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Journal of the Southern Indian Mission

Juanita Brooks

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Journal of the Southern Indian Mission



Diary of Thomas D. Brown

Edited by

JUANITA BROOKS

Utah State University Press
Western Text Society Number 4
Logan, Utah

**JOURNAL OF THE SOUTHERN
INDIAN MISSION**

Diary of Thomas D. Brown

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Contents

Introduction	vii
Thomas Dunlop Brown	viii
JOURNAL OF THE SOUTHERN INDIAN MISSION	1
Conclusion	139
Appendix I: List of Brown's Merchandise	143
Appendix II: Brown and Miller's Store	145
Appendix III: Paragoona	147
Appendix IV: Description of Indian Marriage	149
Appendix V: Brigham Young Travels South	152
Appendix VI: Enforced Consecration	155
Appendix VII: Philip Klingonsmith	160
Appendix VIII: Death of Walker	162
Appendix IX: Deed of Property	164

Introduction

This brief "Journal" is very significant in the history of the Mormon colonization for the Great Basin for several reasons: First, it pictures vividly the Indians in their primitive state, before they had come into any contact with the white man; second, it portrays the dedication and fervor of the missionaries assigned to this hopeless task; third, it gives in minute detail the doings of this group in the physical labor of clearing land, securing water, and planting crops as well as in their religious gatherings, where with song and prayer and exhortation they sustained each other. As a result of the temporary success of this Southern Indian Mission, the leaders of the Mormon Church the following year (1855) established five other missions to the Indians, none of which achieved anything like the results obtained here, and all of which were rather quickly abandoned.¹

Mormon interest in the Indian dates back to the publication of the Book of Mormon in 1830. This book purports to be the story of the Indian tribes of the Americas, presenting them as being of

¹ Juanita Brooks, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier" *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XII (1944), 10.

"the blood of Israel" but fallen and cursed with dark skin because of their wickedness. By accepting the Mormon Gospel and living its teachings, they might be redeemed and become again "a white and delightsome people." To bring about this happy condition the missionaries were sent out.

Except for one brief mission in 1830 in which Parley P. Pratt and three companions traveled from western New York to the Missouri River preaching to the tribes en route, the Mormons did no proselyting among the Indians before 1854. They maintained a friendly attitude toward the natives they met on their way to Utah; after their arrival they at once tried to set up friendly relations with Chief Walker as a matter of policy.

In spite of the overtures of the Mormons, the Indians began thieving during the winter of 1848-1849, until the militia was called out to hunt down the thieves and recover the horses and cattle. On March 5, 1849, this was accomplished, the price being five Indians killed but no white men injured.²

Now Brigham Young had another series of "talks," and to make them more impressive, on May 4, 1849, wrote a letter for Walker, recommending him as a man of peace. This "talking paper" was so precious to the chief that two years later he would present it to the leaders in the new settlement of Louisa [later Parowan].

Evidently President Young felt confident that his troubles with Walker were over, for on May 12, 1849, addressing a meeting of the Council of Fifty held in the home of Heber C. Kimball, the clerk quoted him as saying ". . . that he did not apprehend any danger from the Indians. Neither did he feel, as some Brethren do, he does not want to live among them & take them in his arms until the curse is removed from of [f] them . . . This presant race of Indians will never be converted. It mattereth not whether they kill one another off or Some body else do it & as for our sending Missionarys among them to convert them, it is of no use"

² For a detailed account of this expedition see *On the Mormon Frontier, Diaries of Hosea Stout*, Juanita Brooks, ed. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), pp. 344-47.

³ Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, *A Mormon Chronicles: The Diaries of John D. Lee* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1955), 1:108.

Introduction

Brigham Young had ambitious plans for building up this new territory of Deseret, which was to him establishing the Kingdom of God. He wanted to plant a colony wherever the water, timber and arable land would support one. With this in mind, on November 23, 1849, he sent Parley P. Pratt with 50 men, 25 wagons, and 30 pack horses and mules to explore the country south along the Old Spanish trail. The wagons were to keep to the road already marked out by the emigrant train piloted by Jefferson Hunt, while horsemen with pack animals explored the canyons and less accessible areas.

The wagons were taken south as far as the site of the present town of Parowan while Pratt himself with a small party went over the rim of the basin to the confluence of the Virgin River and Santa Clara Creek, returning via the Mountain Meadows to the wagons.

Here on Center Creek near the Little Salt Lake they designated the site of the first southern colony and celebrated the birthday of the new town-to-be in ceremonies which included setting up a liberty pole, hoisting a flag, serving a "sumptuous" dinner, and holding a meeting at which songs, speeches, and toasts were in order. The whole was punctuated by salutes from the cannon which they had brought along. This was on January 8, 1850.

To send people to live so far as this from headquarters would make all friendly advances to the Indians imperative. Yet the very next month, February 1850, the Indians in the vicinity of Utah Lake had become bolder in their thievings of cattle. Again the militia was called out, this time to an encounter which was more like slaughter than real war. The male members of two small tribes were almost annihilated.⁴

Soon after this, the idiom "It is cheaper to feed than to fight them" was coined, and from this time on was widely used, as the

⁴ Peter Gottfredson, *History of Indian Depredations in Utah* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Skelton Publishing Co., 1919), pp. 28-35. Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Star Printing Co., 1886, pp. 66-69. Bill Hickman, *Brigham's Destroying Angel*, J. E. Beadle, ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Shepard Publishing Co., 1904), pp. 56-57. Hosea Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier*, p. 302.

new outposts of Zion were set up. The southern-most site so dramatically established must be peopled, the call being issued in the fall of 1850. They rendezvoused at Provo, where they organized into companies under Apostle George A. Smith with Joseph Horne, pilot; Thomas H. Wheeler, interpreter; John D. Lee, clerk; Henry Lunt, ass't. clerk.

The journey was like none before. The company consisted of 120 men, 30 women, and 18 children traveling in 101 wagons and carriages. With characteristic Mormon attention to detail, each name is listed with age and rank in the Priesthood; the food, supplies, tools; the animals from the 368 oxen to the 18 cats and 121 chickens; their arms and ammunition from the one cannon to the last ounce of powder. Each day's travel, the "sideling" canyon roads where all hands were required to keep the wagons from tipping over, the doubling teams up-hill and hanging onto ropes behind going down-hill — every detail is chronicled by one or the other clerk.⁵

After some little discussion, the group decided to plant their colony on the site dedicated the year before, and set about building first a public house and then laying out a fort.

Before either could be finished, an advance runner from Walker's band camped some forty miles to the south brought in the letter given him by Brigham Young on May 4, 1849, and requested that George A. Smith write another to go with the first. Walker was returning from California with a band of about 100 horses and mules which he had purchased or stolen. Though only a part of the letter which Apostle Smith wrote remains, that bit is eloquent:

"Louisa, Iron County, Deseret, Friday Feb. 28, 1851 Brother Walker, Indian Chief; We received a letter from you by one of your men (Tanterbus) on the 19th inst. dated Salt Lake City May 4th, 1849, written to you by our first President Brigham Young who sent me here with 100 wagons with seeds and farming tools. We come here heavy loaded and brought but little provisions

The remainder of the letter was evidently lost, but Walker

⁵ See "Journal of Iron County Mission, John D. Lee, Clerk" ed. by Gustive O. Larson, *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 10 (1952), 109-34. Also ms. copy of Henry Lunt diary, transcripts at B.Y.U. and Utah State Historical Society, for full details.

Introduction

went in to visit Brigham Young. The "Journal History" for June 9, 1851, notes that:

Monday, June 9. Pres Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards and others met with the Indian Chiefs Walker, Sowiette, Arrapene and Unhoquitch, and interpreter Elijah ["Barney"] Ward in G.S.L. City. The four chiefs named were ordained Elders in the Church.

During the year 1851 some families settled at Nephi and some at Fillmore, which had been designated as the site for the state capitol. In 1852 a group of Mormon missionaries, bound for different parts of the world, came over the road in fifteen wagons, and several kept account of the trip. Some emigrant trains passed also.

In 1853, during the summer, the threat of war by Walker's band drove Brigham Young to order the settlements to "fort up" for their mutual protection, evidence enough that no matter what attempts at establishing friendly relations had been made, the Mormons still feared Walker, and felt that the cooperation of the small local bands was essential for their safety.

This was the condition when the Indian missionaries started on their assignment. The roads were the typical country ones, muddy or dusty, with two mountain ranges to cross, and gullies to go around, but still much improved. These young men had to push the frontier only a few miles ahead so far as physical distance was concerned, but they were embarking on a new social experiment. Young men all of them, with a third scarcely out of their teens, they accepted their assignment with the attitude that they would give it their best efforts.

In more than a century since this experiment was carried on, nothing comparable to it has been attempted again, here or elsewhere in the west. Perhaps the most important single item to come out of it all is this manuscript history written by Thomas Dunlop Brown, picturing so vividly the conditions of the primitive Indian tribes and the problems of attempting to civilize them.

Thomas Dunlop Brown

Thomas D. Brown was born 16 December at Stewartown, Ayrshire, Scotland, the son of James Galt Brown and Agnes Dunlop Brown. Since no brothers or sisters are mentioned anywhere, we must assume that he was an only child. In later years his father taught school in Salt Lake City, so it is certain that the son had good early training, both in his home and in the grade schools.

His obituary says that "He left home when about 17 years of age, and proceeded to Mussleboro where he supported and taught himself by teaching school, walking to Edinborough to gain at night the knowledge he imparted to his scholars the next day."⁴

Evidently he succeeded as a teacher sufficient to be head master of a private school, for among the treasures found in an old trunk was a medal . . . "shaped something like a German cross on a short chain. It looked as though it was made of the old type pewter or vermeil. On one side it read, 'Mr. T. Brown's Academy' and under it the year 1834. The other side carried only the name 'Edinburgh.'"⁵

⁴ *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 23, 1874.

⁵ Mrs. Dorothy Monson letter, 8 April 1969.

Thomas D. Brown

Whether he had an earlier marriage we do not know, but about 1840 he married Sarah Godwin Sherratt, the widow of Smith Sherratt, who had died about 1833. Mrs. Sherratt lived at Scholar-green, Cheshire, England, on a landed estate, whether hers by inheritance of birth or from her husband we do not know. She had two sons, William and John.

Of the Widow Sherratt we learn most from the research of Mrs. Gwen Heaton Sherratt, who wrote a pamphlet, "*Tobats,*" the *Silent One*, to tell the story of John Sherratt, the family ancestor. According to her, the widow Sherratt, or "Lady Sherratt," had a palatial home with many luxuries and certainly with all the comforts — servants in the house to wait on every need, farm hands to care for the fields and orchards. Treasures saved from that long-ago time bear this out.

John Sherratt was born January 25, 1828. While still an infant, he suffered an attack of Scarlet Fever, the complications from which left him deaf and dumb. He and his older brother William joined the Church, being baptized along with their mother, by Elder Orson Hyde on 6 December 1846. Simon Carter confirmed him. He wrote of his conversion and his faith in the Church in a letter printed in the *Millennial Star*, 13 December 1846, under the title, "Reflections of a Deaf and Dumb Young Man." This is an interesting article indeed.

They were evidently converted by their foster father, who had been baptized two years earlier, on June 9, 1844, by Elder Thomas Ward. They also had a little half-brother, James and a sister, Sarah Godwin Brown.

By this time the family were living at Liverpool, where Thomas D. Brown taught school for many years, and later became cashier of the British and North American Mail S.S. Company.

It would seem that the father of Thomas D. Brown also joined the Church about the same time, for the *Millennial Star* for 15 November 1848 carries an article signed James Galt Brown, 60 Clark Street, Airdrie, October 12. Under the title, FAITH AN EFFECTIVE REMEDY FOR CHOLERA, it relates the instant healing of Mr. Archibald Geddes and his wife by administration

of the Mormon Elders. Brother Eli B. Kelsey was presiding there and offered the prayer.

Thomas D. Brown came into prominence in the Church during the General Conference held at Manchester in the Hall of Science, April 6-7-8, 1845. At this time a group of ten was selected to draw up the rules to govern a new Joint Stock Company. They were excused from the meetings on Monday and worked through until Tuesday afternoon, when T. D. Brown read the articles one by one to the congregation for their consideration and sustaining vote. The forty-five propositions were accepted, providing that fifteen shareholders act as directors of the company, and that the seven who resided at Liverpool be the regular directors, with Thomas Ward president and corresponding secretary, Thomas Wilson secretary and book-keeper, Reuben Hedlock and Thomas Dunlop Brown trustees and cash-keepers for the same.

Immediately following this action, it was voted that Thomas Dunlop Brown be ordained an Elder, and "a vote of thanks was cheerfully given him for his unwearied and active services in this conference."^{*}

Through the next three years the name of T. D. Brown appears often in the pages of the *Millennial Star* in advertising books, reporting conference activities, and submitting excerpts from other reports. His most impressive contribution was a LETTER TO W. CUNNINGHAM, ESQ., which filled the first pages of the November 18 and December 1st issues of 1848.

As the family prepared to emigrate to America in late 1848, Sarah Brown wrote a farewell letter to relatives and friends, setting forth her beliefs and reasons for joining the Mormon Church. It was printed under the title MRS. T. D. BROWN'S FAREWELL LETTER⁹ It is well written, indeed, an explanation of her own faith and an appeal to her friends to investigate Mormonism.

At the end is a statement signed by her two sons, William and John Sherratt, which begins, "We willingly concur in the senti-

^{*} *Millennial Star*, 7 (1846), 185-187.

Thomas D. Brown

ments, doctrines, and testimony of our beloved mother, as recorded above, and having obeyed the same Gospel, we have received a measure of the same spirit."

Although we do not have the name of the ship or the date of the sailing of this family, we know they were established in Kanessville by midsummer, for the *Frontier Guardian* for August 22, 1849, carried an impressive announcement. In large headlines it declared that A LARGE IMPORTATION OF ENGLISH & FRENCH DRYGOODS, HARDWARE AND CUTLERY was this day opened for sale to the Ladies and Gentlemen of Kanessville. The list included groceries, yardage, ready-made, tools, spices, liquors, with brandy by the gallon, powder, lead, vinegar, and tin-man's solder — in fact, almost anything "all offered cheap for cash," by BROWN & BARHAM. August 22, 1849."

By October 14 following, the business had changed hands, and was now Brown & Miller's store at a location opposite the first, the Miller being Henry W., well-known frontiersman. Now the stock is not listed in such detail and the public is informed that:

"We have re-marked all goods . . . Our motto in business is and shall be 'Small profits and Quick Return.'"⁹

A note at the end tells past customers that "All accounts due to the late firm — Brown & Barham, will be received, settled and accounted for by Thomas D. Brown at Brown and Millers store."¹⁰

One other announcement tells of tragedy in the family. The *Frontier Guardian* for March 20th, 1850, notes:

Died- in this town on the 7th last, of quick consumption, Mr. William Sherratt aged 28 years, from England.

Since no mention is made of a family, we assume that William was unmarried, and perhaps had been in poor health even before the family left England.

Without following the merchandising activities of T. D. Brown in detail, we observe that he remains in partnership with Miller,

⁹ *Millennial Star*, 11 (1849), 5.

¹⁰ See appendix I.

¹¹ Appendix II.

but they again move their stand, this time to the Bluffs. By late 1851 he had added violins and accordians to his list of merchandise.

The *Frontier Guardian* for Nov. 12, 1851, notes that:

People here say that Bro. T. D. Brown has been absent from this place for about two months on business to England"

This trip might well have been tied up with the position he had held in the organizing of the emigrant companies for the four years before he sailed to America, or with the settling of business of his own. Perhaps it was just to help his parents emigrate, for according to the family genealogist, Mrs. Gwen Heaton Sherratt, we learn that, "On January 26, 1852, T. D. Brown baptized his mother, Agnes Dunlop Brown, and she emigrated March 6, 1852. T. D. Brown is listed on the same sailing."

The *L.D.S. Church Chronology* on that date says:

The ship *Rockaway* sailed from Liverpool, England, with 30 Saints and machinery for the Deseret Sugar Manufactory, under the direction of Elias Morris. It arrived in New Orleans after seven week's passage.

Apostle John Taylor, accompanied by about twenty Saints, sailed from Liverpool for Boston, on his way home.

The second ship was not named. The Browns could have been on either; we know that by November 5, 1852, Thomas D. Brown was operating his store on Salt Lake City Main Street, for on that day Lorenzo Brown was trying to buy a record book from him.

Records of the various companies across the plains differ widely, some giving in great order and detail the names and genealogical information of all, and others being very brief. Of the later kind are the records of Capt. Robert Weimer, of the 15th Company for 1852. He names James Brown, Agnes Brown, and T. D. Brown, but makes no mention of the wife or children. Whether or not they had taken at least a part of the goods from Council Bluffs and gone ahead earlier, we do not know.¹²

The Salt Lake County Assessment Roll for 1853, J. Y. Hutchin-

¹² *Journal History* of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Dec. 31, 1852, Supplement p. 100.

Thomas D. Brown

son, Assessor, gives much interesting information as to the economic status of the residents of the county, at least the comparative wealth of the citizens in goods and chattels. Names are listed alphabetically with locations within the various Wards.

Brown, Thomas [no initial] 14th Ward

Waggon & carriages	120
Horses	150
mules	
oxen & steers	60
cows	25
watches & clocks	150
sheep	
pigs	6
Farmer & Merchant tools	
Money Loaned or on rent	
Household furniture	300
Other personal property	
Total amount of tax	\$19.45
Territorial tax	\$ 1.00

It is clear that here is a man of some substance, compared to his neighbors in this section. Only Seth M. Blair would rival him — or exceed him — in the matter of household furniture, while having less in wagons and teams.

The first home of T. D. Brown was evidently in connection with his place of business on First West, as is shown on an early map of the city preserved at the Utah State Historical Society office. Later he would build his permanent home at 522 East Second South, a well-planned, two-story structure, finished with quality materials, a fine stair-case, and decorated windows. This building was remodeled (1967-68) for offices.

That the Thomas D. Brown family was well set-up in Salt Lake City when he left to go on this Southern Indian Mission is shown by an excerpt from a letter written by George A. Smith on 27 February 1855.

Since I last wrote you, another association has sprung into existence, en-

titled the Deseret Philharmonic Society, whose object is the cultivation of vocal and instrumental music. Elder James Smithie is their president and their meetings for the present are held in Elder T. D. Brown's large room.

These items show that not only was the Brown family well-to-do, but that Mrs. Brown was a woman of culture, interested in music and probably the owner of an organ and other musical instruments. With the help of her son James, she would manage the business at the store.

For Thomas D. Brown himself, this "Journal" constitutes a personal diary as well as an official history of the mission. His complete loyalty and devotion to the church is evident in every line, as is also his accuracy in recording the missionary activities.

Editor's Statement

In the spring of 1936 I came from St. George to Salt Lake City in search of information on my family history. I must wait for audience at the Church Historian's Office, so I picked from a shelf of loose-leaf holders, each labeled with a stick-on marker, the one marked "History of the Southern Indian Mission." The very thing I had been looking for! But it was written by a Thomas D. Brown, not Jacob Hamblin.

Leafing through it, I saw such titles as "The Medicine Man," "The Supper," "An Indian Wedding." The writing was beautiful, the spelling and punctuation perfect, everything as exact as if it were ready for the printer.

