the authorities in Salt Lake about returning to Cache Valley.

Back in Utah after an absence of twenty-two months, Card was jubilant about the light sentences being passed upon those convicted of unlawful cohabitation. On Feb. 13, 1889, Card approached the First Presidency...

... and laid my case before them, told them I desired to do what they thought it wise in the matter Whether to under take to obtain freedom through the courts or not as I had found or learned I was indicted both for Polygamy and Cohabitation. To which they could not decide then but thought it unwise.

Two days later, Feb. 15, 1889, Card returned to the office of the First Presidency and received their decision.

About 5 PM It was decided by President Woodruff and the brethren that I return to Canada North West and continue my labors there instead of going before the courts and answering to the ends of an unjust law manipulated by biased courts & judges.

Thus Card's hopes of being able to return to his home in Cache Valley were short-lived. Response to the call of church authority was more
important to him than his own personal desires.

Williams has portrayed the feelings of Card on this occasion:

This was a severe trial to President Card—he had helped to pioneer Cache Valley and had risen from the ranks to the position of President of Cache Stake comprising some twenty thousand people. His home, his families, his parents were all in Logan. He was in middle life and to disrupt all the old ties of kindred and fellowship and begin to build up again a new country was a task that loomed large before him and yet he preferred always to carry out the requests of the Priesthood and freedom in a far land was preferable to prison in his home state.

This loyalty to the leadership of the church has also been expressed by one of Card’s devoted followers, 2

No man, faithful to his duties and calling in the Church ever set his own feelings, ambitions or personal wishes above the decision of those ordained in authority over him. Pres. Card therefore resigned himself to the task of disposing, at a loss, some of his personal property and to return to his labors in the northern most branch of his stake.

Just as President Card subordinated his will to those in authority in the church, so the people under his leadership subordinated their will to his.

Card remained in Utah for several weeks, still a fugitive, unable to be seen in public, arranging his personal affairs and conducting business for the settlement in the north.

That he still felt the temporary nature of his assignment is evidenced by his journal entries of 1889 as he returned to Alberta:

April 6, 1889: . . . I am afraid that my way will be hedged up and I will have trouble in returning to Canada where the brethren desire me to go.

Apr. 18, 1889: . . . was 20 miles nearer my Canadian Mission.

Apr. 21, 1889: . . . now I must turn my face towards Canada and seek to fill that mission under the blessings of the Lord.

1 Williams, op. cit., p. 42.

May 9, 1889: . . very happy to know I was again in my field of labor in Canada NorthWest.

May 29, 1889: I feel that I am here to labor in the colonization of Latter-day Saints in this land.

Back at his assignment in Cardston, Card bent every effort to solidify and enlarge the colony, mainly by industrial enterprises established through co-operative principles.

It had not been an easy assignment thus far, as expressed by Wilcox. In the first weeks the future presented such a melancholy prospect that several of the brethren became despondent for fear they would not be able to provide the necessities of life for their families through the coming winter. Card, daily in their midst, offered words of encouragement for them and with unbounded faith assured the faltering few that somehow their needs would be sufficed.

It was not all smooth sailing in the little settlement and Card now had to face trouble from an unexpected quarter. . . there developed a minor exodus from the colony . . . Needless to say, Card was most anxious to keep his little colony together as its success depended upon growing numbers. He counselled strongly against leaving the settlement and gave assurances to his people that the means of providing for their needs would be forthcoming in due time.

Card's whole life was dedicated to the welfare of his Canadian mission. In those early years not one important event happened without his guiding hand to direct it. He was the very nerve center in the life of the Lee's Creek Colony.

RELEASED FROM CACHE STAKE DUTIES

In July, 1890, Card set out with two teams to meet his wife Zina and others who were returning from Utah. At the time of their meeting he was given a letter from Orson Smith in Cache Valley. The letter informed him that by his immediate surrender he would be able to obtain his liberty at a nominal price. According to Wilcox.

3Wilcox, op. cit., pp. 72, 80, 86. 4Ibid., pp. 139-140.
This, no doubt, was welcome news to the man whose heart still yearned for Cache Valley where he had spent thirty years among relatives and friends. Once his freedom was obtained, it would be possible to approach the Presidency for release from the Canadian Mission. With such a purpose in mind Card surrendered on July 23, 1890, to Marshal Whetstone and Marshal McClelland in Logan. The former official ejaculated, "We have been looking for you for a long time!" In fact, it was three days less four years since Card escaped from Deputy Marshal Exum by leaping from the train at Logan. Card was escorted to Ogden, was released on $1,500.00 bail and was able to walk the streets as a free man for the first time in four long years.

Card expected to resume his duties as president of Cache Stake, although in his heart he sensed that his work was not here any longer for he recorded:

July 23, 1890: I began to arrange to make myself useful in the Stake but my spirit seemed somewhat hampered although I sought the Lord early and late.

The following day, Card was in Salt Lake where he met the First Presidency

... who had the clk. Bro. Geo. Reynolds read a letter addressed to me in Canada July 23rd inst. where they expressed their desires that I should remain and take charge of the interests of the church in Alberta. Of course this would have been a set back to me had not the spirit modified me before meeting Prest. Woodruff & I replied if that was the mind and will of the Lord I should not refuse and would not if they called me to go to China or Japan although my natural tendency lead me toward Cache Valley which had been my home for 30 years and the most of my family & aged parents were there.

Card's official release as Cache Stake President and his appointment to preside over the northern mission came on Sunday.

Aug. 3, 1890: ... Prest. Woodruff explained to the people that I had been called to take charge of the Canadian Mission and they desired to give me an honorable release which was done by an unanimous vote. Then Prest. Orson Smith was sustained as President of Cache Stake.

We went to Smithfield where we joined the Presidency and Apostles and elders in a meeting at 6:30 PM After meeting I was set apart under the hands of Prest. Woodruff and Prest. Cannon to preside over the settlement of the Sts. in Alberta Canada after which I gave them the parting hand & returned to Logan. In my blessing Prest. Cannon besought the Lord that I might have wisdom to increase my flocks and herds and
that I might have influence for good over the sts, also the unbelievers and bable to extend the work of God in Canada. All of which I know I shall realize if I keep the commandments of God.

Back again in his "home" in the north, Card took out his Canadian citizenship papers and exerted his influence upon the other settlers to do the same. Up to this time the other "first settlers" of Cardston had also looked upon Cardston as a place of refuge until they too could return to their homes in peace and safety. Others had come because they were called to a specific assignment by their Stake President, Charles Ora Card. Now they were no longer on a mission or in a temporary refuge, but this was their home.

It was not until December (1890) that Card was summoned to appear in Ogden to stand trial on the charges which had been held against him for so long. Evidence was meagre, public sympathy was entirely in his favor and he was found "not guilty as charged." Now he was a free man in Cache Valley, but his home was in Canada. He returned as soon as possible to carry on his duties there.

Apostle John W. Taylor received an assignment to come to Alberta on behalf of the church, to give strength and direction to the Mormon interests in Canada. Apostle Taylor had effected the organization of the Card Ward, he had gone to Ottawa with the delegation to secure the necessary rights for the permanent establishment of the colony. Now, although he was still on assignment to other parts of the church, he built a house, completed July 4, 1889, and stayed in Cardston part of the time.

It is evident, however, that Card felt the need for support from regular visits of the General Authorities for he wrote to the First Presidency concerning the matter. He requested brethren to be sent to the Quar-
terly Conferences in Alberta twice a year, about May 14-15 and Nov. 12-13,

my reason for mentioning these dates is that on or about these dates will fit our seasons the best; for I have taken into consideration stormy weather, high water, etc. However, if you thus favor us, your time shall be ours.

THE ALBERTA STAKE

Card spent most of the early months of 1895 in Utah, in fact he remained there until after General Conference in April. His experiences there were both ups and downs. In disposing of some of his property in Logan he was badly beaten financially, but his visits to the Temple renewed his faith.

Following the General Conference, Card called on the First Presidency with a request:

Apr. 10, 1895: I called on the Presidency about the business of the Canadian Mission. Suggested it might be eminently proper to organize the Stake, to which they agreed & asked me to be seated and they would set me apart as Prest. of Alberta Stake. Wilford Woodruff, Geo. Q. Cannon, Jos. F. Smith, Francis M. Lyman, Geo. Teasdale, Prest. Geo. Q. Cannon as mouth and as he said Amen the hand of the clock stood at just 10 AM. Standard time. In my blessing the spirit of humility flowed freely & I feel I have received another Gift from God. Although I have acted in that capacity for 8 yrs nearly I was never set apart as President of the Alberta Stake before & this is the name selected for this stake. I was requested to select names for counselors & high counselors & in this I feel I need wisdom & seek God first . . .