I have never seen this item since. But some years later, when Dale L. Morgan was working in the L.D.S. Church library, I wrote him describing this record and urging him, if possible, to copy it. I was more than delighted when he sent me a carbon of this record.

His description was of a hard-backed ledger and of a document done at the time, with abbreviations and mis-spelled words:

Coy, waggons, Brors, and usually & for *and*, so I knew at once that the manuscript I had seen was one done by a copyist, probably A. Milton Musser, who spent years in the Historian's Office "Rewriting Church History," as he said in his Diary.

Dr. A. R. Mortensen planned to print this Diary in serial form in the *Utah State Historical Quarterly*, but one thing or another moved to prevent it. In the early 1960's I prepared it for the University of Utah Press. Again it was a delayed, but in the meantime the actual ORIGINAL was located, proving that both the others had been made as part of the program to preserve history.

In order to keep the flavor of the times we have retained the spelling of the words mentioned above, but on occasion have inserted periods and capital letters for clarity and ease in reading.

It is a great satisfaction to me, after some 35 long years, to have this important record made available.

Juanita Brooks

Journal

Monday, 10 April 1854. Sixteen of these Bretheren were set apart to this mission this evening in the Council house under the hands of Orson Hyde, P.P. Pratt, W. Woodruff, Lorenzo Snow, E. T. Benson, Erastus Snow of the Twelve.

T.D. Brown was appointed clerk and recorder.

Rufus C. Allen, as Captain

David Lewis, as 1st Counsellor

Samuel F. Atwood, as 2nd Counsellor

Agree to start on Thursday mornng. 13 April, By order of Prest. Pratt.

T.D. Brown. Clerk.

The remainder of these missionaries meet on Wedy. at Prest. Pratt's or join us on the road.

Journal of the Southern Indian Mission

Journal of Mission to the Indians inhabiting the Southern Parts of the Territory of Utah sanctioned by Govr. Young. Of those that were called on the 6th Octr. 1853, there came, viz.

(P.P. Pratt, President) Withdrawn and sent to California

1. T.D. Brown,	Prest. of 70.	Gt. Salt Lake City.	46. Marrd 2 children released May 56
2. Ira Hatch,	70.s 5 Quor.	Session's Settlement	18. Unmarrd. Still there Interpretor
3. Rufus C. Allen,	Prest. 70. 33 Quor.	Weber County	26. Marrd Withdrawn 1857
4. Isaac Riddle,	70. 38 Quor.	Ogdenhole	24. Still there
5. William Henefer,	70. 30 Quor.	Gt. St. Lake City	30. Withdrew 1855
6. Augustus P. Hardy	70. 29 do	do	23. do 1855
7. Saml. F. Atwood,	do 32 do	do	29. Sent to Los Vegas
8. Robt. M. Dickson,	do 8 do	do	46. Still there
9. Hyrum Burgess,	Elder	do	17. Withdrew soon
10. Benj. Knell,	Priest	Kay's Settlement	19. Still there
11. David Lewis,	High Priest	Gt. St. Lake City	40. Died there
12. Lorenzo Roundy,	70. 2 Quor.	Davis County	34. Sent to Las Vegas
13. Jacob Hamblin,	70. 6 Quor.	Tooele City President 1857	35. Married 6 children now President 1857
14. Elnathan Eldridge,	Elder	Gt. St. Lake City	42. Withdrew
15. Robt. Ritchie,	High Priest	do	47. Married 1 child Still there
16. Samuel Knights,	Elder	do	21. do
17. Thales H. Haskell,	do	do	20. do

April 1854

18. Amos G. Thornton,	do	Lake City	21. do
19. Richard Robinson,	do	do	23. do
20. John Lott,	70. 29 Quor	Lehi City	28. Withdrawn 1854
21. John Murdock	70. 29 Quor	do	27. do
Preston Lewis	Son of David Lewis		14. Withdrawn 1854
Wm. D. Dickson	Son of R.M. Dickson		6. Still there
(David Tullis and John Sherratt sent Oct/ 54)			do

On Monday the 10th April 1854. Under the hands of O. Hyde, P.P. Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, Erastus Snow, Lorenzo Snow, Ezra T. Benson, of "the Twelve" most of the above were set apart for this mission: viz. to civilize & instruct the Indians in this region, that they might come up to inherit the blessings pertaining to them because of the works & promises of their Fathers.

On Thursday 13th April, Some of the waggons and Coy. met at Prest. P.P. Pratt's but were counselled to reassemble & start next day.

Organization

T.D. Brown was appointed "Clerk and Recorder."

Rufus C. Allen,¹ to act as "Captain."

¹ Rufus Chester Allen, who is later referred to as "our youthful captain" and described as "modest" by the historian, was in his 26th year at this time. Born in Delaware County, New York, October 22, 1827, he joined the Mormon Church in 1838. He marched with the Mormon Battalion in 1846, returning to Utah immediately upon his mustering out in 1847. For the next five years he was almost constantly with Apostle Parley P. Pratt, going with him in 1849 on the exploring expedition to the southern part of the state, to California with him and on to South America, from whence he returned in 1852. In the fall of 1853 he was selected to go on the Southern Indian Mission, to which Pratt was also assigned.

It is possible that this close association was responsible in part for Allen's designation as Captain. Upon his release in 1857, he moved to Ogden where he lived for ten years, returning to Southern Utah in 1867, where he spent his last years working in the temple at St. George. He died December 7, 1915, at the age of eighty-eight. [Based on Andrew Jensen's *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Andrew Jensen History Company, 1901), I: 535.]

Journal of the Southern Indian Mission

David Lewis, ²	” ”	1st Lieut.
Samuel F. Atwood ³	” ”	2nd Lieut.

Counselled, that each man or mess have waggon & team sufficient to take 200 lbs flour each, 1 bush wheat, seed corn and other necessary seeds for farming and gardens, ploughs, hoes, spades, axes, saws and other needful tools for opening a new settlement in a new country.

On Friday morning, 14 April, 6 waggons of the Coy. met at Prest. P.P. Pratt's and received some further instructions, viz In the absence of Capt. Allen that we start under the 1st Lieut. behave ourselves as Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day saints, keep a regular and vigilant guard, take care of our teams and other property, and procure our potato seed in the southern Settlements, and that he — P.P. Pratt would follow us, and might overtake us, and give us further instructions, setting apart those who had not met with us on the 10th. inst.

Jos. Cain P.O. requested me to call on his brother in law Harrison Cedar City. At 9 A.M. we started.

² David Lewis had set out to write a biography of his life in January 1854, after he received this mission call. He wrote: "I commenced to wright in this Book January the 18 1854, in two months and six days I will have been in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints 19 years. I now am in my thirty ninth year of age, and on the 10 day of next April I will be 40 years of age. And as my portrait or likeness is in the first part of this Book I will also give a description of my size that in after years the rising generation may know what my size and looks was.

"I am six feet one inch high my weight two hundred pounds I am proportionably built with black hair and blue eyes I am fare skined and in the full vigor of life and health." (Original in the hands of Franklin Lewis, Vernal Utah)

Born in Simpson County, Kentucky, 10 April 1814, he had been raised on the frontier. At the age of 22 he married Druitha Trail, who bore him six children, two of whom died young. The family came to Utah in 1850, where he was listed as a photographer, cooper and farmer. His eldest son, Preston, accompanied him on this mission.

Based on Frank Ellwood Esshom's *Pioneers and Prominent men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing Company, 1913), 1004.

Strangely, he was the only one of the missionaries to die during this assignment.

³ Samuel Frink Atwood was born February 27, 1825, at Wellington, Tolland County, Conn. He joined the Mormon Church in 1849 and came to Utah in 1850. He came a single man on this mission in 1854, remained until 1858, and returned to the north to marry Mary Jane Cornwall in January 1859. During his later life he lived at Kamas, Utah, dying there on May 1, 1906. *LDS Bio. Ency.* II: 750)

April 1854

At the Sugar Works I called on Brors Wild, Vernon & [John] Bolwinkle Brother Wild blessed me to the extent of a good ham: Called on Jos. Smith, Hyrum's son & nephew to the Prophet Joseph; he had been appointed on a mission with many others to the western Isles. Arrived and camped for the night at Dry Creek

Saturday 15th April. We started for water to Willow Creek, and there I breakfasted at the house of G. Brown, whom I found preparing to start for Gt. Salt Lake City, with a basket full of blessings for my wife and children. From his father E. Brown I received 1 bush of corn & 13½ lbs bacon. Nooned at Dry Creek Utah or Lehi City. And rolling on passed American Fork or Lake City, to Pleasant Grove, 1 mile south of this, near Battle Creek we camped, and on *Sunday 16th April*, most of us attended meeting there Bishop [Henson] Walker presiding. John Banks preached, recounting much that had been taught at conference, T.D. Brown testified & spoke of the necessity of all becoming as one in this Kingdom of God. Bror. Lewis also spoke; Bishop Walker and John Holman brought down to camp 7 lbs Butter and 4 doz of eggs as a blessing from the saints of Pleasant Grove to the missionaries, which our Bishop, Bror Lewis, appointed to this office by the Company temporarily, divided to the different messes that were short of these good things. About this time Amos G. Thornton & Richard Robinson joined us from Lake City and Brors Jno Murdock and Jno Lott from Lehi City.

Monday 17, April. All well, Cap. Allen joined us & Issac Riddle. We rolled on to Provo. I stopped at the house of Harlow Redfield, from whom I received \$12.00 cash for account due me on note, and with him I left a note on D. Canfield for \$20.66/100 to be sent to my family forthwith. Here I received from Sister Hinds per Mrs. Jerome Benson 1 straw Hat — a present worth \$1.00 — and from Dominicus Carter repairs on my waggon value 50¢ — Bror Allen's family of Keg Creek, Iowa, refused me some fish, said they were too poor.

Tuesday 18. Bishop [Elias Hicks] Blackburn of Provo treated us kindly. Rolled on to Springville or Hobble Creek — a pleasant place and well watered. Saw Aaron Johnson, the late Bishop Lanes daughter and Bror Singleton. The wife of the latter who

Figure 1
Southern Indian Mission: P.P. Pratt, President.

	Waggons	Horses Mules	Flour	Ploughs	Axes	Guns	Swords	Ammunition	Cows	Bush Wheat	Bush Corn	Pistol	Cattle	Fixings & Notions
1. P. P. Pratt														
2. T. D. Brown														
3. Ira Hatch		1 2	420		1	2	2	full	1	2	1	1		many
4. Rufus C. Allen														
5. Isaac C. Riddle		1	400		2	2		"		2	1		4	"
6. Wm. Henefer														
7. Augustus P. Hardy		1 3	600	1	2	3		"	1	3	1			"
8. Saml. F. Atwood														
9. Robert M. Dickson														
10. Hyrum Burgess		1	400	1				"	1	1	1		2	"
11. David Lewis														
12. Lorenzo Roundy		1 4	400	1		2		"	2	2	1	2		"

13. Jacob Hamblin																	
14. Elnathan Eldridge	1	4	600	1		2		"	1	2	1						"
15. Robert Ritchie																	
16. Samuel Knights																	
17. Thales H. Haskell	1	2	400			2		"	1	2	1						"
18. Amos G. Thornton																	
19. Richard Robison	1	2	400	1		2		"		2	1						"
20. Sylvanus Collett																	
21. Prime Colman	1	2	400			2		"		2	1						
22. Stephen Mott																	
23. Benj. Knell																	
24. John Lott																	
25. John Murdock jun.	1	4	400			2		"		2	1						"
Total	10	23	4420	5	5	19	2		7	20	10	3	6				"

Journal of the Southern Indian Mission

had left him, & married to Huntington Johnson was this morning left a widdow. This place seems well watered. Rolled on to *Palmyra* or Spanish Fork, where Bishop [Steven] Markham gave me 14 lbs of pork. Progressed to Payson or Petetneti an elevated and cold place, rolled on to Spring Creek where we had good grass and water: The roads very good, but wet weather, in some parts must be very bad, especially between Springville and Palmyra, or rather between Spanish Fork and Petetneti — here the circle around the Utah Lake is very great, we are sometimes travelling east, south, west & then again almost north, in our course.

Wednesday, 19. Cold and wet during night — now near Summit Creek, that separates the Utah from the Juab Valley; arrived at Nephi City,⁴ Salt Creek settlement, and camped near the grist mill: here met Bishop [Jacob G.] Bigler⁵ and had 5 Bush wheat

⁴ Brown's designation of Nephi as a *city* is interesting in the light of the Martha Spence Heywood diary. She was the first woman to settle here. She records the travel past and the growth of the town, the local news, good and bad. Arriving on the ground in the early fall, she wrote:

Oct. 22, 1851 . . . As a company we are very few indeed there being only 2 men, 4 women, 5 boys and three children . . .

Jan 4, 1852 . . . Our settlement here progressed very well The public carrel is about finished — there are 18 houses, most of them logs, 3 adobies

Nov. 11 [1852] . . . We now have 44 families residing at this place having 4 rooms reared of adobes, two belonging to us, the one which we will occupy, the other rent to Bro. Bentley . . . The bridge on the Sevier has been completed under the supervision of Br Foote, as also the bridge over Chicken Creek . . .

April 9, 1954 *Reflections* One year ago three families stood here on the fort ground and right in sight westward was Bro. Foots good two story house and about 40 houses scatter around — And now we are all brought together on this very same fort ground to the amount of 125 houses, or at least that number of families. (Typescript in Utah State Historical Society files.)

⁵ Jacob G. Bigler was born April 4, 1813, in Harrison County, Virginia. He joined the church in 1838 at Far West, and was close to Joseph Smith through the Nauvoo period. He did not come west with the main migrations, but remained at Kanessville, where he was Bishop, Justice of the Peace, and Probate Judge of Potawatammie County. He arrived at Salt Lake City in 1852, and moved directly to Nephi, where he spent the remainder of his life. Of conditions at this time he wrote:

This settlement was commenced in 1852. In November 1852 I was ordained Bishop of Juab County under the hands of Apostle George A. Smith

In June 1853, the Indian war broke out, we had to tear down some of

April 1854

on account from Bror [Elijah E.] Holden, due me this amount.

Thursday 20 April. Good travelling to Chicken Creek, bad bridge, here John Murdock team mired. Good grass here, began to tie up horses and cattle & put on double guard. Here crossed the "Sevier" River.

Friday, 21st. — Cold during night, not the best place for feed, except on the mountains — these are low here and the cedars abundant, the creek muddy and miry. Arrived at the south of Round Valley, mountains not high but covered with snow and cedars down to the level. We had a hail shower this afternoon.

Saturday 22 April. Ascended and passed through the divide between Round and Filmore valleys. The entrance to Filmore is bountifully and beautifully studded with large cedars on the benches and these being covered with tall fine dry bunch grass intermixed with green, and this scenery resembles much the large parks or Gentlemen's Seats in old England, where the old green oaks and greener swards please the eye, but, alas! how often are the poor excluded from beholding them? Here are no walls save the mountain ramparts, no bolted gates opened only to the privileged, but the mountain passes opened night and day & for all. From 9 of a.m. it commenced to snow heavily, proving we are indeed upon very elevated table lands, on the sides of the mountains and exalted far above the hills: Porter Rockwell,⁶ Amos

our houses and move into closer quarters, we had to do all our work in companies In 1853 and 1854 we built a wall in Nephi, 205 rods long, 12 feet high, 6 feet wide at bottom and 2 feet wide at the top."

Jacob C. Bigler was president of the Juab Stake from 1864 to 1871. After that time he was ordained a patriarch. He died in February 1907. (*LDS Bio. Ency.* 11: 113)

⁶Orrin Porter Rockwell, who heads this group, was one of the most colorful figures of the west, and one about whom much folklore has grown. He had joined the Church early, had spent time in jail for the alleged shooting of Governor Boggs, and was a bodyguard of Joseph Smith. This allegiance was transferred to Brigham Young, who kept Rockwell constantly on the frontier.

Because of a promise made by Joseph Smith that if he did not cut his hair, his enemies could not have power over him, Rockwell would not cut his hair. Except on special occasions he wore it braided and tucked under his hat. At holiday or Sunday activities he wore it hanging loose.

This man figures in many stories of the Utah frontier. In addition to a fictionalized biography, *Holy Murder*, by Charles Kelly and Hoffman Birney (New York: Minton, Blach and Company, 1934), and a Master's Thesis for Brigham Young University by Nicholes Van Alfen (1939), a definitive study by Harold Schindler has appeared. (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1966).

Nefe,⁷ W. Norton⁸ and Geo. Bean⁹ Indian Interpreter passed us this morning on their way for "Walker's" Camp at Corn Creek — on an express from Govr. Young. Cedars very abundant. A good mill stream passes through Fillmore," much snow and very cold.

Sunday 23rd Ap. A very stormy night — much snow on the ground. Ate breakfast with Sister McGaw, formerly Miss Basset, and Father and mother Basset. Visited Brors Tomkinson (a good brewer) and McEwan, Huntsman and family — no meeting — many Indians oppress the settlers for food.

Monday 24 Ap. Wet and cold all night, ground very soft, had my wheat ground by Bror Smith, very good. The 5 Bush. paid me by Bror Holden only measured 4½ bush. at the mill When will the saints do to others what they would others should do to them. Started from Fillmore at 2 P.M. and reached Meadow Creek where we camped for the night

Tuesday, 25 April. A fine morning after leaving camp up to Corn Creek, very wet and heavy driving. About 20 Indians of Walker's band came and surrounded our waggons and finally crossed the road and stood ahead of them, after many strange gestures & much loud speaking by the eldest of them, a blanket was thrown down, we all understood this to be a demand of toll for passing over their lands, we all contributed some bread & flour & tobacco. They sat down & seemed to enjoy the bread. We passed on and soon some more came down the creek they too had to be satisfied: I would here note that Filmore Saints are ploughing some

⁷ This is Amos Neff, son of John Neff a miller and, a well-known Mormon, he is a brother-in-law of Porter Rockwell, who had married his sister, Mary Ann Neff.

⁸ This was John Wesley Norton, a famous hunter and frontiersman. He and Rockwell were associated in the 1847 trip to Utah. Born November 6, 1820 near Lisbon, Henry County, Indiana, he had been associated with the church since Nauvoo days. He was on various exploring trips, and was one of the group to settle Panaca, Nevada. He died at Panguitch, Utah October 20, 1901. (LDS Bio. IV: 714)

⁹ George Washington Bean became one of the best known of the Indian interpreters of Utah. He was a recorder for the Las Vegas Mission in 1855-56. His diaries and writings have been compiled by Flora Bean Horne. (1945)

¹⁰ Fillmore had been designated as the future seat of government because it was in the geographical center of the projected State of Deseret. The capitol was now under construction. [See Everett L. Cooley "Report of an Expedition to locate Utah's First Capitol" *Utah Historical Quarterly* XXIII (1955), 329-338]

April 1854

land for the Indians at Corn Creek — under the direction of brother Holbrook & purpose sowing wheat, &c. on & if possible teaching the Walker band to labor — some bad sloughs here, but the land is good: nooned near the basis of the Rocky mountains on the eastern & southern parts of Filmore Valley a heavy wind & very cold from the south: Camped for the night on the ridge between Filmore and Dog valley, an elevated spot had snow and melted it for water to cook with.