With a new spirit of enthusiasm, Card returned home. Feeling the need for the assistance and direction of the Lord in his new calling, Card obtained a blessing under the hands of Henry L. Hinman, Patriarch.

At the Stake Conference held May 27, 1895, the new Stake organization was announced to the people but it could not be put into effect because no General Authority was in attendance. Soon, however, Apostle Taylor arrived in Cardston and set apart the Stake officers for their assign-
ments on June 9, 1895, at a special conference called for this purpose.

Card continued to preside over the Alberta Stake for seven years, directing the affairs of the people spiritually and temporally.

When the irrigation canal construction brought hundreds of Latter-day Saints to southern Alberta, the task of presiding over so many people scattered over such a large area became an arduous one. Card's health was failing; his strength had been sapped by the concentrated effort which had gone into the many pioneering projects which he promoted.

One of his last official acts as Stake President was to assist in reestablishing the community of Cardston following the devastating flood of 1902.²

Patriarch

Card attended the regular Fast Meeting held at Stirling, Alberta, on Sept. 4, 1902, from 4:00 to 6:30 pm., after which:

[Sept. 4, 1902] . . . Prest. Taylor by request (He said) of Prest. Smith desired to release me as I was too weak and feeble and should have rest, but all my labors have been satisfactory. Between 7 & 8 PM Prest. Joseph F. Smith, Prest. Anthon H. Lund, & Apost. John W. Taylor layed their hands upon me. President being mouth and ordained me to the office of Patriarch in the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter day Saints" and did not make me Local. Hence I have the privilege of Blessing all that should desire my services in this office. What a blessing!

Three days later a special Priesthood meeting was called at Magrath, Alberta, by the First Presidency of the Church. Card attended this meeting, at which the Alberta Stake was reorganized.

Sept. 7, 1902: . . . Was released formally by this meeting . . . Brethren poured on me lots of love & kind expressions of gratitude for my past labors.

²See Appendix H for an account of the destruction of the flood.
As far as has been determined in this research, the first blessing given by Charles Ora Card, as a Patriarch, was to his son, George Cyrus Card, Sept. 25, 1902, at Cardston, Alberta.

In all, Card directed the affairs of the church in Canada for fifteen years, seven of them in the official capacity of Stake President. At the time he was released in 1902, the Alberta Stake had grown to include the following wards: Cardston (1887), Astna (1893), Mountain View (1894), Leavitt (1896), Caldwell (1898), Stirling (1899), Magrath (1899), Kimball 1900, Taylorville (1901), and Raymond (1901).

Thus it may be seen that Card had established a firm foundation upon which his successors could build. In the sixty years that have followed, the Church in Alberta has expanded into six Stakes.
CHAPTER XIX
FAMILY AND PERSONAL AFFAIRS

PARENTS

Charles Ora Card had a deep respect for his parents with whom he lived until he was married at the age of twenty-eight. During the Logan period of his life, Card worked closely with his father and there is evidence of a very fine father-son relationship.

Journals kept by Card while he lived in Logan make very little mention of his parents. However, after Card was sent to Canada to colonize and was deprived of the association of his parents, he expressed himself freely on several occasions, mostly with regard to his feelings for his mother.

Nov. 5, 1886: . . . forty seven years ago today my mother's heart was made glad by the gift of a son and I am the lucky boy to be given a mother at that date and an excellent faithful one she has ever been to her trust in connexion with my father they have taught me to be honest and upright evergiving such advice as that which conforms to the Laws of God and I pray that their declining years may be filled with joy and rejoicing and ultimately the presence of God.

Apr. 17, 1889: when returning to Canada after a short visit to Logan . . . Next came my feeble mother of 70 yrs. and broken with toil to bid her only son and only living child adieu and for ought we all know to only meet in Eternity. She clasped my hands kissed me then embraced me and we wept together. Her last words were blessings upon me with a wish that she was going with me . . . . my father although 75 yrs. of age is well preserved for a man of hard toil from boyhood. When I bade him good bye although a large strong man for his yrs. he wept which always makes me feel sad, but the Lord strengthened me.

Card recorded his feelings at the death of each of his parents:

May 11, 1894: Card was travelling home to Logan after receiving word of his mother's death . . . My mother died today at 1:20 pm. passed away without a struggle only went to sleep. Sarah & Laviria & their children were there 9 of my family to represent my household.

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1 See Appendix A.
... [May 12th] sad as my errand was to pay my last tribute to a mother that has been very dear to me and always faithful to her trust and ever valiant in the testimony of Jesus Christ. ... [May 16th]. He arrived too late for the funeral due to floods which washed out the tracks. ... arrived in Logan. ... broke down in my feelings. ... a very lonely place without a mother. [May 21st]: Card visited the grave. ... yet I thank the Lord I have had a premonition we will join in our labors in the resurrection. As she died faithful. Now it is left with me to follow & if I am faithful it will surely come to pass. ...

[Three weeks later as Card left his father and returned to Cardston] Father feels he is alone in the world. On beholding this my eyes moistened. But thus we must separate in this life to fill the path of duty and God will reward.

Sept. 8, 1900: ... arrived in Logan at 8 pm. ... after washing at Sarah's I went and viewed the corpse of my aged sire who was nicely dressed in temple clothing & placed in a lovely coffin of his own selection nearly 2 yrs. before & he had only made it known to the undertaker Lindquist & sister Katie Irvine, who is one of his near neighbors. ... [Sept. 9th] Father's funeral was held today at noon (12 O.C.) in the Logan Tabernacle a grand edifice that I superintended the erection of from 74 to 77 at a cost of about $30,000.00 Father & I tried to do our best.

WIVES

Card spent as much time with his wives as was possible, often taking one of them with him on his assignments, if it could be arranged. After he moved to Canada, Card established his wives and their children in different localities rather than subject them to danger of imprisonment.

Zina went with him to Cardston, Sarah remained in Logan through the years, and Lavinia went to Rexburg, Idaho, and later to the Teton basin in Wyoming. While he resided in Cardston, Card was able to visit his other wives only about twice each year. The scenes of parting indicate his feelings toward his wives.

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2See Appendix B.
April 17, 1889: [at Sarah's home in Logan]... brought the children with my supper and I made myself known to those that did not know which was Pearl 5 yrs old and Abbie 3... but the trial came at 7 pm when I drew each one to my bosom and kissed them was more than I could do without bursting into tears. Who would not weep for their own flesh and blood when forced from them by the power of an unrighteous Gov't. Next came Sarah's mother with her heart filled with blessings and bade me good by... Then I must perform the painful task of parting with my wife Sarah who held up well and bore our parting with the courage of a L.D.St. but not without tears, thus we pass through life and if only faithful will reap the reward.

April 30, 1889: [at Lavinia's home in Rexburg]... Now I must turn my face towards Canada and seek to fill that mission under the blessings of the Lord... Lavinia and the babe Mary rode 2 blocks when we stopped and I assisted them out of the carriage. Kissed the child several times then embraced and kissed Lavinia and bade her adieu with my blessings and we both were obliged to give vent to tears. We know our hearts are right and filled with love towards each other.

Entries in Card's journal indicate also that he felt no favoritism toward any one wife or family.

Nov. 14, 1886: I praise the Name of the Lord for a quorum of good faithful wives. I feel I could wade through much affliction for them.

May 23, 1891:... some times I feel sad that my lovely families are so far removed from each other and hope sometimes in the future to have a gathering dispensation...

The one sad note in Card's family life was his divorce from his first wife, Sarah Jane Birdneau. As far as he was concerned, the parting of a husband and wife in divorce was a very sorrowful experience:

Sept. 22, 1883:... During the last nearly 7 yrs. I have sought to avert anything of the kind [divorce] I have sought that my family might be preserved in tact and labor in the spirit of the Gospel for a salvation in the Kingdom of God. Many is the day I have tried to drown those afflictions with hard labor & seeking the Lord for consolation and aid which I have rec'd & thus far have been able to carry the burden.