Wednesday 26 April. Passed through "Dog Valley" nearly a circle & apparently about 3 miles in diameter full of prairie dog holes; after a long ascent & in some parts very rocky and steep we came down to Pa-vant Valley, about 7 miles long and 2 wide and camped on Pine Creek at noon, abundance of good cedars and small pitchpine very near, and the bottoms good land, here I met Bror [A.L.] Whedon from San Bernardino also Brors Grouard "Chrysmen," &c., accompanying a small train of goods & droves of horses owned by a Mr. Watters — a mountain trader, who it appeared was on his way to Gt. Salt Lake City to sell them, having left his bror with a small portion of the goods at Parowan, here some of the Tea, sugar &c. the price of the latter was 75¢ p.lb. and of the former \$2.00. A son of the late Hyrum Clark¹¹ was also there with a few goods: "Walker" was with Watters, one of his Squaws & a son. Watters had received a present of a fine indian boy, apparently about 8 years of age & had given Walker one of the best horses in his drove with goods amounting to about \$200. Thus they evade the penalty imposed upon those who trade Indians by the law of the Territory of Utah. Porter Rockwell, Bean, Neph &

¹¹ This was Benjamin Franklin Grouard who had earlier served a nine-year mission to the Pacific Islands, whence he had been sent by Joseph Smith in 1843. After reporting his mission to the authorities in Salt Lake City in 1852, he returned to make his home in San Bernardino. Later he withdrew from the Mormon Church to become a member of a spiritualist group.

¹² Probably Charles Crisman, born in Kentucky December 25 1807, who came to Utah in October 1847 with the Jediah M. Grant Company. He put up a small chopping mill at the mouth of City Creek Canyon in early 1848, the first in the valley. He later carried on some extensive trading operations.

¹³ "The late Hiram Clark" designated a brother who, after years of devoted service to the Church, left his mission in the Hawaiian Islands and returned to his family in San Bernardino. He was so humiliated at his failure that he committed suicide. A letter from Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich giving full details was published in the *Deseret News* of January 10, 1854.

Norton also returned with this train. They had met Walker & the train on the Beaver, & were using Watter's influence as well as their own to induce Walker to accompany them to Gt. Salt Lake City to have an interview with Govr. Young. Walker declined, "urging as an excuse that he wished to remain at home till his wheat was sown. Here interpreter Bean and Walker had two long "talks." I learned afterwards that Walker had said he never yet had been mad, but when he got mad no white man should pass through his lands alive, and that he meant to sell all the lands, as the Indians were all his & the land also, he wanted now 2 tons of flour, many cattle, & horses as part of the pay. Walker further said that the Piedes informed him that about a moon ago 5 men—Mormons came out of Coal Creek with a man they had seen working in Coal Creek during winter & when between this settlement and Harmonie, they killed this man. He further said that his own Indians had seen 3 men while passing through Dog Paririe attack one of their number, and as there was much blood on the ground — they supposed one of them was killed by the other 2—they were Californian Emigrants — this happen a moon and half ago."¹⁴

¹⁴ As was pointed out in the Introduction, President Young had already made overtures to Walker. On May 7, 1854, just one week after the entry here, Martha Spence Heywood at Nephi wrote:

May 7 Sunday — Yesterday Walker, the Indian Chief of the West made his appearance and put up at Brother Bradley's where Mr Heyward met him with the brethren of this place. Walker had six Indians with him. They partook of an entertainment got up for them and appeared to have a good spirit indeed. Walker professed to be decidedly for peace. He had his patriarchal blessing from Father Cazier and a very good one it was

A blessing was put upon the Indian farm by Father Cazier on Wednesday, May 3. (Typescript, at Utah State Historical Society)

¹⁵ A year and a half earlier at Nephi Martha Spence Heywood reported the death of two emigrants:

Nov. 15 1852 Monday — Last Friday there was the body of a man found in the forks of the creek having the appearance of being shot in the forehead, covered with two coats. The discovery was made by Bro Cummings youngest son. Next day another body was found a few rods westwards of the former having the appearance of being shot in the back of the neck. Both bodies had United States Livery on them —

Writing from Iron County, February 28, 1853, John C. L. Smith said: . . . But certain it was that two men were killed who started for California on foot and alone with a bag of provisions on their back and not so much as a pocket knife to defend them from the Indians, and the temptation being rather more than hungry and starving Indians could resist,

April 1854

Walker appears very cunning, big in his feelings & very greedy. We heard of a quarrel that took place the previous day between Walker and Arrowich, a Piede Indian, on the banks of the creek north of the Beaver, in a talk between them. Walker struck this Indian on the face, and he withdrew [to] his "Wickeup." Walker judging of his intentions, viz to get his gun & shoot him, besought Bean & his company to interfere & hinder the Consummation, they did so & with the aid of the two squaws prevented, where so much ignorance & vice are cowardice dwells — had the Mormons wished him dead, here was a probability of it, but for them. Would Walker see it thus? I think not.

Thursday 27th April. Left this creek early about 5 o'clock & travelled on 3 miles to better feed, and on the south table lands camped, fed our stock & had breakfast—then rising up one kanyon, passing over the divide & down another long kanyon — the horse waggons left the ox teams and rolled on through a narrow barren valley very rapidly, reached the Cotton Wood Creek at noon, watered & travelling an other six miles, camped on — Creek near Beaver river in Beaver valley, many rabbits among the sage brush in this region — the Squaws are generally covered here with mantillas made of these Skins. We found many indians at work in Filmore, & seemed happy at being employed fed & clothed, with wages in flour for their "squaws" and "papouses."

Friday 28 April. I shall here mention that this Coy. have attended to prayers morning and evenings all the way to keeping goods guards out by night & have been united & kept their powder drv. We this morning started at 7. And 1 mile south crossed the Beaver, a good clear stream & gravel bottom about 2 rods wide & 20 inches deep, we soon ascend the pass to go over the divide between Beaver and Little Salt Lake Valley, a long winding road

killed them for something to eat, and the clothes they wore. Their names were Charles Roberts of Iowa, a cooper, the other was a Mr. Johnson from Cayuga, New York. I hope this will be a warning to all such daring braves who go unarmed, among Indians, away from the settlements. (*Des. News*, March 19, 1853)

Both these were about a year and a half before this date rather than a moon and a half, and the first in a different area, so they only point up the fact that there were murders committed along the route. Nothing more definite has yet been found concerning the two mentioned here.

among mountains and cedars, after descending a long steep mountain among loose rocks trying on waggons we came into wearisome miles of barren land, thickly covered with sage brush. We come to a poor muddy springs, water horses and pass over other 10 miles of wild sage — what a poor range for cattle, come to a little creek descending from the red mountains and named Red Creek, here after a days journey of 30 miles we camped, some of the ox teams were about 3 hours behind, my carriage was broken this morning in crossing a bad creek or slough near the Beaver river a pitch of about 2 feet.

Saturday 29 April. Left the creek near Red Creek Settlement this settlement is now broken up," and travelling 10 miles arrived at Parowan, here upon entering the Fort I was introduced by my old English friend W.C. Mitchell to Bror [Francis T.] Whitney Blacksmith, who repaired my carriage & did other work for this Coy. free of all charge, the following were also donated to the Coy.

1 lb Butter	by	Benj. Jones, Parowan	
1 " do "		F. T. Whitney, "	
1 peck corn	by	do	Parowan
½ bush do	do	Sweet & do	do
½ do do	do	W.C. Mitchell	
1 peck pease	do	do	
1 Bush Wheat	do	do	(To T.D. Brown on private a/c)
½ do Potatoes	do	Dr. Meeks	
1 do Wheat	do	do	
½ do Potatoes	do	do	
1 qt. pease	do	Chas. Hall.	
½ Bush Potatoes	do	Jno. Topham	
4 ¼ lbs. pork	do	do	—(given to Burges & Knell)
½ do do	do	W.H. Dame	

¹⁰ Red Settlement took the Indian name of Paragonah, which means "red water." It was now abandoned because in August 1853 Brigham Young sent word for the people to all move in to Parowan for self defense in case of an Indian uprising led by Chief Walker. After two years it was re-settled. [See Appendix III for a contemporary description by Gwinn Harris Heap, Recorder for E. F. Feale, Supt. of Indian Affairs in California.]

April 1857

3 lbs Pork	do	do (given to Burges & Knell)
1 doz eggs	do	do
½ Bush Wheat	do	Wm. Fish
1 Bush. Potatoes	do	Zadoc Judd
1 peck seed corn	do	do
3 quarters of veal	do	Ensign
1 Bush Potatoes	do	Jesse Smith
½ do do do	do	H.D. Bayliss
1 doz eggs	do	do
2½ lbs. Butter	do	Benj. Watts
Parsnip, Peas, lettuce, onion,		
Pease and Cabbage seeds, Seed corn Andsn. Basten		
½ bush Potatoes	by	Wm. Burston
1 do do do	do	Wm. Heap
½ bush potatoes	by	Walter Littlefield
½ do do do	do	U. K. Steward
½ Bush Wheat Bins for Richard Benson		
1 - potatoes paid for by	do	to Jas McGuffin
50¢ cash by Jno. Barton Negro to Wm. Dixon for paper		
½ bush wheat by Wm. Adams		
seed corn	do	Jas. Byman

Bror W.C. Mitchell and I settled money accounts. He confessed his course in camp from St. Louis to Kanesville & speaking of me to Orson Hyde on his arrival there in 1849, was not right, asked my forgiveness and promise to retract what he said to O. Hyde. I forgave him & we blessed each other. I ate at his house, also with Brors C.C. Pendleton, Richard Benson, [Elijah P.] Newman and Wm. Heap on this evening. A public Ball was given by the Parowan Saints to this Mission— a numerous party of happy souls joined in the dance. The Saints of Parowan would not suffer this Coy. to cook while there, all were asked from their camps to the houses of the saints and fared sumptuously. The military met this

evening under Bror [John] Steel, agreeable to the Instructions and orders carried from Genl. Wells by us. Here the Saints attend all their meetings under arms & seem always ready.

Sunday 30 April. A good spirit prevails here, J.C. L. Smith presides here; I was requested to preach, commended them for their union & keeping counsel &c. &c. Brors Lewis, Allen and Atwood also spoke – good singing. Met with them in the afternoon and broke bread, and in the President's "circle" in the evening with Brors Lewis, Allen, Atwood, Steel, Pendleton, Bishop, Lewis & son, James Knight, [Elijah] Newman, &c &c. Got 1 lb, tea from _____ on account. Soil red & apparently hard much _____ and sage brush around. No good range for cattle near _____ soil in gardens seemed soft & mellow, and the brethren speak well of their crops from the field, late spring, wet and much snow on this morning viz.

Monday 1 May. In Parowan I have witnessed the most peace, union, order, good feeling, cleanliness, &c., I have beheld anywhere on the road. All testified good in the circle, but hinted at some peculiar spirits we should meet with ahead especially at Harmony. Camped and nooned this day at Summit Creek. A little good grass here & one log house or fort, rolled on a good road to the Coal creek settlement, called Cedar City. Saw the Iron works' buildings off to the left, a large field in which stood the old city called Cedar Fort was abandoned because placed on the wrong side of the creek, & much labor lost. Here I learned that some men had discovered another mine of metal, besides the coal and iron, now owned by the Iron Coy. & had built a furnace &c. which was ordered down by the authorities (Col. Jas A Little, Jr.) ostensible reason, "it was outside the city and would prove a harbor for the Indians, &c." Some are of the opinion that others interests swayed this decision and begat this order. This mineral was chiefly lead, some silver and another hard substance, supposed to be Platina – I have since learned that Peter Shirts" was the dis-

¹⁷ Peter Schurtz, (often spelled *Shirts*), was a frontiersman who always moved ahead of the settlements.

He was born 23 April 1808 at St. Clair, Columbiana County, Ohio. On September 8, 1831 he married Margaret Cameron, and two years later they were baptized into the Mormon Church by Lorenzo Dow Young. They came to Utah in 1850 with five children. His wife and a sixteen year old son died in Utah, and he came with two of his remaining sons, George and Don Carlos, with the first group

May 1854

coverer of this also and sustained the loss caused by this order, brors Clarke and Cairus also suffered a little from the same cause.

Here I visited Brors Harrison, R. Wylie, Jas Bosnel, Isaac Haight, [Henry] Lunt,¹⁸ who presides, Claude Rogers, and supped with Dd. Cooke, a Scotenman, breaktasted with R. Wylie. We had a good meeting. Bror R.C. Allen spoke, and T.D. Brown, who having heard that it was reported "The missionaries were a lot of discontents about ready to go to the Gold mines & were sent south, to get one years labor out of them ere they apostatized" gave a short history of the call of the missionaries in Oct. 1853, of the Spanish school during winter, preparatory to their labors among the Southern Indians, gave his own testimony of the fidelity of these men, and the opinion and blessings of the Twelve, especially of P.P. Pratt, their President upon them. John D. Lee arose and explained the origin of this report, and denied that his remarks had any reference to us missionaries, &c. T.D. Brown spoke of the new Firm — the Consecration law¹⁹ — the deeding over of our properties to the church, and his views and conceptions of Govr. Young's teachings on this and other subjects at Conference, & was followed by Brors Lewis, Atwood and Dickson. After meeting most met and joined in the dance, till fully satisfied. Bror Lee testified as to the fidelity of the missionaries, some of whom he knew in the Mo. troubles. He believed all were like himself trying to do good in the Kingdom of God. The Recorder being satisfied & filled with cold and inflammation withdrew to spend the evening at R. Harrison's with C. Rogers, R. Robinson, leaving the light hearts & heels to enjoy themselves.

Bror Robinson of American Fork had sent some good beer to

to Parowan. At this time he was located six miles from Coal Creek, where he was refining salt from a small lake.

He was first to move out east to the Paria Creek, and later on to the San Juan country. Different stories are told as to the time and place of his death.

¹⁸ This man is Henry Lunt, who had earlier been historian for the expedition south to Parowan.

¹⁹ The Consecration Law discussed here and later grew out of the concept that for every member of the Mormon Church the building up of the Kingdom was more important than his own needs or desires. He promised to consecrate all that he had for the building up of Zion, and soon must make out deeds to this effect.

R. Harrison which we enjoyed very much, and spoke of our good feelings, &c., freely.

Tuesday 2nd May. I breakfasted with R. Wylie, and all the camp breakfasted out: I conversed with Hunter, Cook, Clarke, Cairns, Muirs family, Morris, Isaac Haight & Joshua Arthur's brother. Hyrum Cook [gave] me \$1.25 bal. of account due in Pottawattomie on Iron Coy's store in tobacco that I might have some little present for the Indians. We left Cedar City & nooned at Peter Shirts' Creek, and rolling till near Sundown passing through some of the best grazing land I have seen in America and apparently the best of arable land arrived at Bror Jno. D. Lee's old settlement. It is evident at a glance Bror Lee has selected a tolerably retired small patch, but too small for more than one man and his family. In addition to the 25 men selected by Prest. P.P. Pratt — there are here many say 30 more selected by Bror Lee, all cramped up in this small place, and feeling more or less disappointed at not being permitted to go out and live on the Farm about 4 miles off, where they would be near their labor & abundance of food for their cattle.

Capt. Allen, Brors Lewis, Atwood and Brown met in Council with Bror Lee, to devise some means for the full development of the resources of this new field of labor, and the employment of all the missionaries, the better to carry out the wishes of Presidents Young and Pratt, in this new colony and among the Indians. After exchange of thoughts and much candor of speech desiring to maintain our present organization till our president came, and Bror Lee desiring that [there] should be but one head and that this was his place though there had been no organization. It was agreed we should co-operate, and go and see the intended new location and the chance of our obtaining a sufficient supply of water for irrigating purposes, and the best course for carrying water to it. It was evident that Bror Lee was disappointed in Bror Pratt's not coming on with us as he wished him to select the new farming ground, cite of our fort. &c.

Bror Lee said it was his intention, to hand over the old Fort and land attached to it, to the Indians and for their benefit.

Wednesday 3rd May. Being much exposed to the night air for the past few nights, I awoke with a strong fever on me, a heavy

May 1854

cough and sore throat and chest, and by permission of Cap. Allen, I am permitted to remain in bed. May the spirit of the Lord abound in our councils, and the greatest possible good be the result of this mission. The Officers of this mission, with Brors Lee, Shirt, &c., have returned and pronounced the land good and abundant for wheat, &c., and the range for cattle most superior, but speak of the distance as great — from 5 to 8 miles. The officers again met with Brors Lee, Groves, Shirts, Clarke and Dalton to decide how the two companies could be organized under one leader, till the Presidency should arrive, and that we go up & occupy 2 acres of land each, on the new farming ground, put wheat & seed in this and garden seeds in about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an acre, for garden crops on the old fort farm; Bror Shirts to divide these into lots, and the lots to be drawn for, and that we act as one under the influence of the good spirit. The brethren were engaged for two days making a scraper to follow the plough for the water ditch, and in stocking their ploughs²⁰ and in prospecting and exploring.

Thursday 4th May. I arose early, felt better and am now preparing to take my share of labor, and attend to my other duties. Bror John Murdock was also sick from cold, he & I were invited to have some warm tea by John D. Lee, 2 of his wives are here, he has 7 in all. We removed up to new farm about ——— miles north of this, surveyed 30 acres on the north west corner, near the intended cite for the new fort, and 20 acres near the road farther east, and our fine ploughs were set agoing, and continued till near sun down, 5 more waggons joined us from the more northern settlements. Some wheat put into the ground.

Friday 5th May. Four men from the old fort, and 3 from our Coy. started to level and mark off the course of the water ditch. Our 5 ploughs were still kept agoing and in the afternoon I took the place of a man at the plough, he being sent off to burn coal, that we might have some repairs done by Bror Wardel, Blacksmith, to our ploughs & carriages. A heavy thunder storm, lightning and rain, this evening and mostly during the night.

Saturday 6th May. Planted about the $\frac{1}{8}$ of an acre near the old fort of garden fixings. A heavy south wind, most of our Coy.

²⁰ "Stocking a plow" refers to the business of fastening the blade and handles to the wooden frame, or "stock."

ploughing and sowing wheat. 2 of our Coy. & 3 from the old fort still levelling.

Sunday 7 May. The wind has subsided — the sun shines and the beauties of nature — the glory of God is apparent. Our Coy. all well, Bror Allen, Lewis, Atwood and Brown walked down to the old fort, and soon after the few families there met us, and in the open air we sung "Redeemer of Israel," &c. Bror Lee spoke of the time having come to visit the remnants of Israel — of our mission — of our being united — of aspiring spirits and the necessity of putting such down — we are to help one another — and help him inasmuch as he is set apart to lead us at present — and let him that is greatest be as a little child.

Bror R.C. Allen spoke of our separation from the world of our attending to our prayers and having the spirit of the Lord, that we do our duties to the Indians, and teach them to feed and clothe themselves.

Bror Dd. Lewis spoke next of the restoring of confidence was the theme his mind dwelt on, to restore is to bring back what we have lost. The breaking of covenants too common among Mormons — men have sometimes been honest in their promises, but have failed to perform — the enemy had indeed aided in this no doubt — keep your promises sacred, union is the offspring of Confidence — Self as it exists in the housefly bands will produce similar results. S.F. Atwood, like Bror Allen being sick almost declined to speak. T.D. Brown spoke of the mission, its probable results if we conduct ourselves wisely, of feeding, cleaning and clothing the Indians, teaching them to labor and to walk up to the blessings procured for them by their fathers. R.C. Allen exhorted them to speak to them as to children, not to seek to build ourselves up, but the kingdom of God, we were sent to be the Indian's friend. Bror Wm. Young spoke, and Bror Alfred Hadden prophesied that Bror Brown should have thousands of these Lamanites around him for these mountains were full of them. Brors Easton and Ingram testified of their willingness to co-operate in this good cause. We need more provisions to do good among the Indians, and the Lord is giving us rain, & will a fruitful season, Bror Anderson came to do the Lamanites good, and having put his wheat in at Parowan, he will cease skinning in trade it is a

May 1854

Gentile practice and ought to be discontinued among Saints. Peter Shirts is one with us; J. Hamblin, rejoiced in the mission. Here our mission appears small, so was the gospel at first, recounted some Indian movements at Tooele, speak good of all and not evil, I left a good living at home cheerfully to do good to the Lamanites. 21 men present, 11 women, good spirit prevailing and prayers of faith ascending. Bror Isaac Riddle spoke: J.D. Lee, "The Indians here are few and their visits are few, they are scarce, we have had 300 of them here, they are off on their hunts, we had many of them with us, Spoke to them and taught them, baptized and blessed them & healed them. They look upon me as their captain, and Brors Groves and Dalton as their benefactors, they who feed them are their Fathers and owners & have the benefit of their labors, ordained one of them and sent him on a mission to California, to tell all his brethren we were come to do them good. These missionaries are the best of men, I could not choose better." Spoke of marriage among the Indians — when a young woman is marriageable a circle is formed she walks around & they commence a fisticuff fight — he that hold out longest gets her to wife," order should reign among us & not confusion, authority seekers should be put down, at sundown we met at camp and every missionary spoke, and testified of the union and the good spirit of the Lord among us, more or less felt by all, a united determination to obey counsel, from head quarters and from our officers.

Monday 8 May. Frost last night and ice $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick on our buckets this morning, most men ploughing and sowing wheat to day at new settlement, and a few at old fort planting Garden stuff. I & Ira Hatch at the old fort planted I. Hatch²¹ & Wm Henefer's garden.

Tuesday 9 May. Many engaged this day ploughing and sowing. I & Ira Hatch engaged grubbing land for our wheat, much grease wood upon it. I wrought with my axe until my hands were much

²¹ There were never enough Indian girls for every man to have a wife, because sales for girls was better and the demand for them made the traders offer higher prices. Brown himself never witnessed an Indian wedding, but Jacob Hamblin then on the Santa Clara saw several, some of which he described in his diary. (See Appendix IV)

²² For a time William Henefer, age 30 and Ira Hatch 17, work together as companions. While Henefer left the mission in 1855, Hatch spent the rest of his life

blistered, broke and bled, but such has been my experience during two past years since I began to labor, I was compelled to quit at 3 o'clock. Much frost last night. Jno. Murdock and S.F. Atwood administered to this morning because of sickness. Of some men that came from Coal creek, that came down to put in wheat say 5 or 6 acres are disappointed because the counsel this season is to put in only 2 acres each. One has returned, Will such help to make the water ditch, or do their share of forting and fencing? "nous verrons" [we shall see]. We are much hindered having too few ploughs and harrows.

Wednesday 10 May. A fine morning. Jno. Lott and Wm. Henefer helped me to plough this forenoon — the others engaged plowing and sowing. I. Hatch and I continued to plough to make out 1 acre, and sowed this in wheat, read an order from Major Lee, this evening Commanding a muster and inspection of arms on Saty. 13th inst. — wind north.

Thursday 11 May. A pleasant morning, wind still north. Went grub out greasewood roots, brush &c. — a few more Indians joined us, one named Abraham was this day attached to Wm. Henefer's mess — a good worker, Lee, Groves, Shirts, &c., who were here last summer have each one or more Indians to work for them; administered to Abraham's wife — had a child a few days ago, very sick — a pain running through above left breast to the left shoulder blade, I anointed her breast and shoulder with oil, not much better, and this evening her husband went for a doctor or medicine man, to come and doctor her to morrow after their fashion, to day at noon we mustered and had arms inspected, drew up a report and sent to Major Lee, a pleasant evening apparently about full moon.

Friday 12 May. Most men busy to day putting in corn and potatoes, I & Ira with the help of Rufus C. Allen's oxen, plowed a little

as an Indian missionary. He learned to speak fluently thirteen Indian dialects, including Navajo.

He married an Indian girl, Sarah Spaneshank, daughter of a Navajo chief and Piute woman. She had been raised in the home of Andrew Gibbons, where she was trained in all the household arts.

She was his only wife. His family consisted of three sons and one daughter. His wife died fifteen years before he did, on 25 November 1927, aged 83 years, at Fruitland, New Mexico. Always he lived on the frontier, moving as he was called to places where tact in Indian relations was needed.

May 1854

more of my wheat land and harrowed in what I had sowed before, most of us sowed our wheat on the surface plowing, & to have watered it before would have been still better, the soil being light, and having no matted grass on, We had some heavy showers of rain to day, & heard thunder in the distance.

THE INDIAN DOCTOR or medicine man came today, & after giving the sick woman some hot water to drink, but no herbs in it, began to sing, "Nani nani nani Nani nani nani" &c., varying the sound as I have written it, first loud then falling by degrees, then beginning aloud again, this he continued, till, I suppose having invoked the healing spirit long enough he would get to his knees, then roll over to his back would draw himself close up to the patient, & with closed eyes still singing lift up his hands so as to receive her, she would fall across him & he placing his arms around her & near the sore shoulder would begin to press her till she would groan, at same time his head being below apparently sucking her breast, would crawl out when breath seemed almost gone to him, would spit out some nasty green stuff, expectorated from his own lungs or chest, would again begin a new murmuring song "Ha-a-a-a Ha-a-a-a Hum-m-m-m," &c., would continue again for half an hour till he would again fall on his back, again receive her into his arms cross-wise — again suck till he would expectorate one of his dark green stones — about the size of a bean, this he would carry off, crawling in a stooping posture some 20 yards & and hide it among the brushes or in the earth, burying the disease or evil spirit — these stones they carry in their medicine bags — and I doubt not resurrect all they bury, at their own convenience, for I suppose they esteem these stones sacred; then he returned and would begin singing continue again in the same way till after another pressure and suction — a white stone would be expectorated and buried, this continued for two hours, crawling off on his hands & knees & once sucking the shoulder and pressing the breast. Whether they induce faith in the patient, that by their songs, suction & carrying off the disease; or whether a healing spirit attends them in their administrations; or a magnetic stream passes from the whole through the diseased person — a mesmeric influence that heals, I know not but the general testimony is that often remarkable cures are affected. Last night the Cap. recommended that we draw up stakes & roll down to the old fort, some opposed it because of the

toil in loading and reloading waggons &c, but all were agreed to go in person & meet with the saints there. 5 voted against taking our stock, the Captain's Irish was up & he "cared not a 'shit'" for such. Heavy rain.

Saturday 13 May. Abraham brot "Toqua" the Pa-e-de chief & his brother, we gave them breakfast and a quantity of corn, potatoes and other seeds to plant, they live down on the Rio Vergen — we had sent them a present of tobacco a few days ago, this I am told they require, as a token of friendship before they will visit strangers. They have little and apparently *need* little but *want* much, we this afternoon rolled down to the fort. On the way first one [horse], then another, &c., till 5 were down, trembled, staggered and fell as if drunk. Bror Webbs of Coal Creek died — some thought they had eaten some poisonous weeds.²³ Our cattle driver also was taken sick, Bror White, twice he was administered to, and the recorder in the second administration, rebuked and prayed that he might instantly fall asleep and pain cease, & it was even so. Bror. Thos. Dowell also was healed, and was in meeting well.

Sunday 14 May. — At 1 o'clock a.m. we met under Patriarch E.H. Groves²⁴ presiding. Song "Come All ye Sons of Zion:" Bror Groves prayed in faith, The Recorder by request, and the subject he chose was "lengthening the cords and strengthening the Stakes of Zion" and upon union in this stake, a good spirit prevailed, Father Groves speaking of order in receiving, keeping, feeding, and working the Indians said. "Take not their wild habits and liberty from them at once, but by degrees, and help them to farm, but let them labor for their food; Bror Allen spoke of union the

²³ A perfect description of horses that have eaten loco weed.

²⁴ Elisha H. Groves had been long in the Mormon Church. In 1834 he had marched with the ill-fated group of Zion's Camp, in 1835 he was on a mission to visit the branches in Illinois, Kentucky and Tennessee for the purpose of borrowing money for the Church, he entered the first deed of land in Davis County in January 1838 and performed the first marriage ceremony there in August of that year.

In the midst of the persecutions of that time, he became all the more loyal to the church. In Salt Lake Valley he was a member of the first High Council in 1848.

Now a Patriarch in the church, he gave blessings, several of which promised the recipient that he should assist avenging the blood of the prophets, to which several speakers in this meeting referred. Many who had been in the area when Joseph and Hyrum Smith had been killed at Carthage jail made this vow.

May 1854

same good feeling and spirit is with us now, that has been in the saints in all ages, we have strived to exhort in meekness, and good has been the result, a captain or Pres. requires to have the confidence of the Brethren, and Faith will bring the blessings we need, now as in all ages. The Father in a family would be the only physician, and in the Father's absence the eldest son, next the mother, &c., would officiate and stand as the savior there. Spoke of the eternity of sonship and obedience, of learning the Indian language & of prayer & diligence.

Bror Jno. Lott, glad to stand in this mission, and be one of us. I have been reared in the Church and know nothing but Mormonism. Spoke of Joseph Smith – the Prophet, of the rise of this church, of his suffering tarring & feathering, and other persecutions, because his father in heaven required it at his hand. I lived with Jos. in Missouri. The saints of God endure not for a good name among men, but because it is required of us by the good Father in heaven. We suffered from damned Sectarians in Missouri driven, robbed and murdered. I hope to see the day when the blood of martyrs will be avenged, and these damnable rebels make restitution, or the children suffer for the wickedness of their Fathers. We will do good, God being our helper.

Bror Lewis, reviewed the principles of the previous speakers all good & for good. All the scenes Bror Lott has recounted I shared in, my Bror Benjamin was killed in Missouri, and I am alive to avenge his blood when the Lord will. The second time I heard a Mormon preach, he declared holding up the Book of Mormon, that this was a record of the red men, and of God's dealings with their fathers, and we should one day carry this work to the Indians and we are now living among them, and to teach them of this work. We must treat them like children, by degrees, to quit their savage customs. Shall we have no opportunities? we shall; no conquest without a struggle, no victory without a fight; be diligent faithful & patient, and the Lord will reward you when you have been proved. Ephraim is the battle ax of the Lord. May we not have been sent to learn and know how to *use* this axe, with skill, when I was a prisoner, I realized Paul's experience, "amid perils among false brethren;" then one who was considered in peaceful times, a good Mormon, became a traitor, and informed the rebels of all he knew, they became tired of his information, and when

Journal of the Southern Indian Mission

peaceful times came he became again a passable Mormon, & his children seem so too. At noon we attended to the REBAPTISM of three white men, Henry Barney, Robert Roberts and Llewellyn Harris, and the following red men

INDIAN NAMES	NEW NAMES
Tooanap	"Dymock
Parooamp	James
Tooan-knife	Gabriel
Prowe	Nathan
Arok	Joseph
Obanipe	Isaac
Ovanukets	John
Na-akum	Thomas
Coradzise	William
Mook-witch	Moses
Quawwo	Joseph
Contooitz	Samuel

NEW BAPTISMS.

Pamonis	Michael (The chief of the warriors)
Wanteits	Nephi
Tsibeekoo	William (died Octr. at Parowan) Dick
Beshamp	Aaron
Tooitapea	Elijah"

Song this afternoon "Behold thy sons and daughters Lord," &c. Bror Allen led in prayer, then we attended to confirmation of the above. The spirit in different of the elders confirming drew them to desire the ordination²⁵ of Michael, Thomas and another, but on more mature though it was agreed to "quench this spirits" prompt-

²⁵ To confirm an Indian a member of the Church was one thing, to ordain him to an office in it, quite another, so the leaders did well to consider it. The Indian way of measuring their allegiance by the joints of the fingers — just a little bit slowly, but not until the whole arm length would they consider one fully a member.

May 1854

ings, and leave ordinations till we had farther instructions. Bror Groves spoke through Geo. Shirts interpreter to the Indians. Michael replied and said he was a friend of the Mormons, a little and a little till his friendship was as long as the first part of his forefinger, then it increased till it was as to the middle joint, & since we talked so much to him & he had been baptized & was eating bread with us, his friendship was as big as his finger, pointing the whole length of it.

Dymock said he been preaching to all the Indians that they should not steal, and that Peter Shirts had preached much to them.

Gabriel too bore testimony of his willingness to do what he was told. Isaac spoke at length, his brother was sick south, he was going down among them for a time and would return, they would try and get some papouses, if not they would be mad but would not fight for them, they would bring up these children to us.

Bror P. Shirts felt like speaking of a vision he had 20 years ago, which Father John Smith interpreted, and his patriarchal blessing spoke of the same vision. Sidney Rigdon laid his hands on him, & Joseph & John both arose and testified that much was required at his hand, rehearsed his first interview with the Indians & his kindness to them & its effects, when they were naked, he wanted to learn the language that he might do them good.

Bror Ritchie said what we have beheld to day has exceeded our most sanguine expectations, we thought it would commence sometime, but knew not we should witness it this day. A small beginning but great in its results. Let us all set them good examples and govern by love. Bread and water were divided among all, by Lewis and Atwood. Bror Dixon rejoiced at what he had beheld. See the results of small beginnings — in the Western or Pacific isles. Other spoke and it was then resolved that Bror P. Shirts take the management of the making of this new ditch for irrigating purposes. Brors Lee, Dalton and Groves returned from Coal creek — report that “[Terab]”²⁶ the Indian ordained had done a good work from here to San Bernerdino — all the Indians on the way very favorable to the Mormons — which name is a pass word for friendship among these mountains and Indians. We had an

²⁶ See entry under date of June 8: “At this time another son of Toquer named Terab . . . this same was ordained by J. D. Lee.”

evening meeting at which Bror Lee spoke and it was resolved that we go labor on the water ditch to morrow.

Monday 15 May. The morning fine, the waggons rolled out to the water ditch, all in good health. 5 men left at the old fort as guards. I and Ira Hatch remained there to have our waggons repaired, and we acted as guards, we left in the evening and coming to a deep pitch or dry creek, stuck fast, out of which we had to be pulled by H. Burges and R.C. Allen's cattle, having the Iron work of our double-trees again broken. 21 rods of the ditch and a dam made this day.

Tuesday 16 May. All on the irregating canal to day – very hot – the scraper made by Alfred Hadden, commenced to be hauled by 12 yoke of Cattle; the second creek turned out into the ditch to day, this simple machine or double wooden plough, made 1 mile of good ditch today 8 feet wide and 18 in. deep. We had about 100 yards of hard rocky hand digging at the third stream. Bror Peter Shirts is the man to whom this settlement is indebted, for his unwearied exertions in seeking out and levelling from four separate streams, and we have still 1 mountain stream larger than all in reserve which with one day's labor can be brought down into this same ditch.

Wednesday 17 May. Most men engaged at the third stream turning it into the canal & turning the canal round some 10 rods of very rocky land, the machine, scraper or double plough did 2 miles of good ditching on good clear land this day.

Thursday 18 May. We this day revised the levelling of the upper portion of the ditch and shortened the distance considerably besides taking the course through land much easier wrought, & have proceeded with the ploughing & digging of the canal, after supper Bro. Allen addressed us in good spirit, followed by T.D. Brown on the necessity and method of acquiring speedily a knowledge of the Indian language, & Bror Lewis on the necessity of a good day as well as night guard, and of care in herding &c. S.F. Atwood testified on P.P. Pratt's counsel in regard to watchfulness. Resolved, that we have a day guard at camp, 2 men $\frac{1}{2}$ day each. Resolved, that we change the night guard to 3 per night, instead of 2.

May 1854

Friday 19 May. I this morning escaped narrowly being shot by H. Burges while cleaning & loading my gun preparing to stand guard for the forenoon, he came and picked up my revolver and not understanding it, touched the trigger, it went off and the ball passing within a few inches of my head, passing through the waggon cover and bow lodged in the waggon bed. I thank the Lord for his watchful care of me, and of the camp so far. I had just returned from a retired spot where I had commended myself my family & the camp to the God of Israel.

We went to work & had finished the forenoon's labor and our dinner, when our express, rode from the old fort informed us that Govr. Young & suite had arrived about 40 waggons," and they wished to see us, we hitched up and rolled down arriving about 4 o'clock, got cleaned, & attended meeting at which Prest. BRIGHAM YOUNG spoke nearly as follows, to the missionaries &c. upon the duties of this mission.

"God planted us here in the vallies of Ephraim, our business is to save Israel, we are brought to these vallies for a good purpose. In all His dealings, He is wise, His hand is in it all: our duty is to be diligent in saving Israel, if we are not faithful, we will be removed, and others placed in our stead.

We should trust in the Lord, He can open, and when He opens no man can shut, and when He shuts no man can open, He fulfills His pleasure, and uses man as his agent, and can restrain him & make his works praise Him. We have the privilege in this mission of being honored and honorable: — to the point — to these missionaries under P.P. Pratt: You are the same as those we send to the Western or Pacific isles, you are to save the remnants of Israel in these mountains; the people of the western isles are of Manasseh or most them we send missionaries thousands of miles to them, and the Spirit of the Lord said to me. Shall we spend so much time and means on them & neglect the remnants of Israel of other tribes, near at home, just among these mountains and surrounding us? You are sent, not to farm, build nice houses & fence fine

^m Brown's estimate here is probably correct. The official count made after leaving Payson listed 82 men, 14 women and 5 children traveling in 34 carriages with 95 animals. They would likely pick up other wagon loads in the villages en route. [See Appendix V]

fields, not to help white men, but to save the red ones, learn their language, and you can do this more effectually by living among them as well as writing down a list of words, go with them where they go, live with them & when they rest let them live with you feed them, clothe them and teach them as you can, & being thus with you all the time, you will soon be able to teach them in their own language, they are our brethren, we must seek after them, commit their language, get to their understanding, & when they go off in parties you go with them. This, I call no fort, a new settlement will be made south west of this, but with you new houses and farms is not the first thing, but their language — their language — to know all their language, I find Dymock, Geo. Bean & other interpreters much deficient in understanding what they say. Learn then their language perfectly, and help yourselves in labor only to live, a room or two in the building may be necessary for headquarters.”