How sad to contemplate such a thing as the parting of man and wife a circumstance I have always abhorred from my youth...

Card appreciated harmony and love at home. Often he recorded short statements to this effect. One such statement reads: "It is a joy to re-
turn to a home filled with love and made glad by a contented wife."

CHILDREN

Card was especially fond of children. He considered them to be "one of our greatest blessings." He also fully understood that they were a great responsibility "that we should care for them and teach them properly."

Card lost a young daughter just a few days before Christmas, 1879:

Dec. 13, 1879: . . . found my youngest child Matilda Francis sick with Lung Fever.

Dec. 21, 1879: . . . I layed my hands upon it and gave it a fathers last blessing & it expired at 20 minutes past 11 am filling us with the sorrow of bereaved parents it being the only child of my wife Sarah J. Painter and the first one that I had ever called to part with . . . tonight myself & wife retired very sad but feel to acknowledge the hand of the Lord.

Dec. 23, 1879: . . . funeral today . . . so cold & miserable the sisters did not go to the cemetery, Bp. Ballard dedicated the grave.

Dec. 25, 1879: . . . I feel more to sorrow than to joy. . . .

Another child came very near to death:

Nov. 16, 1894: This day was an anxious one and our little one evidently nearing death after prayers in the evening I remembered the suggestion of the Presidency at the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple. "If we desired a blessing as they did of old face the Temple of our God." I went before the Lord secretly in our sitting room about 9 PM & told the Lord I desired a blessing & I prayed God to spare our son to relieve him of the raging fever & give him rest. I returned to the sick room & it was done & that so suddenly it startled us for it seemingly left him low & nearly exhausted so much so you could scarcely hear him breathe . . . he was eating in about 4 hrs.

It is apparent from an examination of Card's activities as described in this thesis, that he spent most of his time attending to public and church affairs. This took him from his family more than he wished, but it

3See Appendix B.
was part of his philosophy of life as evidenced by the following journal entry:

May 12, 1901: Public matters have always been first from my boyhood to date, so much so I have devoted my time publicly that my wives have often chided me for not caring for self more, but I have observed so much selfishness with my brethren in temporal matters it has caused me to work harder than necessary providing that the brethren had stood in their lot and calling. Probably I have had more zeal than wisdom, but I have been sacrificed financially many times, but I hope to meet my God with this plaudit, "Well done good & faithful servant, enter in to the joys of the Lord." Yet I am a weak mortal.

It was Card's desire to be with his children as much as possible, and to teach them correct principles.

Mar. 5, 1894: ... I have prayed I might have the spirit that inspired those ancient prophets of God [In the Book of Mormon] for it is needed in this dispensation. I desire before I lay my body down to impregnate my children & wives with it that they may cleave steadfastly to the truth. Then I will feel I have gained a great reward.

His disappointment was very keen when his children's actions did not meet the desired standards and he would labor with them as long as possible to get them to conform with the accepted principles of truth as taught by the Church.

THE LAST YEARS

There is no indication that Card suffered ill health of any kind until his confinement in places of hiding during the winter of 1886-87 when he complained of a general soreness and tiredness in his body which he attributed to a lack of activity.

However, as the work of the Alberta Irrigation Company canal demanded more and more of Card's time to oversee the fulfilling of contracts, to locate townsites and establish new communities, his health began to fail. In 1900 he was suddenly afflicted with an acute kidney disorder which was
aggravated by his continued activity and long hours of work. He suffered
pain most of the time for the rest of his life. When he was released from
the position of Alberta Stake President in 1902 his feebleness was apparent,
as shown in the news item telling of this release:

Deseret News, Sept. 5, 1902: President Card who retires with all
the blessings, honors, and commendations that mortals could desire, was,
upon his release from the presidency ordained a patriarch in the Church
of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints which is one step higher in the
kingdom of God. He has served his country, the people, the cause and
his God with fidelity, unswerving integrity and fervent zeal. His un-
ceasing activity, his incessant diligence, his perseverance and unre-
mitting energy have, to a great extent, worn out his hardy physique and
enfeebled his once sturdy form. All the trying scenes, the ordeals,
the hardships and the turmoil of pioneer life have been his to share
with fidelity and honor. His name will never be forgotten but upon
history's pages we shall find him chronicled as the "Pioneer Mormon of
Southern Alberta and the father of Cardston."

Card's health became so poor that early in the summer of 1903 the
family decided to leave Cardston and return to the more agreeable climate
of Cache Valley. A farewell party was held for Charles and Zina Card on
Aug. 22, 1903. In September Zina Card packed her household effects and
left Cardston with her two youngest children. Only three years before,
the Card's had moved into a new two story brick home, the most modern in
Cardston. It is unfortunate that Charles and Zina did not have the opport-
unity to enjoy it longer. C.O. Card and his son Joseph remained in Card-
ston to complete the business affairs.

About the first of November, Card became critically ill and his wife
Zina was called back to Cardston, arriving Nov. 10th. Just one month later,
on Dec. 10, 1903, Card left the community which he had founded. He was
taken back to Logan on a stretcher, and after his arrival experienced a

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4This home was valued at $6500.00 and was paid for with money which
Zina received from the Brigham Young estate.
partial recovery which allowed him to attend sessions in the Logan Temple. However, he was soon confined to his bed.

Back in 1882, Card had gone to the Bear Lake Valley where he stopped to visit Apostle Charles C. Rich, who had suffered a stroke and lay helpless in bed. Card was deeply affected by the scene. "It touched a tender cord with me to see a man who had been so useful to be thus prostrated." Little did Card imagine that his own life would end in just such a way.

Charles Ora Card died on Sept. 9, 1906. "He lay in a quiet, heavy sleep and never spoke. It was towards morning when he passed on."  

Funeral services were held in the Tabernacle which Card had helped to build, and his body was interred in the family plot of the Logan City Cemetery.

Charles Ora Card spent his life in service to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He was an outstanding example of the men who were loyal and obedient to the Church leaders. Through a sustained and persistent effort in the many projects which he undertook for the betterment of his fellow men, Charles Ora Card made significant contributions to the growth of Logan, Utah, and the establishment of Cardston, Alberta, Canada.

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5Lavinia Card ms. p. 18.
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APPENDIX A

PARENTS OF CHARLES ORA CARD
PARENTS OF CHARLES ORA CARD

CYRUS WILLIAMS CARD

Father: William Fuller Card
Mother: Sarah Ann Sabin
Birth: 28 June 1814 at Painted Post, Steuben Co., N.Y.
Death: 4 Sept. 1900 at Logan, Cache Co., Utah
Burial: Logan, Cache Co., Utah

SARAH ANN TUTTLE

Father: Jessie Tuttle
Mother: Deanna Hochum Gillet
Birth: 14 May 1819 at Palmyra, Ontario Co., N.Y.
Marriage: ________ at Smithfield, Dutchess Co., N.Y.
   to Cyrus Williams Card, by Nathaniel Cole.
Death: 11 May 1894 at Logan, Cache Co., Utah
Burial: Logan, Cache Co., Utah

CHILDREN:

1. Abigail Jane Card (1837 - 1841)
2. Charles Ora Card (1839 - 1906)
3. Polly Caroline Card (1841 - 1856)
4. Matilda Frances Card (1852 - 1875)
5. Sarah Angeline Card (1854 - 1871)

Cyrus Williams Card married Emma Booth as a plural wife. She was
the daughter of William Booth and Ann Mattri, born 22 Sept. 1837 at Apperly,
To this union were born eight children: Althea Card (1860-1943); Cyrus
Williams Card (1862-1943); Mary Ellen Card (1864- ); DeWilton Booth Card (1867-1955); Melvin Card (1869-1871); Emma Ann Card (1872-1873); Ernest Card (1874-1936); David Booth Card (1878-1933).
APPENDIX B

FAMILIES OF CHARLES ORA CARD
FIRST FAMILY OF CHARLES ORA CARD

SARAH JANE BIRDNEAU (Birdno)

Father: Nehemiah Wood Birdneau
Mother: America Ann Steele
(Later she married Benjamin Rasmel Nov. 22, 1886.)
and finally Shoemaker.

CHILDREN:

1. Sarah Jane Card
   Born 2 Apr. 1870 at Logan, Cache Co., Utah.
   Married (1) Charles E. Montgomery, (2) Samuel S. Landis.
   Died 1 Apr. 1930 at Baker City, Baker Co., Oregon.
   Buried at Baker City, Baker Co., Oregon.