[Addressing the congregation of settlers he said:] “Organize yourselves, appoint your own presiding Elder, and a Bishop if necessary”

Some one in the crowd, supposing this was addressed to them in the settlement before giving President Young an opportunity of nominating a president — called out “I propose John D. Lee as President,” this was as quickly seconded by Brors Moss and Cooke. Bror Brigham let it go, and the Recorder arose and said, “If it be not out of place, I would state the opinion of the missionaries and my own feelings, we would prefer another President to Bror Lee.”²⁸ I would say Patriarch E. H. Groves. Bror R.C. Allen said “the feeling of the Coy. is not to have J.D. Lee as their President. They would prefer our present organization.” Prest. Young then said “Keep your present organization, and be united and seek to know the mind of the spirit of the Lord, and let John D. Lee preside over this stake, the settlers — the Building, fencing, farming, &c.,

²⁸ The mutual dislike between John D. Lee and Thomas D. Brown is evident almost every time they met. As one of the Council of Fifty who had been called with the first group to the south, Lee felt that he merited the same respect and obedience from those over whom he presided that he in turn gave to Brigham Young. But the missionaries had a special calling and refused to give him authority over their doings. Brown's evaluation here and later point up some of the reasons why Lee was not generally liked. On the other hand, Lee predicted that a man with the attitude of Thomas D. Brown would eventually apostatize from the church.

May 1854

& you settlers — Do you feel to do as I tell you?" "We do."
"Then go up and build a new fort farther north."

NEW FORT HARMONY

Let the length of each side of the square be 200 feet, the outer wall 2 feet thick, and form the back wall or outside of your building 10 feet high, let your inner wall be 18 inches & your partition walls 1 foot thick, rooms 15 feet squ. These under rooms will form your Kitchen Cellars, &c. Let your windows be inside and none on the outside wall of this story build another story above this 9 to 12 feet high — your outer walls 2 ft. thick & your inner walls as before, have windows in this both sides — in the outer wall let the window cills be so high that a shot from the outside would pass over the heads of the residents — the inside windows to be the usual heights — Adobies to be in size 12x6x4 inches. The upper rooms to be your lodging rooms, &c., and you can throw 2 or three of them into one for meeting & school rooms. Water to be brought in through an arched culvet of rock work. Your foundations to be of rock, and have a covered pool in the centre of your square, built around of rocks as you would build a well, angular points of your rocks inwards, from the bottom of your pool have a sluice out of which you can draw water to your petties or water closets, which should be on the sides of your gates 2 or 4 row each side & let your gateway be on the lower, say the south side of the square, have a portico or porch on the inner side all round say 6 feet from your wall supported on pillars & from this let your stairs run up to your lodging rooms. Have your fire wood outside and carry it in cut proper sizes for the day or week. Your carral of picketts to be outside also on the lower side & near the gate. We shall send you down by mail a more correct plan, you may build your corral 1st. or after, just as you have a mind to — at present all is peace. & when this is built I shall then say we have one good fort in this Territory. President Young continued don't let the natives go off in bands, you go with them, and thus you will tame them and learn their language, and when those Indians crowd in upon you, who are driven from the east and from the west, if you have tamed these and have their language, see your influence & power; if not —

Bror P.P. Pratt then spoke of our duties temporal and spiritual, it was too dark to write. Said we were not to spend the whole

time in building forts, or putting in grain, the missionaries might have one tier of rooms and fence in 5 or 10 acres of 20. They should have a school room, teach them, go with them, have them with us, feed & clothe them as we could, & then fasten them to us.

Bror Davies was then named Bishop by the settlers, and this was carried.

Heber C. Kimball then spoke at length, & finally prophesied that we should have thousands of them around us, & be a blessing to them as they would be to us.

I, this evening, wrote a letter to my Father, & one to my wife and children. Wrote also an account of our Coy. their priesthood &c. for Thomas Bullock, also a letter to the Deseret News of our last sundays meetings, baptisms, &c., and of the remarkable cure of an indian child by the power of God, under the hands of Rueben Carter & Alfred Hadden, also a copy of Prest Young's teachings to us, for this Historian's Office per Wilford Woodruff.

Saturday 20 May. Arose early, and conversed with many of Govr. Young's suite viz. Lorenzo Young, his son Jos. W. also Phinehas Young and others. Then was engaged with Trueman O. Angel and Govr. Young making a plan of the fort, afterwards went with them to the ground for the new Fort, where Govr. dug out the foundation for the South-east corner of the new fort, examined the nature and abundance of the natural flax crop, "attend to the flax gather seed & sow 1 acre." Went on to Shirts' camp and nooned, and by the Roadometer ascertained that from New Fort at Harmony to this point named Peter's Creek the distance is 11.92 miles. Rolled into Cedar City, supped with Perry Liston & with Bror Stuart from Provo, administered to his son Perry Martindale, who was very sick. Called on R. Wylie, Bosnell, and Jehiel McConnel, whose wife was very sick, she too was administered to. Richard Harrisons little daughter Mary Ann died this day aged 4 years. I found them in deep sorrow, prayed with them and peace was the answer. An Iron Coy. meeting kept Bror Harrison late out. Spent a few hours this evening with Claude Rogers, [Edward] Heap, &c. Consecration a bugbear.²⁸

²⁸ Even before Brown knows the whole story of the "compulsory consecration" of the year before, he senses everywhere a feeling of bitterness toward the whole idea.

May 1854

Saw Brors [Thomas] Cartwright, [Jonathan] Pugmire, Geo. Johnson, Geo. Wood and spent an evening of intelligence.

Sunday 21 May. Arose and breakfasted with Bror Bosnel, then went to the general meeting of Seventies, where Joseph Young, Senr. was presiding, appealing to the Southern saints to let him have a horse to fill up his team — said he “A few suns and moons and all will be over with us here.” “Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord for they rest from their labors and their works will follow them.” Do we earn what we reach after? If we do not we shall not be able to fill or enjoy our calling, priesthood or exaltations, labor in your spiritual callings as you have done in your temporal. There are different grades in the kingdom, you are in the front ranks and will rise if faithful. Increase of family³⁰ is the rock of which many will fall, be not precipitate in this. He had appointed Bror — to preside over the 70s in Parowan, Bror Willis over those at Cedar city, and then took a vote that I, T.D. Brown, preside over the Seventies of Harmony. Jos. Young, Bror Willis and I ordained Charles Wilding, John Nelson, Joseph Hunter and Urban Van Stewart³¹ to the calling of Seventies, but not as yet organized into any quorum. Also Thomas Cartwright formerly of Liverpool, England. I helped Bror Bullock to write out some recommends to the Missionaries for the Isles. Bror Jos. Young told me to get anything I could for him towards a horse or cow, or cheese &c. for his numerous family, hand it to the Bishop of Coal Creek and report to him when. Bishop Hunter requested me very especially to have the Indians gather enough of the wild seed of Hemp to sow 1 acre, next year. After the Seventies meeting I went to the forenoon meeting. E.T. Benson was addressing a crowded audience on being saved in the kingdom of God, this Salvation not attainable by ease, our works save or condemn us: Do as we are told: obedience begets union, strength, and power:

³⁰ By “increase of family is the rock on which many will fall.” He speaks from experience for he himself has four wives. He seems to be writing caution in selection, perhaps in warning against taking Indian girls.

³¹ Urban Van Stewart had come as one of the pioneers to Beaver, but moved to Parowan. On this day he was married to his first plural wife, Elizabeth Luck.

He was born 9 November 1817 at Overton, Tenn., and baptized at Far West in 1838. He came to Utah in 1847, bringing his wife Lydia Gage Jacobs and four children. Her family home was in Salt Lake City. He had a total of five wives. He helped to settle Panaca, Nevada, and was himself constantly on the frontier. He died 25 December 1898 in Wayne County, Utah.

this people often say. "You Bless us, seal us &c. but do'nt touch our temporal matters," "no touch not our dimes." — Except ye are one ye are not mine, overcome and enjoy all. "All things are yours for ye are Christs the whole if ye do right. We have revelations as fast as a horse can trot — the Revelation of Consecration among others. Have we kept this one? No. Counsel is necessary to do — & what we are called on to do is revelation. It is good to live among apostles and prophets, your trials &c. have changed their feelings. Zion does not in reality come up to what we imagined of it in the old countries. True we sit under Cotton wood trees at present, & not under our own vine and figs trees at present, but we worship God as we please, and have no fear: and in time shall sit under our own vines & figs: God is just, true and faithful, and those that lead us are good men: We Believe this, then show your faith by your works: bumps are said to grow, if we have no wounds, it may grow also, I pray it may: Zion is within you and will grow till it cover the whole earth. Then we'll have 1000 years of rest and peace. There is no stopping place in Mormonism — it is a warfare and finally will overthrow all opposition. Amen."

Bror P.P. Pratt next spoke "What we have heard is good, as true as if Jesus had spoken it — one mouth can speak all the Lord gives to all: One word to all the missionaries — and you are all missionaries, women not excepted. We are to take the Covenant by the hand and lead them on to salvation: we are the people to do this, and fulfil the sayings of the Prophets. The poor Indians, the descendants of the ancient prophets. Can we behold them unmoved? You hated them and all return it upon your own heads. Am I only a missionary? you all are — feed, clothe, instruct them; win, save the remnants of the house of Israel. Should I like to behold my descendants reduced as these are? Alas! alas! no. what feelings! of the same blood, of royal parents! Nephi was permitted to behold this in vision. How does the spirit world now feel, when they see the redemption of their descendants so near? Do they behold this unmoved? No. Look on that child, cleaned, combed & neat, surrounded by the fostering care of the gentile's arms, I use this term not by way of reproach, but you my brethren and sisters are more of a mixed race than they are, they descended from a royal race; you all have a measure of the priesthood. If you cannot yet talk with them, there is one language that all can understand and feel — kindness, sympathy, this they

May 1854

can feel. I beheld on this journey, their little children afraid of me & would run hide and cry, but no sooner did I hold out a little bread than they would run towards me to get it. Give them a shirts, pants and petticoats. Say not only 'be ye fed & clothed' language can neither fill their stomachs nor cover their nakedness. — nor can words only convince them of your friendship. Feed, clothe and instruct them, and in one year they will more than repay you for your outlay. But should you say, some have abused this kindness, what then? all do not [do] so. You can teach them habits of cleanliness and industry — you can do much for this race, and "not many generations shall pass away till they become a white and delightful people," win their hearts, their affections; teach them, baptize them, wash, cleanse and clothe them. I would always have clean garments ready and clothe every one I should baptize: teach them cleanliness and be patient with them. This wristling, jumping and gamboling in their presence, sets them a bad example — of idleness and is the opposite you should teach them, I would have you then avoid this, and in all matters set them good examples: if they do not do all at once, that you wish them, bear with them, perhaps many of the old ones may continue in their habits and die off: the young you will do most with: we can afford a shirt &c. when we baptize them: Do I say leave the outside dirty but get the inside sweetened up? No, get their good will by manifesting yours, and the outside will follow. Kindness first. Learn their Language as fast as you can, and cease making game of them — they have suffered hell enough here and this for generations because of the rebellion of their fathers — their disobedience to the Priesthood brought hell on them; some doubt the existence of hell, but a darker hell cannot be than that the Indians have been in & for ages passed through! Who can tell the amount they have suffered: abuse & suffering has followed their rejection of the Priesthood, and such will ever be the reward of them that follow a similar course & it will be on their children after them. Let all do something for the Indians, and not neglect other duties." Bror Kimball, in speaking at Harmony, tried to avoid prophesying, & twisted to get round it, but out it would come, and at length it came forth "that soon we should [have] thousands of the Indians around us at Parowan." Let these be improved and when the others come from the east and the west, how powerful would their aid be? See then what this mission will do!

I shall now make a few remarks upon government in Mormon families. Since I left the Great city, I have beheld little children smoking cigars & when the parents were spoken to of the expense of this habit, and of the evil resulting, the mother said, "oh they never smoked when cigars were cheap but now they do & we can afford it!" On the same day a poorer brother wished to borrow \$2.00 from these same parents to help these southern missionaries, offering to pay it on the following day, but no, thank ye, these that could afford Cigars in abundance at a high price to their children, could not lend a brother who would aid (even \$2.00) in this good work!

Again another mother runs to the street and calls out to some children, playing with her superior ones, "If you don't go home I'll kill you!" This "I'll kill you" spirit, tho' but in words is a great evil, who can tell the results of such examples? Surely we need reform in our midst. Union will beget power over evil, the Lord grant it. Amen"

SONG "How beautiful are the feet of those that preach glad tidings upon the mountains." Bror West, of Coal Creek deserves great praise for his training the saints there in music. The harmony was good.

PORTER ROCKWELL, called on me and said he needed 2 men from our Coy., and as he had seen Govr. Young, he wished me to see him to carry a message to our camp. I went with P.P. Pratt to Isaac Haight's, where the Presidency had retired. Brigham Young said, "Porter wants 2 men to go with him and John Lott and John Murdock are just the boys." He afterwards said, "Bror Brown you need not bring your family down here, but if you or any of your Coy. wish to visit your families, 4 or 5 of you may go at a time it will require about 9 days to go and as many to return you need not be away from your duties more than 25 days."

Parley said, "Bror Brown, this is the greatest work you ever were engaged in, be it not cast down, be patient and the Lord will bless you, write to me at San Francisco." We afterwards met at Joel H. Johnson's and had some beer with him, Chipman, Bullock, Lee &c. We rode home southwards to Harmony, P.P. Pratt and his Coy. westwards to California: Govr. Young and suit northward to Parowan &c. I found the missionaries at camp had had a good

May 1854

meeting in Bror Groves. They were addressed by Brors Lewis, Allen, Atwood and others, all rejoiced.

Monday 22 May. Spent the forenoon copying my journal, some ploughs were employed for the Indians, after dinner we moved to the new settlement.

Tuesday 23 May. Most men employed to day on the water canal, I was engaged writing this book for the historian's office, and in the afternoon attended a meeting of counsel. After prayer by T.D. Brown, Bror Lewis recounted what had occurred in counsel on Sunday 21 — each prayed and Bror Allen said Bror Lewis might now speak & free his mind. He then said I think we ought to take a trip south and see Toker, the chief of the Piede band, & how Israel lies scattered in the south, had heard that some Indians there were so poorly covered they had never ventured out to see a white man, also to see that they managed properly the seeds we gave them, see their condition that we might do the most good, & how we could best provided for ourselves if we should go there: our calling requires us to know the mind of the Spirit of the Lord in all our moves in this mission, see and judge for ourselves and not depend entirely on the testimony of others. Bror Atwood followed and agreed with Bror Lewis, from President Young's teachings he felt the responsibility of this now greater being entirely upon us, and desired to accomplish all the good we could. Bror Allen was glad to see that in good spirit & faith we wished to do our duty and see this mission prosper but felt to defer this trip for a few days, for our grain would require watering, if we went right off we would have to hurry back, & this he thought would satisfy the Coy. Ajournd to this day, when Bror Allen said he thought a party could move in a day or 2. Bror Lewis would like to take a little seed corn, melons, &c., so that if we went again in the fall, we would have something to eat, & it would show the chiefs we accepted their offer to come and occupy their lands. Bror Allen objected to this, thought it was too late — Bror Atwood was of the same mind: Bror Lewis repeated his conviction that this would be a loud sermon to Toquer, that we were his friends; others had promised to come and open his lands & had not kept their word if we go & take no seed, they would again feel disappointed. Bror Allen on reconsidering, it could be done, other would have to follow & they could attend to the watering of it, and the Indians would also likely help: Bror Brown said a beginning of this sort

would please them & fulfil a promise: Agreed that a Coy. start on Thursday if all the missionaries approve: Agreed also that according to H.C. Kimball's counsel some go to Parowan for some more seed potatoes.

In the evening we had a general meeting of this Coy., when those were set apart and blessed for this mission who had not been to the Council House on 10 April. viz: John Murdock, John Lott, R.C. Allen, Isaac Riddle, Lorenzo Roundy and Benjamin Knell, under the hands of Brors Lewis, Atwood, Brown &c. Bror Allen made some remarks on some being overanxious about going out on a trip south: His remarks hurt the feelings of Jacob Hamblin,²² who said he felt them to be too personal, he had spoken his mind in private to Bror Allen, & next day had it thrown in his teeth while on the Canal publicly. If this whole body meet & seek the mind of the Lord, did not think they would err much in appointing men to go out and visit the Indians. Did not like so many private meetings. An explanation was given and apology made by Bror Allen, which restored "Harmony."

Wednesday 24 May. A thunder shower last night broke up our meeting — Now a fine warm morning. I was all day engaged working on the canal with the brethren, we have now got the water down to the cedars within 1½ miles of our land.

Thursday 25 May. Fine weather continued. D. Lewis, S.F. Atwood, I. Riddle, Ira Hatch and Carlos Shirts started this morning from Camp to go south and visit the Indians, Toquer & his band. Prime Colman, one of the missionaries arrived, all at the ditch, turned the water in but found from lack of knowledge, either in the levelling or ploughing, some of the banks were too low, and soon were broken down. We had a day's digging on the hills & filling up the banks on the hollows.

Friday 26 May. Mending our ditch to day. Had the water on our fields to day a little, but from carelessness or some other cause too great a fall was given to it, washed out sand & this filling up more level paces and overflowed the banks: This evening the missionaries formed themselves into a military corps at J.D. Lee's request,

²² Jacob Hamblin had worked with the Indians in the Tooele area, and had there a four-year-old Indian boy, who was a part of the family all his life. Hamblin is eager to "get on with their real mission."

May 1854

and it was agreed W. Henefer and R.C. Allen go up to Parowan for seed potatoes. We this day voted to sustain Reuben Carter as water Master. Bror Lewis with his Coy. "this day after passing over an unbroken & rocky road down south the Pah Ute Indians camped on 2 springs of good water — plenty of grapes vines around & called these Grapevine Springs."

Saturday 27 May. Engaged to day repairing the lower banks of water ditch and levelling for a new channel to enclose more land for extensive farms; but little watering done, land not yet prepared. Bror Lewis' Coy. "left an old Indian trail that probably would have taken them to Santa Clara, and having no Indian guide they turned east in search for a trail, then turned down a dry Kanyon for several miles in a south west direction — here on the left they found one mountain intermingled with Isinglass (Fellspar or Mica?) farther they came to 2 perpendicular rocks several hundred feet square, on this rock were many engravings of an ancient date from appearance, images of men and beasts, and as it were an army of men marching with weapons of war toward the west, and opposed to these stood a man, both hands raised above his head as if asking for mercy of these men, a river and a Lake were also engraving on this rock, and a Serpent coiled up; this was about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile off the Rio Virgin,³³ but finding the mountains too high to ascend and too close to the river to proceed they turned to near Grapevine Springs and took a Southwest course following an old Indian trail on a good road 4 miles encamped for the night"—and the day after Bror Lewis and Cov. — 2 miles farther on came to Quail Creek — found some old quails with some young ones. This Creek runs into Cottonwood Creek and with it runs through a gap in the mountains about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from their last nights encampment and empties into the Rio Virgin. "We saw the timber of the Virgin but the mountain too much broken up here to approach it, we passed on to it about 10 miles and finding no arable land on this side here and from all appearance none on the other & finding the mountains converging southwards & no Indians or late signs of them & an Indian patch of 1 acre planted with wheat & corn both in hills — the corn was too thick & then after this and amongst it was as many Pumpkins,

³³ The Carving on the stone described here have not been located, but "Grape Vine Springs" and "Quail Creek" both bear the same names.

squash &c, as was enough to cover the land had there been no corn. Thinks farming land scarce here & though some might be got on the benches, fears the water could not be got to it. Some Cottonwood a little ash and low cedar, many grape vines — the ouse or oose — which the Indians say is very sweet, was mostly killed off by the frost — but some were in size like a large pumpkin;⁴ found many pieces of earthen ware, well colored and mathematically correct, found several petrified trees & wood & this on the top of a high mountain-trunk, bark, Branches all had fallen and become rock! Started on our way home," says Bror Lewis.