2. Charles Ora Card, Jr.
   Married Minnie Davis
   Buried at Portland, Multnomah Co., Oregon.

SECOND FAMILY OF CHARLES ORA CARD

SARAH JANE PAINTER

Father: George Painter
Mother: Jane Herbert
Birth: 15 Mar. 1858 at Bountiful, Davis Co., Utah
Marriage: 17 Oct. 1876 at Salt Lake City (Endowment House) to Charles Ora Card.
Burial: Logan, Cache Co., Utah

CHILDREN:

1. Matilda Frances Card
   Born 26 Apr. 1878 at Logan, Cache Co., Utah
   Married (died as a child)
   Died 21 Dec. 1979 at Logan, Cache Co., Utah
   Buried at Logan, Cache Co., Utah

2. George Cyrus Card
   Born 26 Jan. 1880 at Logan, Cache Co., Utah
   Married Rose Plant
   Died 3 Sept. 1958 at Magrath, Alberta, Canada
   Buried at Magrath, Alberta, Canada

3. Lavantia Painter Card
   Born 6 Nov. 1881 at Logan, Cache Co., Utah
   Married Joseph J. Bithell
   Died 26 Apr. 1937 at Logan, Cache Co., Utah
   Buried at Logan, Cache Co., Utah

4. Pearl Painter Card
   Born 20 Apr. 1884 at Logan, Cache Co., Utah
   Married William Reid Sloan
   Died (Living)

5. Abigala Jane Card
   Born 3 Apr. 1886 at Logan, Cache Co., Utah
   Married (never married)
   Died 21 Feb. 1939 at Logan, Cache Co., Utah
   Buried at Logan, Cache Co., Utah

6. Franklin Almon Card
   Born 3 Jan. 1892 at Logan, Cache Co., Utah
   Married
   Died (Living)

THIRD FAMILY OF CHARLES ORA CARD

ZINA PRESINDIA YOUNG (WILLIAMS)

Father: Brigham Young

Mother: Zina Diantha Huntington

Birth: 3 Apr. 1850 at Salt Lake City, Utah

Marriage: 17 June 1884 at Logan, Utah (Logan Temple) to Charles Ora Card by John T.D. McAllister (formerly she married Thomas
Williams, 1868) Thomas Williams died in 1874.

Death: 31 Jan. 1931 at Salt Lake City, Utah

Burial: Salt Lake City, Utah

CHILDREN:

1. Joseph Young Card
   Born 28 June 1885 at Logan, Utah
   Married Pearl Eliza Christensen
   Died 23 Dec. 1956 at Cardston, Alberta, Canada
   Buried at Cardston, Alberta, Canada

2. Zina Young Card
   Born 12 June 1888 at Cardston, Alberta, Canada
   Married Hugh Brown Brown
   Died (Living)

3. Orson Rega Card
   Born 10 Dec. 1891 at Cardston, Alberta, Canada
   Married Lucena Richards
   Died (Living)

FOURTH FAMILY OF CHARLES ORA CARD

LAVINIA CLARK RIGBY

Father: William F. Rigby
Mother: Mary Clark
Birth: 28 Feb. 1866 at Wellsville, Cache Co., Utah
Marriage: 2 Dec. 1885 at Logan, Utah (Logan Temple) to Charles Ora Card by Marriner W. Merrill
Death: 24 Jan. 1960 at Salt Lake City, Utah
Burial: Logan, Cache Co., Utah

CHILDREN:

1. Mary Rigby Card
   Born 14 Oct. 1887 at Newton, Cache Co., Utah
   Married James H. Christensen
   Died (Living)

2. Lavinia Rigby Card
   Born 15 Nov. 1890 at Rexburg, Fremont Co., Idaho
Married D. Vernon Shurtliff
Died (Living)

3. Charles Rigby Card
   Born 28 Nov. 1896 at Logan, Cache Co., Utah
   Married Teina Houretren
   Died (Living)

4. Stirling Rigby Card
   Born 15 Dec. 1899 at Logan, Cache Co., Utah
   Married Owen Olsen
   Died (Living)

5. William Lavoir Card
   Born 17 Jan. 1904 at Logan, Cache Co., Utah
   Married (Never married)
   Died 15 July 1949 at Logan, Cache Co., Utah
   Buried at Logan, Cache Co., Utah
APPENDIX C

A SKETCH OF CACHE VALLEY BEFORE 1860
A SKETCH OF CACHE VALLEY BEFORE 1860

INDIANS

Before the coming of the white man Cache Valley was the home of the Shoshoni Indians, a tribe of hunters, part of the large tribe of the Shoshonis from the Snake River and Salmon River country to the north. Many of the tribe possessed horses and so could pursue the buffalo, elk, deer, and antelope. These wild animals were their food; the hides became their clothing and shelter.

Later when the fur men exploited the valley, killing off the large animals, the Indians were forced to exist on the small animals, and on fish, nuts, roots, berries, insects, and rodents. The twenty years from 1825 until 1845 saw the once well supplied Indians of this valley reduced to a miserable, poor, ill-fed band.

As the settlers began to occupy the lands, killing more of the game and catching the fish, the condition of the Indians became desperate. They came to the settlements for food, but often had to return with but small amounts given from the meagre supplies of the settlers.

The chief, aided by a council, headed the Indian tribe. When the chief was friendly to the whites the whole band would be friendly, but when the chief was hostile, then settlement raids could be expected. As a rule, the Shoshonis were friendly, and leaders such as Arimo and Washakie could

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1Information used in this appendix has been taken from Joel E. Ricks, The History of a Valley (Logan, Utah: Cache Valley Centennial Commission, 1956). The following authors of Utah History have also been consulted: Arrington, Bancroft, Berrett, Berrett and Burton, Carter, Hunter, Larson, Neff, Roberts, Tullidge, Whitney.
be relied upon to keep peace, but some leaders, like Pocatello and Bear Hunter, led their people in raids against settlements with the object of stealing the horses and cattle. However, the presence of the Minute Militia dampened their enthusiasm.

The power of the Indians was largely broken in the Battle Creek fight of 1863 where 368 Indians died at the hands of four hundred United States troops under Colonel Connor. The threat of Indian attack on the western settlements of the valley in 1866, caused those settlers to withdraw for about a year to the stronger settlements on the east. This was the last organized attempt to drive out the whites.

Early in the 1870's the Indians were forced to go to reservations. Many of the Cache Valley Indians were assigned to the reservation in the Fort Hall area. A few Indians were converted to the Mormon church and gathered into communities such as Washakie, Utah, where they were taught industry and farming.

FUR TRADERS

As he had done in most of North America, so also the trapper opened the path into Cache Valley and exposed its value to the world. This valley became familiar country to the Hudson's Bay Company, the Northwest Fur Company, and the Rocky Mountain Fur Company.

It was, however, the men of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company that exploited the furs of this valley. The founder of this company, General William H. Ashley, moved into the southern Wyoming and northern Utah area in 1823. A party, one of which was Jim Bridger, led by John Weber, trapped the headwaters of the Bear River. Weber and his men came into Willow
Valley (Cache Valley) in the fall of 1824, camping on the Cub River. It was while here that young Jim Bridger, in a raw-hide boat, descended the Bear River to discover the Great Salt Lake.

The Hudson's Bay Company trappers, led by Peter Skene Ogden, came through Cache Valley into the Ogden Valley in 1825. Ogden was impressed with these valleys, but did not remain long because of the desertion of many of his men to the higher paying American company.

Warren A. Farris led the American Fur Company (owned by John Jacob Astor) into Cache Valley from Bear Lake via Logan Canyon. He claimed it was one of the most extensive and beautiful valleys of the Rocky Mountain Range, and he had been in the Rockies for years.

These were the days of great fur men like Jedediah Smith, David "Blackhole" Jackson, William Sublette, James Beckwourth, Osbourne Russell, Thomas Fitzpatrick, James Wyeth, Black Harris, and Miles Goodyear, some of them later to meet Brigham Young and the Mormons. There was probably not a year between 1824 and 1855 that Cache Valley soil did not feel the imprint of the feet of the trappers and explorers. Many of the names of the rivers, mountains, and even the name of the valley itself, Cache Valley, came from the era of the fur men.

EXPLORERS AND MILITARY MEN

The wagon trail to the west had been established by William Sublette in 1830. Later this trail was to become famous as the Oregon Trail. It was in 1841 that the first wagons rolled across this trail, and it was in the same year that a party, led by Colonel John Bartleson, turned south at Soda Springs and followed the Bear River into Cache Valley, which they
described as having many berries, much grass, and lots of small streams. This group, consisting of thirty-one people travelling in nine wagons, crossed into the Salt Lake Valley west of present day Newton, circled the north end of Great Salt Lake and went on to California.

In the summer of 1843, John Charles Fremont, on an exploring and scientific expedition to the Northwest, came down the Bear River from Soda Springs into Gentile Valley. From there he went west into Malad Valley but saw Cache Valley from the mountain heights. He knew only the north end of this fertile valley.

Most notable of the other explorers was Captain Howard Stansbury of the U.S. Army, who made a preliminary survey of the valley in the summer of 1849. He was looking for the possibility of a military post being established there. He concluded that it would be ideal for the wintering of stock, and on his recommendation all the stock and mules from the military post at Fort Hall were driven into Cache Valley that winter. It was a very severe winter and they lost more than one-half of their animals. However, Captain Stansbury reported the excellent soil, timber resources, facilities for irrigation, and grazing grass in abundance.

THE MORMONS COME TO CACHE

President Young had sent an exploring party into Cache Valley in August of 1847, scarcely one month after the Mormons had arrived in the Salt Lake Valley from the east. The scouts reported the valley as the best they had yet seen.

As more and more people poured into the Salt Lake Valley, and the number of livestock increased, it was necessary to have more land for farm-
ing and grazing. Pres. Young formed a company of stockmen to take the animals into the fertile valley to the north. In 1855, the Utah Territorial Legislative Assembly granted Cache Valley to this group under Brigham Young for grazing purposes. The men were formed into a military type organization under Captain Bryant Stringham, arriving in Cache Valley July 20, 1855. Some cabins were built to house the families who were to tend the three thousand cattle brought in September, two thousand of which were church cattle. The winter was so severe that only four hundred and twenty of the church cattle survived, and the herdsmen were saved only by the heroic action of rescuers from Brigham City.

Reports of the great loss of cattle was discouraging, but the church faced larger troubles. The middle 1850's brought threat of famine as a terrible drought destroyed the crops and grass around Salt Lake and the southern settlements. The drought stopped the production of crops but it did not stem the flow of immigrants from the mission fields. New land had to be settled.

A desperate Peter Maughan came to President Young from Tooele with reports of total drought, large numbers of grasshoppers, and Indian raids, and found himself selected to go north and find a location for settlements in Cache Valley. This he did.

In August 1856, Peter Maughan led the first group of settlers into Cache Valley, forming a settlement called Maughan's Fort, now known as Wellsville. The settlement survived the severe winter which did its best to drive the new settlers out, and hopefully they planted their crops in the spring of 1857, knowing that they faced possible destruction at the hands of the Shoshoni Indians, on whose hunting lands they had settled. However,
the wise policy of Peter Maughan to make friends with the red men stemmed any act of hostility.

**THE VALLEY IS EVACUATED**

Because of the pernicious rumors spread in the east by disappointed and corrupt gentile officials who had fled from Utah, President Buchanan sent three thousand men of the United States Army to Utah, under the command of Albert Johnston, to install the new governor, Alfred Cumming, and aid him in the execution of the law. President Buchanan feared the Mormons would resist the new governor who was to replace Brigham Young. To the Mormons, feeling that they had not violated the Constitution or any law of the country, the menace of an army appeared to be a continuation of the persecution which had driven them from Missouri and Illinois. The Mormons made preparation to resist the entry of a hostile force into the territory, and if necessary, withdraw from the country and leave it in ruins.

As the army approached Utah in the spring of 1858, after wintering on the Green River flats of Wyoming, the Mormons moved their people into the settlements south of Salt Lake. The new settlers of Cache Valley also left their homes and crops in March of 1858, as ordered by Brigham Young and the authorities of the church, and travelled south.

Through the intervention of Colonel Thomas L. Kane, and the willingness of Governor Cumming to come to Salt Lake without the troops, peace was effected between the Army and the Mormons before the opportunity for hostility arose. The army entered the valley peaceably and the Mormons returned to their homes. The Utah War had not disrupted the settlements permanently. However, the lateness of the year delayed the Cache Valley
settlers from returning to their homes until the following spring.

One outcome of the Utah War was the loss of a portion of the territory now located in Nevada and southern California. This land loss forced the settlers of those areas back into the communities of Utah. And with the Utah War concluded, the stream of convert immigration flowed again, emptying its people into the Salt Lake Valley.

THE SETTLEMENT BECOMES PERMANENT

As the spring of 1859 broke the binding spell of winter, Peter Maughan led his people, and others, back to Cache Valley to their abandoned homes. During this spring four settlements arose, Wellsville (Maughan's Fort), Providence, Mendon, and Logan. Richmond came into existence during the summer and Smithfield in the fall.

The valley was well advertised for settlement in the Deseret News and in speeches given by the Church authorities.

It was in the fall of 1859 that Charles Ora Card came to Logan in Cache Valley to build a cabin for his father's family. Thus this young man became one of the pioneer settlers of Logan.

The spring of 1860 was a boom time for Cache Valley. The rush to this valley was as a flood sweeping through the mountain passes onto the floor of the valley. Much of the flow of immigration from Europe was being diverted from the Salt Lake Valley into this fertile valley to the north.
APPENDIX D

A SKETCH OF SOUTHERN ALBERTA BEFORE 1887
A SKETCH OF SOUTHERN ALBERTA BEFORE 1887

INDIANS

As far back as can be determined, the Indians of the Blackfoot Confederacy lived in the region of southern Alberta, ruling it with the efficiency that was characteristic of that fierce group of tribes. It is supposed that the Blackfoot drove the Kutenais out of the Cardston-Waterton area, but that was certainly long ago. Anthony Henday reported the Bloods and Peigans in this region in 1754. This appears to be the first white contact with the Indians of this area.

Fur traders were not interested in this barren prairie. Only the buffalo roamed the plains and their fur was not valuable or even desirable on the markets of Europe. MacInnes said:

Indeed, down to 1905, the history of Southern Alberta was, to a certain extent, distinct from that of the rest of the prairies... South Alberta was considered "terra incognita"... The sinister reputation of the Blackfoot Confederation was such as to dissuade all but the most hardy from even visiting the territory.

Explorers had passed through the area but always reported it to be "unfit for human habitation." The Palliser expedition came into southern Alberta to locate routes of travel and passes through the Rockies. In 1857, Lieutenant Blackiston reported "no whites at all." He did find a large group of impressive lakes and named them after Charles Waterton. A mountain in Waterton National Park is named after Blackiston. In 1860,

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1Information used in this appendix has been taken from Charles M. MacInnes, In the Shadow of the Rockies (London: Rivingtons Press, 1930). The following authors of Western Canadian History have also been consulted: Blue, Hedges, Higginbotham, Innis, Maclean, MacBeth, MacRae, Morton, Stanley.
Blackiston returned to make the Canada-U.S.A. border survey through this area.

The condition of the Indians, and especially the Bloods, became very critical during the last half of the nineteenth century. In 1845, a smallpox epidemic swept through the Mandans, Sioux, Crows, and down to the Bloods. Hundreds died. As if this were not enough, the dreaded scourge again reduced the numbers of the tribes in 1857-58. Those who survived were stricken with measles in 1864, and again by smallpox in 1869. The Blackfoot Confederacy was now a mere shadow of the formidable machine that had withstood all enemies without yielding land or honor.

TRADERS AND WOLFERS

Into the weakened and nearly helpless tribe came the ruthless whiskey traders and wolfers from Fort Benton. Posts were built at Stand-off, Whoop-up, and Slide-out (Fort Kipp). These men were without sympathy or conscience. MacInnes said,

The attitude of such people to the Indians was what might be expected. Indians were theirs to be cheated and robbed, their women ravished, and their rights denied.

The buffalo was the very means of existence to these Indians. It supplied their food, clothing, tents, harness, fuel, and shroud for burial. The Americans with their repeating rifles slaughtered the buffalo, so the hated Indian would be forced into oblivion.