Sunday 28 May. — Men started to examine our water ditches and dams near the source, Some of our men watering this day. Report says the water from the mountains is less. I went down to see our garden lots at old carrel. The pease, beans and vines look well, joined the settlers in their meeting. Bror Lee spoke of disunion and its effects a breaking up — by the efforts of some tale bearer. I there heard news of our camp of which I was ignorant. Few words spoken in haste when watering were magnified into a fight and a trial of the offending parties was spoken of as first dirty work their Bishop would have to do. I ridiculed the Idea and assured them that union and a good spirit prevailed with us, and we were capable of handling our own difficulties. We had a long conversation about the water its failing and the unequal distribution, when Bror Lee said he would soon turn or permit Ash Creek to be turned into our water ditch. At present 1 hour is allowed to water 1 acre. 3 hours required and the man that has done his equal portion of the labor on the water ditch and has allowed to him only 2 acres (the missionaries have this each) only gets the water 2 hours when the settler who has put in 10 acres has 10 hours to water.

Bror Lewis and his company returned this evening. We had a good meeting liberty and good feelings prevailed.

Monday 29 May — A cold wet morning. I was engaged grubbing for ploughing. Others resting.

Tuesday 30 May — All men gone to bring in the fifth stream viz

⁴ He refers here to the heads of "yant" which the Indians cooked for food, and used also as the basis of an intoxicating drink.

May 1854

Ash Creek to our canal that we may have more water. Frost during the past night killed the corn partially & most of our beans & vines, sown too early. We ploughed & put in potatoes, Corn, squash &c. — we discovered an old mean Indian stealing a handkerchief, took it from him, his companions laughed & he became mad, went off and kindled a train of fires on his way to Coal Creek, apparently to burn the cattle's feed

Wednesday 31 May. Hired an Indian man to grub for me, while I go to the water ditch — A Bowery made this day for our meetings — administered to an Indian child.

Thursday 1 June. Most of the Coy. engaged writing to their families today. The water from Ash Creek turned into a Canal. John Murdock & [Jno.] Lott preparing to start for the City.

Friday 2 June. Dispatched a large mail by them to our relations &c. finished grubbing. Some men engaged cutting seed potatoes others plowing land for these, these we got at Parowan and are to be divided among the missionaries when grown — among all. Wind south and strong at noon.

Saturday 3 June. Fine morning, plowing & planting our corn, had Bror Lewis, Henefer and Hardys horses to help

Sunday 4 June. Finished our plowing dregging planting and preparing for irregation. Camp had 3 meetings. I could only have the plough this day.

Monday 5 June. Wind north to day and yesterday, weather fine engaged finishing water ditches on our 2 acre lots, commenced school to study the Pah Ute language, some washing, some darning &c.

Tuesday 6 June. Many of the missionaries at old Carrel watering their garden patches. Found our beans, squash, melons, &c., destroyed by frost. Replanted some beans, potatoes, and corn wind south. Moon clear $\frac{1}{4}$ old.

Wednesday 7 June. Eight of our Company, viz. R.C. Allen, T.D. Brown, Lornezo Roundy, W. Henefer, J. Hamblin, A.P. Hardy, A.

G. Thornton, Thales Haskell³⁵ and Hy [Henry] Evans,³⁶ Interpreter this morning at 10 left our camp to prosecute our mission among the Indians south, purposing first to visit Toquer, one of their chiefs. As we passed slowly along on horseback we came in sight of AN INDIAN BURIAL.

Now it is said they bury their dead after the white man's pattern here, as much as they can, but formerly they are supposed to have hid the body away among the rocks where no doubt the hungry wolves found them, by others it [is] supposed they burned their dead; when they inter a body they bury all with it, the Blanket, or Rabbit skin mantilla, Bows and arrow, or gun if they have one. I learn from Rachel Lee that an Indian child died a few days ago. She took an interpreter with her and tried to get the child to wash and dress it after our fashion, and put it into a coffin, the mother refused, and requested her to leave, she moved off homewards, but on the way concealed herself among the bushes hoping to see their movements but they eluded her observation and whether this corpse was burnt or hid away she could not say. We did not approach the assembled crowd, but supposed there were Mormons there as well as Indians, and that a grave was being filled up from

³⁵ Thales Hasting Haskell was born 21 February 1834 at New Salem, Mass. His sister Irene and her husband Francis M. Pomeroy, joined the Mormons and moved to Nauvoo in 1842. At her urging, he and his mother made the overland journey, but his father joined Sam Brannan in his ship "Brooklyn." Thales and his mother arrived a short time before Nauvoo was evacuated.

The records here lists him as being 18 years old. Actually he was twenty, and a good frontiersman, always being included in every dangerous mission. On October 4, 1855, he married Hannah Maria Woodbury, whose family had been neighbors back in Massachusetts. On June 21, 1857, at Santa Clara she died from the effects of an accidental shot by an Indian boy.

He accompanied Jacob Hamblin north with ten Indians chiefs in the fall of 1857, and on September 15 of that year married Margaret Johannah Edwards, an emigrant girl from Wales. They made their home in Pinto; all their children were born there. Then they were called to Arizona, but landed in Bluff, San Juan County, where they remained seven years before moving on to their final home in Manassa, Colorado, in 1886.

Thales Haskel was always on the frontier, always on the exploring expeditions. He wrote verse and songs; his diary of the second trip from Santa Clara across the Colorado to the Indian tribes is a priceless record. It was published in the *Utah Historical Quarterly* XII (1944), 69-98. A Biography, paper-bound, was assembled in 1964 by Mr. Albert E. Smith, 1523 Bryan Avenue, Salt Lake City.

Thales Haskell died 13 July 1909, at Manassa, Colorado.

³⁶ Henry Evans, born 25 October 1830, came to Utah in 1850 and lived in Salt Lake City until 1854, when he was called to the Indian Mission. After two years he returned to the north, settling in Coalville, where he lived the rest of his life. He was engaged chiefly in stock-rasing. (*LDS Bio. Ency.* II: 289)

June 1854

their circular form. The name of this Indian was "Pierre," we saw him a few days before and discovered that consumption dried up his vitals, and worn him to a skeleton's form. We then pronounced his death near, he is said to have been hurt while fighting for or to obtain a wife — his second — his first still alive, which some say is customary here — the strongest and boldest being the most successful. When he lay dying his only bed was the dusty earth. I could not help reflecting "to dust we must return" — alas! poor Indians how near the soil you ever have been, at birth dropped into the dust, creeping, lying and running in it with no other table — thy work bench — thy gambling table — thy theatre — pulpit — stage — bed of joy, sorrow and death; with apparent sympathy thou art surrounded by thy wives, children and friends, though at a little distance in sad and mournful silence — the head of the dying one resting on the roots of a bunch of brushoak his feet drawn up to his back, his legs and thighs wasted away except at the joints; "return to dust!" why poor dark degraded Lamanite thou never went far out of it: What are thy hopes? DREAMEST thou of bright and sunny days, of fields illimitable as now thy native wilds are, but filled with herds and flocks of mountain sheep of deer of elk, of herds of cattle whose numbers still increase, though thou for ever huntest there, and liv'st among them, or hearest thou the roar of merriment that "eesh" [time past] thou didst enjoy when mingling in the war dance, or the yet still wilder warwhoop, or the shouts of victory at scalping time, or is all with thee a dreary waste of darkness? An eternal night?

We reached Harmony old Carrel at noon, and then moved on across Ash Creek, on new untrodden ground, we had "—————" an aged Indian for our guide, and another Indian, Dick soon joined us. For the first four miles till we again struck Ash Creek we had a long rocky bench or rolling hill then descending around the same, by a long steep rocky hill, thence for some miles on a good level bottom of Ash Creek, then over other rolling ridges of sand and rocky boulders alternately till at near sundown 16 miles from old Carrel & 20 from our camp we reached Toker's Wickeups. Our Indian guides had gone before to tell them and 3 young braves came out to meet us. After passing over some rough rocky steep hills and large boulders we come to see the smoke of THE CHIEF TOQUER'S WICKEUPS. Composed of long branches of willows, cottonwood and stalks of corn, 3 of them — the willows stuck in

the ground slantingly so that they meet at the top, the leaves of these and a neighboring ash tree was all the shelter from wind or rain.

THE CHIEFS PICTURE

Toker is a small broad old man about 50 years of age. Broad bald forehead, rather flat; flat nose and darker in color than most other Indians — a beard long and thin, pulled out some of it for a time, but continued not as most other Indians do more like a negro than other indians, but still the hair left on his head is not the short wooly curly hair of a nigger, but the long straight black hair of Israel's race. His children are more comely than he, he received us very cordially, and when told that R.C. Allen was our Captain the two big men embraced each other very affectionately, more like the refined French & people of civilized Europe than the rude Indians and hardened rough one of the new born West. They seemed like brothers that had met after a long separation, by dividing oceans: we believe the warm kiss of eastern climes would have ended this intense embrace, but for the maiden blushes — the modesty or coolness of our youthful Captain. Cap. Toker then very courteously led us to our suite or apartments in the great mansion of our common parent, in the sandy bottoms about 30 yards north of their 3 Wickeups — warning us to keep our horses off his grape vines, some 5 or 6 bunches of which intertwined their tendrils with the tall bunch grass.

THE SUPPER

After turning out our horses to but a scanty picking the rocks, we untied our wallets and drew forth some raw bacon, bread and cheese and now being surrounded by some 15 Indians looking as hungry as we felt we were after our long day's ride, 2 squaws and 2 children, we all sat down on the sandy carpet and partook about equally, much talk ensued and most of it but little understood by us. They have small stripes of corn, squash, potatoes, &c., all scratched in with their hands, for miles along ash Creek and seem very industrious. We went over to their Wickeups after our supper and found their women grinding seeds by the light of the moon, and boiling a large potful of pottage — in a conical shaped dish made from clay and sand thin and hard. This mess seemed of a darkish grey color with like chunks of bacon in it we tasted the flour which the women were making from the seeds of grass —

June 1854

by rubbing them between two rocks — it tasted much like buck wheat flour or bean meal, what we fancied to be pieces of bacon, I have been told were bunches of matted ants, one of the brethren tasted this food and said these clusters tasted very oily but knew not the cause, this porridge the female stirred with a large spoon or ladle, like the water gourds of the states made from the horn of a mountain sheep, with this the mess was divided on wicker baskets, flat in the shape of flat wood turned dishes, about 1 quart to each — the elder served first — this was soon cleaned out by bending the forefinger of the right hand inwards around the point of the thumb for a spoon. — the same dish handed back and filled & passed around — they supped this up greedily, and with the head of a roasted porcupine, brains and bones, added to an entire roasted sand lark seemed added to what we gave them — to about satisfy. Them like hogs with little or no covering they huddled together in the sand! Oh how Ephraim has fallen!

After prayer, we too were soon asleep — on our buffalo robes — not far from our friends.

THE ROAD

Can a road be made southward by this route to San Diego, California? We think it can, but as some 8 miles are over hilly and very rocky ground the expense will be great, the other 8 miles are over heavy sand hills and some good bottoms on the Ash Creek and Rio Virgin, there are some deep dry gullies or creeks, but from the number and size of the boulders that are abbrasions or washings from the mountains, we suppose that in early spring these must be filled with water from the melting snow off the mountains which are here some 5 miles off only and appear covered with good timber. Now the snow is mostly off these. 2 or 3 bridges probably required.

We are now near the 37th North latitude — the boundary line between Utah Territory and Lower California or New Mexico. The road would have a pass here near the Ash Creek between the two great chains of mountains that nearly meet here, one called the Wasatch chain on the maps — the creek passes between them. Deep chasms, small ash and cottonwood are found here on this creek.

THE SCENERY

What abrupt terminations are these to the two chains of mountains east, and west, like leaping off places at the world's end? But see over Ash Creek to the east, what table lands are these broken off so abruptly? by some floods of water? what lofty spires! what turrets! what walls! what bastions! what outworks to some elevated Forts! what battlements are these? what inaccessible ramparts? From these no doubt are often heard Heaven's artillery cannonading. What guards patrol these elevated walls? are these boundaries of the northern Rio Virgin? They are.

Thursday 8 June. Ash Creek roared, the wind whistled during the night and some of us were insensible of either but chilly, we arose at 5 a.m. The Indians too were up — they again partook with us: we took our horses off to better feed, east by south of this creek about 1½ miles to another creek & small bottom of better grass. The Indians are all off planting some corn we gave them, their women grinding a kind of grass seed into flour; two of our men off hunting, the rest guarding our horses and seeing the Indians farm. I alone guarding our luggage and writing here I composed the following:

“MISSIONARIES’ SONG”

The Spirit loquitor [speaks]

- 1 “Stop! Stop! some spirit whispers, Who are you? when you come?
Why tread this ground long Sacred? Have you no other home?
The ashes of our fathers sleep soundly here — untrod
Are you in search of paltry gold? or servants of
“Shenowab?”
Tell, tell, pray quickly tell
Are you in search of patry god? or servants of
“Shenowab?” [God]

THE MISSIONARIES SPEAK.

- 2 Our fathers came from “Kolob,” a long-long time ago,
And we the sons of Royal Sires are also here below,
In search of Shenowabs children, Royal race,
The sons of Joseph — Ephraim — Are any in this place?

June 1854

Tell, tell, pray quickly do,
Or must we go for Israel's race to Chili and Peru?

THE SPIRIT.

- 3 Go forward, oh go forward to Toker's pahute bands. —
The Pemos, Moquis, — Navajos you'll find in southern lands
"The keys are turned"³⁷ — the days have come that Prophets
have foretold
The sires to sons — the sons to sires are turned, and not to
gold.
Tell, tell, pray quickly tell
The sires to sons — the sons to sires are turned, and not to
gold.

THE MISSIONARIES.

- 4 Then are the hearts of Fathers to children turned in truth,
We boldly will go forward and labor in our youth,
For Israel's and the remnant's sake, we leave wives, lands
and homes,
Adopt the Indian's wickeup, and call it happy home.
Home, home, sweet quiet home
Adopt the Indian's wickeup, and call it happy home.

THE SPIRIT.

- 5 You'll find some naked-hungry-laborious-honest poor,
Begin with them and aid them first, here is an open door,
We've opened it, no man can shut, be patient faithful men,
Their language learn, we'll aid you "pesherrany"³⁸ to them,
Tell, tell, pray quickly tell
Read Mormon and Moroni's tales and how their fathers fell.

THE MISSIONARIES.

The coming of their fathers eetish"³⁹ from Judah's land,

³⁷ "The turning of keys" is a common phrase in Momondom. Here it refers to Malachi 4:6 — "And he shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children and the hearts of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse."

³⁸ *Pesherrany* — "to talk or speak" in the Piute language.

³⁹ *Eetish* — "a long time ago."

Journal of the Southern Indian Mission

Of Jared also and his sons, from Babel's tow'r a band,
Of faithful Israel's virtuous race, some thousand moons ago,
Of whom the great Shenowab, his Spirit did bestow
Tell, tell, pray quickly tell
Yes, all of this, and much more too, by Heaven's aid we'll
tell.

THE SPIRIT.

Tell them, when Priesthood was obeyed, those saints were
greatly blest,
In numbers. plenty, health and peace, and then they
oft did rest
And when the people's will prevailed, and heaven's laws
were broke
And Priesthood killed — confusion reigned — men
Shenowab did provoke.
Tell, tell, pray quickly tell
And this and more, and Heaven will aid, as sure as God
e'er spoke.

THE MISSIONARIES.

We'll tell them how by avarice and selfishness of old,
The Lamanites — their fathers — all, for love of mammon-
gold,
Contemptuously — the Iron rod, and Priesthood they did
treat
Obtained therefore a darkened skin, and suffering most
meet.
Tell, tell, pray quickly tell,
Yes, all of this, by heaven's aid, and much more too we'll
tell.

THE SPIRIT.

Their fathers from the heaven's look, to see if they'll repent,
And think their sufferings enough, for this and more you're
sent,
The promise they did obtain are sure, and now if they
Will hear your words and be baptized believingly they may
Tell, tell, pray quickly tell,

June 1854

All saints in heaven and saints on earth will lift them out of
hell.

THE MISSIONARIES.

Our Father in the heavens, and saints on earth we impore,
To aid by spirit-wisdom too, and substance from your
store.

That we may teach, feed, clothe and clean the red men
ev'ry one,

Exalt from humble wickeups and save in happy home.
Home, home, clean happy home,

Exalt from humble wickeups to eternal happy homes.

Thos. D. Brown, fecit "

At noon we went across Ash Creek and saw Toker and another Indian watering & planting corn, potatoes, squash, &c. — they have made a good irregating canal some $\frac{1}{2}$ mile long. They [have] about 3 acres well planted with potatoes, corn, squash, water melons, and are very industrious, they have only 1 hoe which they use in watering, &c. All their digging and planting they do with sticks resembling an axe handle. On returning we saw four Indians coming down a mountain from the east with 2 horses, and though backwards at first — and said ["] cot tam posujaway" "I do not understand," they ate with us and became very familiar, this opened not only a road to their stomachs but to their understanding. They are one days journey from their wickeups, are taller and appear more intellectual. They call themselves Pahutes and are taller than the Parides, I believe them to be of the same tribe, but pronounce the name differently. They are hand-somer and more intelligent.

At the same time another son of Toker named Terab or by baptism David came in from Coal Creek on his way from California, this same was ordained by J.D. Lee. Have these all met that we may bless them and do them good? In their presence I sung the

⁴⁰ *Fecit* — in Latin, "he made it." It is use with an artist's signature on a painting.

Missionaries Song, and repeated the words Toker, pesherrany and Shenowab. They seem much pleased. The Spirit of the Lord and our mission be upon us.

Toker and Pantemonea visited us this evening and spent much time talking. Pavinapoooh also was present — an old Indian apparently about 80 years of age. We met in counsel and the burden of their talk was “we are hungry often, we want food, we are naked we want shirts, pants and hats.”

Yesterday after our departure from Harmony, Bror Dame from Parowan arrived, Bror D. Lewis assisted him and Bror Lee to survey the ground for Fort and Carrel. In the evening the missionaries came together for prayer & bror Dame being called upon testified of the good spirit that rested upon us, others followed and the Spirit of the Lord was there.

And on this day, the 8th, the missionaries assembled at an early hour for prayers and the Indian school — a vote was then taken to know if the missionaries wished to build a temporary Carrell. They voted to build one tomorrow. In the afternoon bro G.S. Clarke came from J.D. Lee to have bror Lewis help him look out a good camping place said that Bro Lee had given orders to have the public Carrell built, and he should give 2½ acres to the missionaries each if they would turn in build their share of it.. In the evening Camp met and attended to prayers. Bro Dame's horses having strayed off he staid with us another night.