THE MOUNTED POLICE

To safeguard the Indians, to stop whiskey trading, to halt horse and cattle thieving, to control prairie fires, and to patrol the boundary line,
the North West Mounted Police came into the west in 1874, establishing posts at convenient locations. In southern Alberta, forts were built at Fort Macleod and Fort Calgary, with many smaller detachments where needed. The Mounties were welcomed by the Indians as their only hope of survival. Doubtless, another few years, and the Indian would have been gone, had the Mounties not arrived.

THE BLACKFOOT INDIAN TREATY

The Federal Government concluded Treaty Number Seven with the Blackfoot Tribes in 1877, granting them thirty-five thousand square miles of land. The Blood Indian Reserve covered five hundred and forty-one square miles, the largest Indian Reserve in British North America. It comprised all the land between the St. Mary's and Belly Rivers north of a line sixteen miles north of the Canada-U.S.A. boundary line. This line, the southern extreme of the Blood Indian Reserve, was marked by a long row of white-topped posts.

It must have been an impressive sight to see the five thousand Indians living in a thousand tents erected for the signing of the treaty, with ten thousand horses grazing on the up-lands. The air must have been heavy with expectancy as six hundred armed and mounted braves, stripped for battle and covered with war paint, circled the one hundred and eight men Police encampment. This sham battle could have become a reality had the Police not calmly ignored the blood-curdling war whoops and the bullets that were fired dangerously close. The greatest moment must have come when Chief Red Crow announced his decision, introducing Police Commissioner Macleod to his people saying, "He has never broken his word, and has always
kept all his promises to me. I trust him entirely, and for that reason I agree to the terms offered to us by our Queen Mother."

All has been peaceful with these tribes since the signing of the treaty. Even the rebellion of 1885 failed to produce an uprising among these now loyal citizens of the Crown. It has, however, taken years of care and service to remedy the plight of the Indian. They were in a pitiable state. MacInnes observed:

In the space of a few short years they had suffered more calamities than befall some nations in centuries—smallpox, whiskey trading, the surrender of their land, and now starvation. The Indian had to evolve from a nomad to an agriculturalist in one generation. Some nations have taken milleniums to do this.

RANCHERS

A few lone settlers entered the southern Alberta area to do ranching before 1870. One of the famous ones who settled near Waterton was John George "Kootenai" Brown, who left Fort Edmonton in 1865, going to the Fort Calgary region, and then leaving it in turn to go south to the Waterton area, because, "it was getting too damned civilized in the north." Another was "Kanuse" Taylor who came a few years later. But these men were friends to the aborigines, helping them whenever possible.

By 1880, cattle leases for one hundred thousand acres of land at ten dollars per thousand acres were given on condition that one head of cattle per ten acres was placed on the land within three years. This country was ideal for cattle grazing. MacInnes gives us this information:

It has been estimated that upwards of forty-six of the ninety-six varieties of grass that are to be found in this part of the prairies make excellent hay. These short grasses are not only nutritious, but, owing to the nature of the climate, cure as they stand in the sun and dry winds of the autumn, so that in the winter, under a very thin blanket of snow, the country is one vast hayfield. It was this fact, to-
gether with the abundant shelter to be found in the innumerable coulees and river bottoms and the plentiful supply of good fresh water in all seasons, that made it a ranchers paradise.

The Cochrane Ranch, located to the west of the Blood Indian Reserve, and north-west of Lee's Creek, was established in 1884. Cochrane bought sixty-six thousand five hundred acres and leased one hundred thousand acres more. It was stocked with twenty-five thousand head of cattle.

A few men, discharged from the North West Mounted Police, and some leaving the employ of the large ranchers, came into the Lee's Creek area. In 1883 S/Sgt. Fred Morris and S/Sgt. Fred Shaw left the Mounties and took a ranch five miles southeast of where Cardston is now. In 1884 S/Sgt. Percy Aske, S/Sgt. Jack Cotter, and S/Sgt. Sam Derinzy left the Force and settled near Morris and Shaw on the lands by the St. Mary's River. In 1885, Vern Shaw, brother to Fred, settled in the same area, bringing his mother and sister Jessie.

It was in 1884 that E.N. Barker, who later became such a good friend to Charles O. Card and benefactor to his people, settled on the banks of Lee's Creek. He reported seeing nothing but much grass, a few buffalo, two policemen, and an old shack on the river bottom. He wintered with John Smith three miles south of Cochrane, and then moved to Lee's Creek with Leigh Shaw. During the winter of 1886, Herbert A. Donavan and Tommy Dunn from the Cochrane Ranch came to live with them. Charles O. Card met Barker in 1887 when Card came into the area looking for a place to settle.

HOMESTEADERS

In 1885 the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed, uniting eastern Canada with western Canada. In the wake of the "iron horse" came the set-
tlers. The even numbered sections were opened for homesteading, except for the southwestern triangle which was reserved for the ranchers. Even in this restricted area the cattle leases were held to twenty-five hundred acres at twenty dollars per thousand acres to be stocked within two years or given up.

The area later to become Cardston was unused grassland. The lease belonged to Cochrane and Dunlap but had not been stocked, expiring the lease during the fall of 1886. Card took a pre-emption claim on this land in 1887.

To illustrate the impact of these homesteaders on southern Alberta, in 1885 there were one and a half million acres of ranching land held by one hundred and fifty-nine lessees, and by 1893 there were only nine grazing leases amounting to about four hundred thousand acres.

THE MORMONS COME TO ALBERTA

The Mormons who came in 1887 from Cache Valley in Utah to Lee's Creek in Alberta were pioneers, but certainly not frontiersmen. They were experienced in building cities, establishing industry, constructing canals and roads, in farming and dairying.

The history of the area south of the South Saskatchewan River extending to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains includes the Indian, Trader, Rancher, and Homesteader. It also includes the Galts, whose political influence and wealth established coal mining and railroads in southern Alberta. The land grants given to the Galts by the Dominion Government amounted to over one million acres. It was largely through their influence that irrigation became established in the area. However, it was the Mormon man-
power, directed by pioneer-settler Charles Ora Card and his associates, that built communities, irrigation canals, and turned this country, "unfit for human habitation," into a productive agricultural area.
APPENDIX E

DESCRIPTION OF CARD'S JOURNALS
DESCRIPTION OF CARD'S JOURNALS

Charles Ora Card left thirty-nine diaries, eighteen of them written while he lived in Logan, and twenty-one written during his years in Cardston. These thirty-nine personal journals do not represent a continuous record of his activities since there are periods of time for which no diaries are available. All the diaries are written in long hand, and most of them in pencil that has become faint and blurred, not only because of age, but because Card carried them on his person until each was finished. All but three of the journals are pocket size, and from one-quarter inch to one-half inch in thickness.

Although Card consistently carried a journal in one of his pockets, it is evident that he did not always make a daily entry. There is an entry made for each day, but several times Card recorded that he was catching up the entries for as much as a week. He did not trust his memory so far as to make the record unreliable.

Card was very frank in recording the few personal matters that found place in his journal. This fact has lead Wilcox\(^1\) to observe:

> There are too many incidents of an intimate nature for the books to be made available to the public . . . his frankness in reporting personal matters indicate that the journals were never intended for the public to read.

However, Card was desirous that his family should read the diaries and become familiar with his life for the following is recorded in the journals:

> Mar. 15, 1889: I the opening paragraph of the first journal, which was not a pocketbook\(^3\) Having been impressed of late to obtain something more substantial than Pocket Mns. I have obtained this book that

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\(^1\)Wilcox, op. cit., p. 7.
I may commence in a more substantial manner to write my future biography. I dedicate this volume to the purpose hoping that it may be useful to my children... [Italics mine]. During my life I have tried to act honorably with all my fellow beings. I have suffered much from the unscrupulous acts of parties in relation to financial matters. I have never found it necessary to retaliate in the same manner. I have found from my childhood that "honesty is the best policy." I ever feel grateful that my parents taught me to be honest firm and true, which I appreciate much.

Oct. 18, 1890: [This day Card was preparing to face trial on a charge of unlawful cohabitation,] I here insert the indictments that future posterity may know [Italics mine] what the Elders of this age have had to face under the damming influence of wicked men.

Dec. 31, 1898: ... thus ended one of the busiest years of my life and one of hard labor yet I have been with fidelity to the Kingdom of our God and to my file leaders. All I ask of my children who read this [Italics mine] is to be as true to my brethren and their families as I have all will be well with them.