Friday 9 June. We started from Toker's wickeups at 9½ a.m. We travelled down Ash Creek and came to 2 larger patches of ground than he at present farms and better land, ditches around them also for irregation but I suppose they have abandoned them for want of tools strong enough to take up the corn roots; about 2 miles down we came to the ford of the Rio Virgin, and crossed this is a swift running river, about 2 rods wide here and 2 feet deep we soon ascended the neighboring bluff for here the bottom is very narrow, and passed over some elevated bench land, some rocks as our route approached the foot of the mountain, much sand on these elevated benches in which the prickly pear “Nawoop” — the Cactus — “Wearump — and “tall ouse” grew abundantly, “tama-weep” I have given the names here they grow in thousands, & yet I

June 1854

have seen one or two in Gentlemen's hot houses in England considered as rare plants; the farther South we go, I am yet more convinced that a good road can be made this way. At 1½ o'clock p.m. we halted on the Rio Virgin having traveled about 4 hours or 14 miles, at our rate of travelling. We had dinner and all afterwards bathed in the Rio Virgin; our two guides Queets and Tso left us for one hour, and returned with three men all Paiedes or Pahutes and 3 boys about 10 years of age. Their wickeups we afterwards found were on the Santa Clara, perhaps about 7 miles off by the Indian trail: the names of these Indians are Capt. Tsatwouts or Tatsigobits or "Amos," as he was afterwards called when baptized, Tompekitock and Hanintamos they had one horse, Manonie wine — all good & peaceable, Amen. I slept little all being on a low bottom and muesquitos bad, though in this country generally these are few.

At Harmony on the morning of the 9th Bror Dd. Lewis presented to the missionaries their Bror Lee's suggestions per Bror G.S. Clarke concerning building the Carrell and the amount of land offered to each viz. 2½ acres, gave his views on it, and called for the minds of the Coy. All were agreed to build a temporary Carrell, and remain as we are until we have a better understanding of things & the signs of the times, considering if we did not build any of the Carrell, we would be even with the settlers and more too, on the public works. The Coy. then went to work on the temporary Carrell, and finished it about noon, Bror Riddle then took his horses to take Col. Dame home, as the horses of the latter had not yet been found, Bror. Dd. Lewis accompanied them having some business at Parowan. They started a 2½ o'clock p.m. In the evening all attended prayers as usual.

Saturday 10 June. We started from this part of the Rio Virgin at 8:30 a.m. and for a time rode on its banks southward cutting much of the fruit resembling the red currant — very sweet, called "ope" — and of which we ate freely, passed through a gap of an elevated shelving rock which forms the banks of the Rio Virgin on the east this dips westward at an angle of about 45° eastward dipping down into the ground at about 5 rods from its abrupt summit. This rock appears the result of a volcanic explosion or earthquake and runs for miles north and south; through this the Rio Virgin

has cut its course in a westerly direction, like a canal that had cast up its banks when pent up, & seeking a lower level. We passed this and came to an elevated and isolated hill or mound that seems a detached part of the chain north of this, and west of the shelving elevation just described. [Shanob Kiab?} Are these all volcanic productions? if not how came they to be lifted up so far above the surrounding hills & elevated bench lands? They appear to have been washed aforetime by floods of water sweeping past and around them, but I cannot see that water is the cause, unless it mingles with internal fire, and there finds minerals and metals &c. on commingling with which intensely increases heat — if it do originate or generate it, which in its turn may convert water into steam, and this for years being pent up and continually increasing, seeks to exert its force towards ampler space, rolling & heaving produces in its endeavors to escape, what men have called — EARTHQUAKES! and this immeasurable body of steam, in forcing its way outwards at first raises these mountains, then come forth scoriated cinders, that some call “Lava” others call it “Emery” which here abounds. We travelled till about 10:30 a.m. 5 miles south west, and on opening out from these hills on to a fine table land south and east of the Rio virgin about 1 mile saw some squaws and children gathering berries, two of us, myself & Wm. Henefer rode over to the young squaw nearest us, the rest rode on westward to the river where smoke arose from the cottonwoods which the Indians were burning off to clear some more farming land. Oh! how she feared to approach us when we kindly asked some shutcup⁴ holding out a basket of berries at full arms length yet some feet off from where we could reach we approached a little near, she trembled and sweat and her limbs together as if required to keep her reins steady that there should be no apparent leakage, such was her fear.

Down by the roots of some trees and among some willows by the river we saw some families, they were all nearly naked & much afraid of their children, here we crossed the river & camped on the north side of a bend of the Rio Virgin on grassy bottom, near was a small patch of corn &c. well up here 3 Indians joined us from the Santa Clara, having been notified by those who were with us yes-

⁴ *Shutcup* is an Indian word for bread or food.

June 1854

terday. The Indian name of the Santa Clara is "Tornaquint" — the indian name of the Rio Virgin is "Parouse." — To them & 3 here we gave 1 cup of flour each; but we must cease feeding the Indians, or cease our mission, we have labored for our bread stuff and carried it upwards 350 miles, our duty is not to feed them but teach them to raise more abundantly for themselves, & be kind to them otherwise & learn their language. Names "Paheacit", "Neanirike," "Peshaminty," "Atneat" "Cazouni" — other four joined us from the Tornaquint, these also were no doubt warned by Tsatwouts who said they were all hungry "tooijee" — very & wanted shetcup-food, 2 more joined us before sundown 13 in all and we were 8.

On the 10th at Harmony — the missionaries came together early to pray & attend school to learn the Indian language, each then went to planting watering, &c.

Sunday 11 June. Left camp at 8:30 a.m. and rolled southward till we struck the Santa Clara at 11 o'clock at 11:30 a.m. we camped about 1 mile up the Santa Clara in a cotton wood grove. The road this morning was on the west beach rolling and level bottoms of the Rio Virgin, on the Tornaquint we came to a fine lot of wheat nearly ripe. Still much fruit "ope." This point viz. nearly at the mouth of the Santa Clara seems an old settlement, as there are many corn lots abandoned, for the same reason I had formerly supposed — the roots. This place seemed more comfortable to me, than any place we had come to. Crops living & many human beings, they were much afraid especially the Squaws and children. The most of the Indians that were with us yesterday travelled with us this day about 9 miles we travelled — very hot — they slept near us in the wickeups last night, and now their number is swelled to 22, they were as hungry as we, and I supposed more so, even so that they could have eaten all we had at one meal, yet we disliked to eat in their presence and they not enjoy food with us, so we abstained from eating till all cleared off. After supper 5 of us left Camp to visit "Matuprenup's" wickeup — there we found some 8 or 10 men and 2 squaws only, and a "nantsits" — female

⁴ The description here of Jacob Hamblin is apt. Truly "a quiet man," he was more responsible than any other for the success and continuity of the Indian mission, for he dedicated the remainder of his life to the business of maintaining

child — they were in great fear (sherreah) when we approached, so much so, the red man became pale and trembled, this wore off after a while, we found an old man had fled, they called him, he did not come, Jacob Hamblin⁴ a quiet man went out and found him rolled up in his rabbit mantlet, like a rabbit hid in an old wickeup, he patted him on the shoulder, looked kindly upon him & told him the Mormons were “toojee ticaboo toinab” very friendly & the same as the Pahutes, finally he came & [sat] down beside me all trembling. After smoking with us he became more composed, the little child that had buried itself in her father’s bosom crying, rushed out sweating & ran towards her mother & hid behind her. The grandmother of this child a very old woman, was the only one that did the hard work, she brought a wicker basketful of water slung on her head as the Fish women of Edinburgh carry their loads of fish, thus those carry their children & other loads. She then went for a bundle of dry brush for fire wood, and then began to crush their dried berries. She called aloud for me to come and sup, she handed me a large spoon made of the horn of a mountain sheep that would hold about a pint, full of this home made wine, she then set down a large bowl made of small willows, & pitched⁵ within full of this wine to our men and we all partook freely of this sweet and nourishing fluid, we smoked with them and sung some of the Saints hymns, and a good spirit prevailed, their fears gave way to confidence and love, they were liberally kind with their wine, wheat & seed flour porridge & berries, they asked us to sing again, we told them it was one way the mormons spoke to Shenowab, one of them men still kept grinding their seeds into flour for porridge, they have a large earthen pot as at Toker’s camp in which their seething is done, would hold about 2 gallons & is made of red clay & sand about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch thick and

peace with the Indians of the Southwest. In August 1857 he was made president of the Indian mission in the Santa Clara area, later he was designated as “Apostle to the Lamanites” (Indians) of all western tribes.

Biographies include: Little, James A., *Jacob Hamblin*, narrated autobiography, James A. Little, ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1909. Bailey, Paul, *Jacob Hamblin, Buckskin Apostle* (Los Angeles: Western Lore Press, 1948). Corbett, Pearson H. *Jacob Hamblin Peacemaker*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1952).

⁴The willow basket were “pitched within” by being coated inside with soft pine gum and baked. Sometimes this was applied to the outside of the basket also, rendering it water-proof. Sand was usually applied and baked also.

June 1854

dried in the sun. During our singing they all kept very still. Another female "pishamon" was drying the heads of green wheat in the ashes, this they had pulled while yet in the milk, they dried it sufficiently hard — the heads tied up in small bunches that when taken out of the ashes they could rub the wheat from the husks and thus prepare it for grinding into flour, they rub on a flat wicker basket, and grind between 2 rocks, the larger lying on the ground, the smaller kept in their hands and pushed out and in, or from & to them horizontally. There appears many patches of good wheat land on this stream, across which Beaver dams are built every few rods, & the banks being low, the water overflows much & renders the bottoms good grazing patches, there was appearances of saleratus too here, much white salt in crustation on the land, by cutting the beaver dams open, these fine specimens of rock salt and iron pyrites also a rock which when ground and mixed with gum from the pine trees, made a beautiful greenpaint which they painted their arrows, also a heavy red substance resembling red lead, some supposed its basis was quicksilver, also fine pipes made of transparent green marble all of which they got off the mountains pointing south & west. We have attended to our prayers in season thereof, and often individuals & by twos the missionaries go out & call on the God of Israel. We attend also to our guards, but one thing I note among our younger brethren, their folly and trifling too much & this often in the presence of the Indians contrary to counsel; I mark the sagacity of the Indians in strong contrast. Is it because of their toil, poverty, hunger and nakedness, that they appear thus so much more wise? I came to the conclusion in Scotland & England, that the superior sagacity of the mechanics' sons over the sons of the noblemen & the affluent was in consequence of their greater toils privation and experience. The young men of the Indians are more sober than ours, yet the motives of our young men are good.

At Harmony this day they held two meetings and much of the good Spirit was there.

Monday 12 June. Very hot during past night, many musquitos — warm morning, and wind from the south east. Spent this day in studying the Indian language. Trading with them for Berries &c. They have no idea of the cost of flour, shirts &c. they would offer

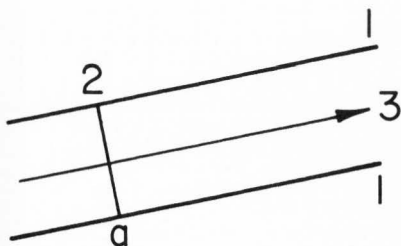
a basket full of berries — say two hour labor in picking them for a shirt! Some paid them in small pieces of tobacco, and some gave them a quart of flour carried over 350 miles for a quart of sweet berries "ope". I bought one quart of these, and one quart of Black and white currants mixed with gooseberries, all mostly ripe, and mixed these in our dough for Currant bread. We also traded some powder and lead for some "nante" a very sweet substance made from roasting a shrub 24 hours in a covered fire, it resembles bread made of flour & molasses in taste, but in eating it, feels as if wheat straw were in the sweet (paegamont) mixture."

At Harmony this day spent mostly in studying the Indian language. Brors Lewis & Riddle returned from Parowan. Resolved that the cows be turned out 1 hour earlier, say by 6 o'clock a.m.

Tuesday 13th June. On Santa Clara, we collected our horses packed up and rode some 5 miles farther up this Stream, there are many patches of good land on both sides this stream, and a long strong grass abounds here well headed, which when rubbed out resembles oats. There are more wickeups and children than I have seen here, but these and the squaws fear much at our first approach, they are mostly naked. When we came nearly opposite to Tsategoups wickeup, we crossed the river and were guided to good feed and a good Camping place. About 40 Indians soon after seated themselves in a fine group and while the missionaries sang hymns and the Indians smoked their pipes I took a Sketch of this interesting scene, and wished it had been done by abler artists. While we sung some of the older Indians with much child-like simplicity tried to immitate. We again through our interpreters W. Evan and Queets "Dick" told them the objects of our mission to learn their language, that we might be able to talk to them and teach them how to farm to more advantage with implements & procure more food also clothes to cover them and keep them warm in cold winters the latter desire much from seeing the few who have lived and worked among the Mormons better clad. This council broke up, and most of us went with Tsatsegoup and other Indians to see their improvements, a good dam 3 rods wide slanting across the Santa Clara.

"He later gives a more complete description of this "yant."

June 1854



1 being the banks of the river, 2 the dam and 3 the course of water, from 2a, a water ditch or irrigating canal runs for $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, round the base of rocky mountain in some places cut & worn from 6 to 10 feet deep, all this accomplished with their hands and small sticks, no other implements being among them. There was good crops of wheat ripe in some places which they were cutting and using, and abundance of corn, many beans, and a green substance between the rows which we stooped and wished to pull out, till they told us it was part of their food. Some 10 acres are cultivated here, and as many or more at the settlement below this, indeed all along this river are small indian patches of 2 to 10 acres cultivated. and some of the missionaries have visited other portions of these bottoms and say there are many more small patches uncultivated. Again in the evening our camp went to their wickeups, by invitation and sung and had another long talk with the Indians. This seems a central point, we have now seen upward 150 Indians during past few days, all saying they were often very hungry and are now nearly naked, they work very hard and accomplish very little. O, Lord! my spirit exclaims when will their salvation begin? Is this not the best time – and the harvest promises to be abundant, but the laborers and Seed (clothes implements &c.) are few, one of them near me, exclaims while I am writing, "*Brigham Young come here.*"

The evening darkened the clouds lowered, and soon abundance of rain fell which, tho' refreshing to the crops & grass was not very pleasant to us "sub tegmini fagi," "having only the

^a From a poem by Horace, "Beneath the shelter of a Beach." Again refers to the poem on June 16th.

branches and leaves of a large tree to shelter us, this damped our energy a little, but the consideration that our elder brother Jesus Christ had passed through such storms — had said “The Foxes have holes, the birds of the air have nests, but the son of man has not where to lay his head” measurable comforted us. We like him have the ground only for our beds, the wide space above for our chambers, and saddles &c. for our pillows, we had more than Jacob, who had only a rock to lay his head upon then beheld he the opening heavens, Angel’s visits, then “not few & far between” why so now? these reflections induce contentment, backed by the abiding belief that we are doing our Father’s will, the rain ceased, and the heavens cleared off, and soon we sank among the Indians to sleep unguarded & enjoyed a sweet rest, 3 Indians slept on my right hand, & about 3½ a.m. I was awoke by their bringing wood and making fires.

At Harmony Bror Lewis addressed the missionaries on our privileges and prospects in this settlement, as he had heard at Parowan and from Bp. Davies and proposed that we take hold unitedly and build ¼ of the Public Carrell, agreed to unanimously.

Wednesday 14 June. At Harmony the Brethren commenced cutting and hauling cedars for the Carrell, & at evening meeting it was agreed that we dispense with public watching for the present.

On the Santa Clara the provisions of Thales Haskell & H. Evans had fallen short, it was deemed wisdom they should leave for Harmony we were all willing to divide with them, but Bror Allen counselled them to return that we might be able to stay longer among them. They started with an Indian guide to return by a new route. I had left my ink glass & pen in a bunch of tall grass that served me for a pillow farther down the Santa Clara. A.P. Hardy & I rode down and found them where we had left them, we then again called at the 3 wickeups near the mouth of the Santa Clara, they presented us with some porridge made from seed meal, & some made of wheat, “ope” wine, currants and berries all of which we partook & were thankful for the good feelings of these Indians towards us. On our leaving one or two followed us on foot all the way back to our camp, we seem to draw this tribe here after us. A.P. Hardy’s knife dropped from the sheath, and one of them finding it came into camp, but concealed it till he found

June 1854

Bror Hardy's desire to have it found. At its utmost stretch he then asked how much he would give to have it found, Bror Hardy had promised some powder, but now being asked through our interpreter if he would give a shirt, some having returned that had been out hunting it in vain, he now consented to this higher bid, when lo! at once the honest but cunning Indian pulls the knife from his bosom telling us where he found it. Bror Hardy kept his promise and let him have the shirt, "toy."

The Captain has two squaws, and 5 or 6 children. About 30 Indians and 5 or 6 squaws came to our camp this evening, we sung hymns, smoked the pipe of peace, and when the good spirit flowed freely. T.D. Brown addressed the Seventies on this mission on the importance of their calling, apostles to the nations, the certainty of our success if patient and faithful, for Nephi and others the Fathers of these men in the heavens would aid us. Brigham and the twelve had spoken well of this mission, and we already begin to see Heber C. Kimball's prophecy beginning to be fulfilled, and told his dream or night vision, he saw Toker 10 years hence, seated in a clean covered waggon, drawn by a fat pair of oxen, himself clean neat and not the thin haggard old man of toil we now beheld him, but full, fat, fair & youthful in appearance, the subject of rest, ease, plenty & enjoyment. Brors Allen, Henefer, Thornton & Hardy spoke well. Brors Roundy & Hamblins feelings were full and longed for the day when they could express their sympathies in the native Indian language — the history of their fathers & the promise of God. Brors Allen and Henefer then gave each man a piece of tobacco. Dick our interpreter and their own Captain Tatswouts spoke to them upwards of an hour on the objects of our mission — of their degeneration, salvation and exaltation in their own language, under the influence of a good spirit. We then prayed & the Council broke up, all much pleased with our visit. We again spread our buffalo Robes on the dusty ground, and unguarded and unmolested were soon fast asleep.

Thursday 15 June. Brors Allen, Thornton & Henefer started to explore the land on the Santa Clara with the Indian Captain and four of us at home amused ourselves giving names to the Indians, we had many visited us during the day, & evening brought back our brethren who reported 3 good places for farming above this.

At Harmony this day the missionaries were all engaged chop-

ping and hauling pickets and putting up a part of the public Carrell. Thales Haskell and Hy Evans returned from Santa Clara with their Indian guide, in the evening Brors H. [Haskell] and E. [Evans] recounted some particulars of their trip, the Country, Indians &c. &c.

Friday 16th June. The Brethren at Harmony worked as on yesterday.

On the Santa Clara, when the recorder awoke he found eight ladies, and many 12 children had already arrived in their Court dresses, viz. each having on a mantilla, not of ermine, but of Rabbit skin very warm, this I presume we may call our morning Levee, the silver grey rabbit skin was as beautifully "neglige" as the spotted ermine of the proudest pures [peeress], gracefully hung on the right or left shoulder alternately. These staid during our morning devotions, and always kept a retired and modest distance, unless especially invited forward the fire, which we sometimes did, for the men have always kept them in the rear & seem to esteem them as of but little account. Yet among them there is caste, order, rank! The Captain's 2 squaws sat some 2 rods before the others, and the humble behind looked forward to them, as if in deference they said "these are our leaders wives"! When did rank, pride and aristocracy begin? the common ones sat in a circle behind & having spent upwards of an hour watching our cooking, ablutions &c. they all arose to withdraw but respectfully announced it by "pique - wickeups" we replied "toy" - a term signifying satisfaction or pleasure "its all right" on questioning them we found that the older lady had four daughters present all married - very young and "en bon point" [in good condition, plump] jolli - having 2 or 3 children apiece. The women here are in better condition than the men.