Charles Ora Card was not a good penman and although he was capable of writing with grammatical correctness, in his journals he used many short, incomplete, and unpunctuated sentences.

Card's journals contain full minutes of the conferences he attended, particularly the Stake and General Conferences, and often the Ward Conferences over which he presided. Obviously, he believed meetings to be of great importance. Other events are recorded briefly without detail or description. Card did record his feelings on several occasions, particularly when he felt a debt of gratitude to the Lord, his parents, or his families. Other than this occasional mention of his personal thoughts, his journal account is brief and non-emotional, as well as non-descriptive.

Following is a physical description of each of the available thirty-nine journals, giving the date of the first and last entry in each book as well as the dimensions and color of the cover. At present the "Logan" journals are in the Utah State University Library through the courtesy of Card's daughter, Mrs. William Sloan of Portland, Oregon, and the "Cardston" jour-
nals are in the possession of another of Card's daughters, Mrs. Hugh B. Brown of Salt Lake City, but they will soon be placed in the vaults of the Church Historians Office in Salt Lake City, Utah. All of the journals have been microfilmed by the Utah State University Library. Mrs. Hugh B. Brown and Mrs. Floyd Godfrey, a granddaughter of G.O. Card, now living in Cardston, Alberta, have positive copies of all of the journals.

THE "LOGAN" JOURNALS

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APPENDIX F

BASIC ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST

OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS
BASIC ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

GENERAL AUTHORITIES

Presiding over the entire Church and the higher or Melchizedek Priest-
hood is the President of the Church, who is also sustained as a Prophet of
God. The President, and his counselors form the highest quorum or body of
authority, the First Presidency of the Church. The Presidency, assisted by
the Quorum of Twelve Apostles and the First Quorum of Seventy, direct the
affairs of the Church.

The Presiding Bishopric, a quorum of three men who preside over the
lesser or Aaronic Priesthood, is in charge of the temporal affairs of the
Church.

All these men, along with the Presiding Patriarch, a man who is em-
powered to give spiritual blessings to the people, are known as the General
Authorities of the Church.

STAKE AUTHORITIES

The Church is divided into geographical regions known as Stakes of
Zion. These Stakes are formed where the membership of the Church is con-
centrated in an area convenient for supervision. The entire leadership of
a Stake comes from the Stake itself, whereas the General Authorities may
be chosen from the entire church population.

Presiding over each Stake is a Stake President, who with his two
counselors, form the Stake Presidency. They are assisted by a group of
twelve men known as the Stake High Council. Those male members of each
Stake who hold the higher or Melchizedek Priesthood are divided into quorums of High Priests, Seventies, and Elders. All General and Stake Authorities hold the office of High Priest in the Melchizedek Priesthood.

WARD AUTHORITIES

Each Stake is divided into small local congregations known as Wards. Presiding over each Ward is a Bishop. He and his two counselors form a Bishopric. These three High Priests preside without the assistance of other councils. These men and boys of the Ward who hold the lesser or Aaronic Priesthood are divided into quorums of Priests, Teachers, and Deacons.

AUXILIARY ORGANIZATIONS

Several auxiliary organizations function in the Church for the benefit of the church membership. These organizations are formed in each Ward, with supervisory leadership given on the Stake and General level.

Briefly, the auxiliaries and their functions are as follows: The Sunday School Organization, to teach the Gospel to the membership of the Church; the Relief Society, an organization for the women of the Church; the Primary Association, to give week-day religious instruction to the children; and the Young Women's and Young Men's Mutual Improvement Associations, to provide cultural and recreational activities for the church membership over the age of twelve years.

THE MISSIONS

Foreign countries and areas outside the geographical boundaries of
the Stakes are divided into Missions of the Church. A Mission President presides over each Mission. Missionaries are called into the field, usually for a two-year term, and proselyte under the direction of the Mission President. The members of the Church residing in a Mission are divided into Districts, and have a District Presidency to direct their activities. Local congregations, called Branches, are directed by a Branch Presidency.
APPENDIX G

OVERLAND GUIDE
## OVERLAND GUIDE

**Giving Wagon Road Distances Between**

**OGDEN, UTAH, and CARDSTON, ALBERTA**

**N. W. T. CANADA**

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* You follow Sheep Creek to Dillon, consequently no want of water.

† There are watering places every few miles between Willow Creek and Little Boulder River.
No fuel worth mentioning between Two Medicine streams and Lee's Creek.

On Bird Tail divide, about five miles northeast of Flat Creek, provide fuel to last you to Two Medicine Creek.

Between Dearborn and Flat Creek take left hand road to Choteau, via Augusta, and save about twenty miles.

All large streams are bridged.

A BONANZA FOR YOUNG MEN

Boys eighteen years of age can homestead 160 acres. Time, three years. The only fee ever required is $10 in advance. Each homesteader can enter sixteen head of stock free.

Compliments of C. O. Card.
THE FLOOD OF 1902

Sunday, 18th May [1902]: It rained all last night and rained and snowed all day today. Kind of a sleet, quite cold.

Monday, 19th May, 1902: This morning it cleared off and the weather better. It started to rain today & was raining hard the evening. Now at 9:45 it is raining like "hell" and blowing like blisters.

Tuesday, 20th May: I arose at 6:30 a.m. to see that it had been raining all night & the creek was raging. A cold rain with a wind from the north. The foot bridge went out at 7:30 a.m. & went right down the creek. Chicken coops & chickens & pigs & pens, wheel barrows, pole fences & lumber etc., went down the creek. The water at 6 o'clock p.m. was running all around the houses of C.E. Snow & Rob't. Ramsbottom, Sarah B. Daines, Dr. H.W. Brant, E.A. Law, Wm. Wolsey, Wm. Wood, James Layton, W.H. Steed, D.W. Rollins, J.C. Cahoon & all the houses on the bottom. Most of the families were moved out to neighbors. Mrs. Ramsbottom, Annie & Westall came here. It is still raining & the wind blowing from the north. I feel like I would just as soon die as live. [italics his] Changed clothes three times. The water is 2 1/2 feet deep 4 rods from our house. Now about 7 p.m. both wagon bridges came down stream. One lodged near the planing mill, across the creek from it & the other lodged just in front of C.E. Snow's house. The whole creek, from beginning to end, now has not one bridge across it. Dr. H.W. Brant's house, which is situated on a turn of the creek, or rather "torrent" as it is now has been under-mined & is now on its side or nearly so; it tipped onto the South East corner at 8:10 p.m. The house is intact but all furniture & stoves, etc. are in it.

This is, "THE DISASTEROUS DAY FOR CARDSTON," either by water or fire. Now at 9:15 it is still blowing from the north & raining. "God pity Thy people this night." We have all prayed for the elements to be tempered for our good. No lives so far have been reported "Lost." [italics his] . . . Water surely this time is showing itself a very cruel Master.

Wednesday, 21st May: I arose refreshed about 6 a.m. It had rained slowly & blew from the north all night. The creek or torrent has washed away F.E. Bevans house, cellar, barn & even his city lot, as it is now the bed of the stream. His furniture was all saved. Dr. H.W. Brant lost his barn, hen house & buggy shed & his house turned on its corner. All the fences in the flat are gone & buildings of all sorts were seen floating down the stream. The boiler & engine or part of it & some of house of the Planing Mill, J.P. Low's barn, & all out houses but granery, The whole of the old Cheese Factory & cheese room, bridges,

---
1Joseph Ya. Card Journal. At the time this account was written, Joseph (oldest son of Charles O. and Zina Card) was sixteen years of age.
& old Cardston Co. Ltd. log room store, Uncle Joseph Young's granery & numerous other things went "Down Stream."

Many cords of wood & bails /bales/ & coils of barb wire are all over the lower streets. The Woolf Hotel buggy shed & all of Johanna Anderson's pole fence were pulled down this morning. The creek is on an average of half mile wide. Brother Bateman, Thomas S. Higham & Samuel Treasure lost nearly everything they had, it all having gone down stream. By the kind hands of many friends the suffering people were all cared for. Uncle Tom Duce & family moved up here with all their furna-ture this morning. Today it is election. Mr. W.C. Simmons, the Return-ing officer being left on the West side of the creek, sent, by means of a rope attached to a tree on the South side & a post on the North, the ballot box to the South side as the stream cut the town completely in half. Simmons then swore in a Deputy Returning officer on the South side of creek by holding bible & administering oath by shouting across the creek. We got word to-day also that all the bridges on the St. Mary's River had gone. Rega /C.O. Card's son/ is on the other side of the river to Uncle John Greaves & as all the bridges are gone we will probably not see him for a month or more. Ben May, having come in from the field could not cross creek & is here with me.

I did nothing but work around. Saw that Ephraim Harker's house was surrounded by water & also all others on creek bottom. It is still raining slightly & blowing from north. Mr. W. Laurie who had been out to Actna came into town today & came over to our house this eve. . . . (Maggie Filling's baby died today.)

The Polling place today on this side of the creek was J.W. Woolf's residence. Woolf is one of the Nominees, on the Liberal side. H.S. Allen is the other Nominee who would go as an Independant.

We are now cut off all communication from the world either by mail or telephone or anything. I retired in my room with Mr. Laurie at 10:15 p.m. We have in our house this eve. to sleep, Pa, Ma, Zina, George, Stringham, Will, Walt, Ed. Duce, Ernest Duce, Frank & Roy & Uncle Thomas, Aunt Ann, Lily, Ethel, Mrs. Rambottom, Westall, Annie & Martie Mc Donald & myself, in all 21 persons. It is still raining & blowing slightly from the north, though the water has gone down about 14 inches.

Thursday, 22nd May: The creek has lowered two or three feet and now many people are working about the shore, digging out old trinkets, tables, chairs, bed steads & all house hold furniture. I found a few things which belong to Brother Samuel Treasure. (18 year old boy of Bro. Jordans, Caldwell, was drowned yesterday). Dr. Brant has rescued nearly all his things out of the upstairs part of his house which is nearly all right. Last night the Duce Bros., Dr. Brant & Stirling /Williams/ built sort of a dike around Sarah B. Daines house to keep the water from washing out all of the foundation, as part of it is gone. Uncles Will & De Wilton /Card/ came in from their ranches today. The Creek is still slightly out of its banks.

The following is a list of names of owners of property and to what
amount it was damaged, approximately, figuring at amounts, all property
on this, the East side of creek, starting at the lower part.

C.O. Card, destroyed bout 3/4 mile fence & damaged gate, etc. =
$50.00.
Robt. Ramsbottom, 1 block fence & lost out house, lot covered with
sediment = $20.00.
C.E. Snow, lost fence, 1 block, stable undermined = $250.00.
Sarah B. Daines, 1 block fence, boards, poles, etc. lost. house un-
dermined = $20.00.
Theos. Duce, 1/2 block fence & garden = $50.00.
Ernest Duce, 1/2 block fence, coal etc. = $6.00
Dr. H.W. Brant, lost barn, buggie shed, pig pen, 1 block fence, chi-
cken coop, out house, house turned on side, some furniture, wood etc.
lost & city lot destroyed = $500.00.
Frank E. Bevans, 1 two story, four roomed house, frame, wood & coal
house, out house, chicken house, log barn, corral, shed, fence 1 block,
cellar & whole city lot, gone down stream damage about = $600.00 or
more.
George Duce 3 or 4 rods fence = $3.00.
Robert Reeder = damaged corral, took off poles etc. he also lost 3
colts in this storm;
James Layton, lost poles, wagon box, wheel barrow, & 1/2 block fence,
also foot bridge $30.00.
Mrs. Layton in next house south of James Layton's some fence &
poles etc. = $6.00.
Wm H. Steed a little fence & house damaged slightly $10.00.
David W. Rollins a little fence, poles etc. & house damaged slight-
ly, = $10.00.
Cardston Lumber Co. yard damaged & lumber lost = $10.00.
J.C. Cahoon, houses & fence damaged = $6.00.
W.T. Rose lost a part of city lot = $5.00
Uncle Joseph Young lost granery & part corrals & fence house & lot
damaged; = $30.00.
Will Capner house removed from lot & lot & fence damaged = $15.00.
E.A. Low, who is a poor man, lost fence, garden, ice-cream freezers,
stable corral & garden, he needs help, damaged to the amount of =
$60.00.
Jens Pearson, another poor man, lost fence & part house destroyed =
$25.00.
W. Elvie Yancey house & lot damaged = $10.00.
William Low, stable & fence damaged = $8.00.
The last that I know of houses on the East side of Creek is Brother
Ephraim Harker's brick mansion which is damaged & fences & stables dam-
age to amount of $30.00. . . .

The creek has gone down a great deal. The corner of sister Daines
house is minus a part of foundation, Bevans house is right side up,
down the creek, lodged together with the foot bridge & other timber.
In evening I went over to town by means of a boat which had been con-
structed for the purpose of rescuing Mrs. Shaw & others from F.D. Shaw's
ranch house, yesterday.

The rumor that the new bridge across St. Mary's river was gone, I do not think so, at least have heard different this evening.

We have no more reports of lives being lost, tho' the destruction of property is great. The ferry boat has been kept busy today. I may state that every city lot had a great deposit of sand & gravel on it, from one to four feet deep.

Friday, 23rd. May: In a.m. George, Walt & Will helped people out of mud, etc., & picked up things belonging to the unfortunate. The creek has subsided & it is a pleasant day, tho' the creek is about 5 times normal size at present.

. . . About 2 p.m. James Hanson, Ed. J. Wood & Willard McLaughlin got in a boat that was used as a ferry boat here & started for the St. Mary's River where they were to locate a landing for a ferry. On nearing the river the boat was capsized by striking a fallen tree. Ed. J. Wood climbed out by means of a willow over hanging the shore. He landed on the East side of the creek. James Hansen & W. McLaughlin sat on the boat which was bottom side up & went down the stream away. When the boat began to roll over & over & they fighting for it. When the two neared the river McLaughlin made for shore but being dressed & having boots on he could not swim very well. He was carried to the river & caught on a sand bar where he was rescued by Marine L. Stoddard on horse back. Jim Hansen went down the river on the up turned boat & while going down pulled off his clothes. The boat being led by Providence struck an island & a Mr. Stevensen came out on horse back & rescued him, so all were saved.
CHARLES ORA CARD
PIONEER AND COLONIZER

An Abstract of
A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Church History
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

by
A. James Hudson
August 1961
ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to give a biographical account of the life and labors of Charles Ora Card in order to show his contributions to the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and in particular to the Latter-day Saint communities of Logan, Utah, and Cardston, Alberta.

This work is based upon information found in journals kept by Charles Ora Card, supplemented with information from books, newspapers, manuscripts, diaries, and interviews to enrich and amplify the account.

As a young man Charles Ora Card crossed the plains from New York to the Rocky Mountains and became one of the pioneer settlers of Cache Valley, Utah. During the twenty-seven years he spent in Logan, Utah, he was constantly engaged in church and community affairs, giving service and gaining experience in many fields.

Charles Ora Card served the community of Logan as Juror, Coroner, Justice of the Peace, Road Commissioner, County Selectman, and City Councilman. For twenty-one years he promoted education in Cache Valley as a teacher, City School Board Chairman, and a member of the Board of Trustees for The Brigham Young College.

Aside from these civic responsibilities, Charles Ora Card participated in co-operative enterprises, serving on the board of directors for two canals, a road company, four sawmills, and a gristmill. He directed the extensive operations of the United Order Manufacturing and Building Company. He was superintendent of construction for the Logan Tabernacle and the Logan Temple, which entailed the operation of several industries as part of the building program.
Another of Card's major contributions was in giving ecclesiastical leadership to the Mormon people of Cache Valley during the trying times in which the controversy over polygamy raged.

As a result of this conflict, Charles Ora Card took refuge in Canada, where he was instrumental in establishing the community of Cardston, Alberta. He gave ecclesiastical leadership to the Mormon settlers in Alberta for fifteen years.

Drawing on his previous experience in Cache Valley, Card established industrial and agricultural enterprises in southern Alberta. Much of his work was done through the Cardston Company Limited, a co-operative establishment which operated a sawmill, gristmill, store, and a cheese factory.

Card's greatest single contribution was the introduction of irrigation into the area. Irrigation has proven to be the life-blood of southern Alberta, benefiting thousands of people.

Charles Ora Card's chief concern was to serve his Church through service to its members. Through the leadership which he provided, and through his sustained and persistent efforts in the projects which he undertook, he made a significant contribution to the communities of Logan, Utah, and Cardston, Alberta, and consequently to the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Abstract approved by:

[Signature]

[Signature]