Yesterday one of our larriettes was cut in two & the one half taken away. They saw it grieved us, we said but little about it. The captain and some other indians agreed that a mean indian - well known to them at the wickeup lower down, had taken it, one was sent off to see, & in the evening, he returned with it. We learn that a young squaw about 12 years of age was offered to bror Allen yesterday by her father. This offer was at present kindly declined. These Indians at present are nearly naked & poor in clothing, though by cultivating the soil they are less dependent on

June 1854

hunting, and are increasing their food. Their eyes are keen, and in some instances their foreheads are high and broad their language is ample though at present we have discovered no grammatical arrangement, we all improve a little in the increase of our stock of words. Last night we again slept soundly, and undisturbed "sub tegmini fagi" under the shadow of a wide spreading box elder — not beach — tree — ; as the Roman Poet hath it. At 9 a.m. this morning I left the Camp on foot in company with other 3 missionaries, they were on a hunting expedition and walked quickly. I was foot sore, unarmed & the day being hot, I walked slowly till near noon when I arrived at 3 wickeups near the foot of the abruptly terminating red mountains. Here I met the following Indians, peaceably disposed and smoked with them: — "Uncapan" "Panacoin" "Mananowitc" "Carampour" "Sewooraris" "Catsa-comb" & "Peter." Six Squaws, and 10 children.

While here, an Indian came running in informing us Col. Reese's "train was close by. I turned and walked back to our camp more than 6 miles and found the news had reached before me, there I soon saw an Indian boy that I had seen some two hours before at the extremity of my walk, while there with the Indians. I wrote a note to Col. Reese's train informing them of the presence of missionaries and that we should ride up and see them either this evening or in the morning. I sent this by the Indian Peter; and observed before he started he took off his clean hickory shirt & blue cap; & put on an old skin shirt & wrapped his head in an old cloth or kerchief turban fashion. I thought this move was to give them a chance to improve his wardrobe, we afterwards discovered that he had run upwards 5 or 6 miles to run to the camping ground where we met them and as the note he brought back was dated "Camp Springs" he must have run 3 or 4 miles farther, and after we had eaten some dinner we started after 4 o'clock and when 1 mile out we met this same Peter with a note from P. Margetson, desiring our company — Col. Reese had given him a shirt, he turned and ran with us back to the camp, and I

⁴ John Reese was usually designated as Col. Reese. He and his brother, Enoch, set up the third business in Salt Lake City, building a store there in 1850. (Tulidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, p. 379).

Later they had a large trading post in Carson Valley, Nevada, and carried on extensive freighting activities.

calculated the distance he ran from noon to about 7½ o'clock p.m. distance was 35 miles, from which he received gratefully, the aforementioned shirt and supper.

This road was good except one mountain, near the east of it, lying between us & the California road, steep, rocky & only to be overcome by a winding or slanting road. The sun was an hour down when far below near the river we saw the flickering light from the supper fire. We descended & soon stood in the presence of Col. Reese, Brors S.D. White, Daddy Sherwood, "Margetson, Babbitt," &c. Col Reese presented to us 1 lb. of tea — the half of which we soon boiled in a camp kettle & supped. Col. R's train was short of meat & breadstuffs, we had flour. Our talk with them till after midnight was very interesting, especially Bror S.D. White's account of his visit to the Indians on the Muddy, in camping with Prest. P.P. Pratt.

Saturday 17 June. A little after 4 o'clock and before sun rise we arose and cooked some more tea and bread, ate Breakfast and at about 7 o'clock started with the train up the santa clara to return to Harmony by the Mountain Meadows.

Abraham, the Jew,⁴⁹ with a stock of goods, hauled by Father

⁴⁷ Henry G. Sherwood held many positions of trust in the Mormon Church. A surveyor, in 1839 he was assigned to lay out and sell lots in Commerce, Illinois; He helped to survey Salt Lake City, and other areas of the valley. He was often spoken of as "Father Sherwood." For a time he was agent for the Pony Express in Salt Lake City, but moved to San Bernardino — where again he was a surveyor — and made that his headquarters until his death in 1862.

⁴⁸ Almon W. Babbitt was at this time Secretary of State for the Territory of Utah. From the early days of the Mormon Church, Babbitt had been an active, prominent member. In 1844 he was elected to the Illinois state legislature and was influential in securing the charter for the city of Nauvoo. At the time of the exodus from that city, he, Joseph L. Heywood, and John S. Fullmer were left in charge of all the property in the city. By 1854 he had fallen from favor, but still retained his position in spite of unfavorable reports of his conduct in the national capital.

On September 2, 1856, he was killed as he traveled from Washington, D. C. to Salt Lake City. His four wagons, drawn by oxen, arrived with their loads intact, but he and his two teamsters, hurrying ahead in a light buggy, were murdered just before they would have reached Fort Laramie. It was reported as an Indian affair, but the fact that his body was never found argues against this. Indians did not trouble to bury the bodies of their victims.

⁴⁹ "Abraham the Jew" was no doubt a member of the Mormon Church, for he owned property in Salt Lake City, and carried on a business there for years. His name was Levi Abrams, but the title of "Abraham the Jew" persisted, even on his

June 1854

Sherwood, was in the camp, they were much annoyed at each other," weak teams the cause: we travelled along the upper Santa Clara till we came to opposite the camp of a smart, shrewd little Indian called Jim, or by his Indian name "Macoveooks" who here pressed us for baptism, here we stopped and as Col. Reese expressed his desire to be present at the baptism: we waited till his train arrived, having in the first place administered to his Sick Younger Bror named "Oreump" at their request. "O Lord - the Eternal Father do thou heal him" the train having arrived We sang a hymn, "Redeemer Israel our only delight." Then Bror Allen prayed. We then proceeded to baptized the following and after they came up out of the water, regretting we had not a clean shirt to put on each as they came up out of the water. Cap. R.C. Allen baptized.

INDIAN NAME	NEW NAME
Tockwits Macoveooks-	James
Margarit-	John
Mangeweinunt-	William
Sawowats-	Thomas
Moogwarawweep-	Rueben
Yawowat-	James
Taweewats-	Lorenzo
Oreump-	Amos (was very sick but after praying over him and Baptism he felt much better).
Ompiqueets-	Samuel

letters. Later, while running a shop at Fillmore, he was attacked by Cato, the colored servant of Judge Drummond, an altercation which caused the arrest of the Judge and Cato. The Judge was subjected to such treatment that he left the Territory, and his complaints in the National Capital were largely responsible for sending the army to Utah.

⁵⁰ The difficulties between Father Sherwood and Abraham the Jew were finally taken into court in Salt Lake City. Hosea Stout noted that their case was under consideration from the 25 to the 30 of July following. It was finally settled by the High Council, "who rendered judgment in favor of Sherwood for one hundred & 97 dollars and for Sherwood to pay the cost which had accrued before the Probate Court." (Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 524)

Journal of the Southern Indian Mission

Kaweeds-
Onhtoupe-

Augustus
Isaac

Near this on a small botton was a patch of land that had been cultivated. Corn roots & other marks of irrigating were manifest. Their wickeups are on the summit of a very high mountain, inaccessible to horses, and almost to man, but their wheat, potatoes &c. at the base of the mountain had been much neglected on account of Jim's absence with the train for some days. He joined Father Sherwood in finding his horses, so as to get one shirt, perhaps he had run off the same, that he might find them, and at this point Col. Reese gave Cap. Jim a fine pair of summer pants and a new shirt. Here also Abraham gave our indian guide "Dick" or Queets a good grey woollen shirt, and to me a package of his best tea.

We then united and appointed Brors Jacob Hamblin and William Henefer to stay among these Indians and those farther down the Santa Clara⁵¹ till we should get back to Harmony & send another Company of the missionaries. We all left with them the balance of our provisions and flour, and rolled on about 5 miles farther, say 9 miles this day and about 12 miles from our camping ground yesterday, we at the request of Col. Reese and some gentiles that accompanied him, held a meeting with them after supper. T.D. Brown by request addressed them followed by R. C. Allen, Lo [Lorenzo] Roundy, A.G. Thornton & H.G. Sherwood. Some scorpions were there and what they called by this name we would have called "very large light colored spiders" near this are some Indian wickeups & they too cultivate the soil, but we did not go to see their farms or patches. .

Sunday 18 June. Arose early and prepared to start for some point where our horses could find better feed. Before going Col. Reese and I agreed to trade my powerful American horse Billy, for two smaller ponies a Spanish 4 yr. old named Pinta and an Indian pony, both reduced and the latter had much skin off his back. This

⁵¹ Jacob Hamblin kept a record of this experience with the Indians on the Santa Clara. It begins with this incident and continues with some missing pages until 1857, filling a note book of 56 pages. The typescript covers 19 single-spaced pages. It is a remarkable supplement to this account. (Copies at Utah State Historical Society and Brigham Young University)

June 1854

trade done in few words, we started & crossing the Santa Clara frequently, then starting again ascended a very steep hill which must have tried the Col's reduced train, unless he took around the base of it more to the east; and again crossed the Santa Clara once or twice more. We camped at a place not far from this for breakfast near where two branches form the Santa Clara, we came up the smaller branch and crossed it many times till it disappeared in its source, then travelling many miles on a rising country of Cedars & over some very abrupt hills brought us to the divide or as it is called the rim of the basin. Here before us northward lay some miles of good grass well watered called the Mountain Meadow. Our course this day was northward and two thirds onward of this meadow, we turned eastward at Meadow Springs, being now nearly westward from our waggons, but how far from them we know not. After travelling about 4 miles eastward we came to a small spring and good patch of grass, where we camped for the night, making our last meal of a little plain bread and tea, with a few red berries "ope" and rind of bacon. This Spring we named in honor of our Coy. "Hardy's Spring." We had some "Yant" left - a sweet food made by the Indians, from a shrub. This they smother ingly burn for 24 hours, after which it is baked together, is very sweet, and much resembles ginger bread, mixed with straw, this latter we spit out after using, being near the divide the night was cold, we had been 14 hours on the move resting 3 at breakfast and noon & we allowed we had travelled 25 miles this day.

Monday 19 June. We again started homewards, after thanking our heavenly Father for his care of us, & for the one cup of tea we had then enjoyed, our only breakfast, we then struck a little Creek issuing from a gently sloping kanyon, and went up some miles east by south too far, we had not discovered that our guide had gone up a small kanyon in a north easterly direction; those of the mission ahead had gone to the top of a divide & could have crossed over this way into a nice valley N.E. which we afterwards passed thru; but they turned and after travelling some 2 miles northward over rough rocky mountains again got into our guides tracks, and with him on an Indian trail passed through a nice small prairie or meadow, and entered another much larger, here was a fine Creek at the south end of the valley and running in a north west direction, has been turned out of its natural course perhaps by beavers, or in some other way, spreading in all directions has made

a beautiful meadow of fine green wire grass hay, the grass is abundant and the water in depth only from 2 to 4 inches, this could easily be turned into its natural channel, & the soil being good — and the spot secluded would make a good strong place. The extent of land in this valley may be about 3 miles long & about 1 mile wide, this valley we called “Allen’s Valley” in honor of our young Captain. Here while our horses and mules ate we shook out the contents of our almost empty bags & ate a few berries rinds of bacon & crumbs of bread. Cedars very abundant, we passed over a long rise and mountain of these, and through some more vallies and streams and saw more vallies off to the N.E. then passing over another divide, came to a lovely spot — as the “garden of the world” surrounded by lofty white smooth rocks on the N.E. side, and still more lofty mountains, covered with cedars and pines, a fine stream running thru the centre, and covered with a beautiful crop of green hay, the form of this valley was circular & was beautifully studded with white round smooth rocks of all sizes — the tops of volcanic eruptions, some of them from 2 to 5 rods in diameter & from 5 to 10 feet high, this too would make a good small farming settlement, these rocks like the valley were all circular. We named this in honor of the Recorder “Brown’s valley.” It may be about 12 miles west of our new Fort in Harmony.

Rising up another mountain by a long gentle slope, where near the ravine of a small dry creek we saw some fine clover of 3 leafs, down this eastward we came to the source of the second stream we turned into our irregating canal, the bottom here was too much tangled with underwood to pass thro it without clearing, and along the abrupt sides of a rugged mountain among loose rocks and cedars for some 2 miles we led and drove our horses, the most difficult and dangerous I have passed thro on this or any other journey. This we named “Roundy’s Pass,” as he led the way. A little to the N.E. of this we discovered where a much easier way might be made. We soon entered Harmony valley and a little before sun down we reached our waggons, and found Bror Dd Lewis and the rest of our company all well, we rejoiced to see a beautiful Carrel made for the new Fort of upright cedars 7 to 10 Ft. high & 20 rods square: the western side or 20 rods entirely made by the missionaries who also had made a private Carrell of horizontal Cedars for temporary purposes near our waggons, also a Bowery of good size for meeting in. I was fatigued and the even-

June 1854

ing colder than those we had enjoyed south, I retired early, after partaking of a good supper prepared by Brors Hatch & Knights. I relished it having but little to eat for two days.

Tuesday 20 June. I was still much fatigued and not much out till afternoon, some watering. — a good spirit kindly & harmoniously flowed. The Brethren this evening recounted their adventures among the Indians and Bror Lewis gave the outlines of the Camp's proceedings during our absence. M. Woods attended our meetings while here.

Wednesday 21 June. This Coy. having resolved last evening to send out another detachment to the Santa Clara, Brors Lewis, Robinson, Hatch, Riddle, Knights and Burges started at 9 a m westward sought out by H. Burges even that northward of Roundy's pass named above, this we shall call Burges' Pass. Indian squaws washing for us this day and some watering their land to day. Resolved to help build a bowery to meet in with the settlers but not to remove our waggons at present, and on *Thursday 22 June 1854* wrote the following letter:

"To Govr. Young"
So Ind Mission,
Head quarters, Harmony
22 June 54

Dear Sir,

I lay before you a few more facts relating to the Pahute or Piede Indians — the rivers Santa Clara and Rio Virgin the mountains and roads in this Southern Country.

Eight of us having completed our plowing sowing and early irregation, started Southward two weeks ago, & 20 miles south, on Ash Creek or Upper Rio Virgin, came to chief Toker's camp, we found him grubbing & burning trees and clearing away rubbish from a 3 acre lot at the base of a mountain on the eastern side of Ash Creek. Some corn 2 ft up, beans, potatoes, squash, water melons, but no wheat, an irregating canal cut round the base of the mountain about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in length, land sandy and light. Farther down we found some 5 acres of better soil that formerly had borne a good crop of corn deserted, I suppose for the want of implements, here we found only 1 hoe and 1 hatchet to many laborers, their work being done mostly by a stick or pad-

dle in size and appearance like our axe handle, we found other wickeups and Indians farther down on the Santa Clara equally destitute for cattle plows spades & almost naked. 25 miles farther south we struck the Santa Clara here there is some good land cultivated some deserted and some unbroken, and some 3 wickeups well peopled all actively employed, here were about 5 acres of good wheat partialy ripe, also corn, beans &c., farther advanced here and farther up the Santa Cara we found abundance of gooseberries, black white and red currants ripe. About 7 miles up this river we found a Central point more extensively peopled & farmed the finest wheat I have seen in these vallies, and much farther forward than here or farther north.

We travelled among these mountains and found the men literally in caves, holes and dens of the earth, as well as on the almost inaccessible mountains. We travelled the Santa Clara from its mouth to its source, about 40 miles, saw about 200 Indians, lived with them and strove hard to increase our knowledge of their language. On the upper portion of the Santa Clara we met Col. Reese's train of goods, and learned that a good field lies before us on the Muddy among the same tribe some 90 miles farther South & west.

Brors P.P. Pratt and a bror from here visited them, as with us some have desired baptism which was not refused, tho' at present Salvation to them will be increase to tools and farming implements that they may produce food for their sustenance during the whole year & have surplus wherewith to procure clothing — they are very industrious and simple as children — own but few guns and horses, and many of them in trying to hold up a gun would put it to the left shoulder with the trigger upwards! It would be hard to drive them away from the small but fertile vallies of the Santa Clara. They rejoiced much to hear that the Big Captain had told Walker to quit stealing their Squaws & children, and that we should write to the Big Captain for ploughs, spades &c. and probably we might come and help them next year. They seemed to love us much and regretted our leaving them we left 2 of our Coy. among them and to day 5 more have started out from this place to join them.

There are two roads that present themselves to us from this southward — say to San Barnerdino. First that direct south from

June 1854

Coal Creek thro Harmony to the Rio Virgin, 7 miles of this is very rocky and hilly, and would [take] much to make it, but would considerably lessen the distance, this route is desirable the other route that at present going westward from Coal Creek over the mountains and then again returning over the same chain of mountains to the Santa Clara and Rio Virgin, this carries travellers at present too far eastward. It is supposed a road more westerly toward the Muddy and Vegas can be got avoiding the recrossing the mountains of the Santa Clara & sandy Rio Virgin. Tho we are at liberty to do all the good we can, perhaps it is out of our sphere and beyond our circle to explore this route as far south as the Muddy?

We have finished one fourth part of the Carrell, which is 20 rods square, have made the better half of an irregating canal, and purpose finishing a fourth part of the Fort & claiming a fourth part of the Land. This is according to Prest. [John C.L.] Smith's advice from Parowan. Bror Lee has said we should only have $2\frac{1}{2}$ ac. each man. How will this be? We are pretty well united and the good spirit prevails. Our crops are late and this climate colder than that south being nearer the rim of the basin. I enclose a song for the news if worthy &c. &c.

T.D. Brown, Recorder for the Miss.

Thursday 22 June. Missionaries at home variously employed.

Friday 23 June. Started for Coal Creek in Bror Groves waggon, found Col. Reese's train there trading. Bror Abraham gave me \$4.00 to purchase 12 shirts from Col. Reese stating this was prime cost &c., they cost \$3.50 per doz in California. Col. Reese said \$6.00 was the price per doz. They retailed at \$1.25 each at San Barnerdino. I paid Bror Reese the \$4.00 He ordered Mr. Baty to give me 8 shirts. Bror Baty gave 2 shirts more & Bror Dee 2 more for Bror Hardy. Bror Willis gave me 2 pairs pants and Gab. Huntsman let me have a hat for A.G. Thornton at \$3.50 on trust. Rode to Parowan in Col. Reese's waggon.

Saty 24 June. Lodged with Bror W.C. Mitchell, whooping cough in his family, of which Joseph had died 2 weeks ago — the Infant

son of his wife Lucy. Spent this day visiting the Saints and the afternoon re-hearing Miles Anderson's case of foolish intercourse with Mary C. Hadden. Two were chosen to speak — Brors I.C. Haight and Jno. Easton. Evidence lame except the admission of M. Anderson, he confessed some things and asked forgiveness, and the Prest of the Counsel Bror Numan said his judgement was to forgive and restore him, then J.C.L. Smith spoke and said he could not fellowship Anderson for he had disobeyed counsel given him 6 mos. ago. Then each *all* of the Counsel spoke, though they had agreed only two should speak. I left them in confusion or out of order as I thought. Some of the other remarks I heard were from Bror Carter "If we cannot fellowship Anderson for disobedience, How many more shall we suspend here for the same offense"? Prest. Smith then took another tact "Shall we tolerate in our midst men who will polute the daughters of Israel"? &c. &c. This eveng. I went to the opening of the Theatre "The Village Lawyer," and "Slasher and Crasher" went off. Much wind these two days from the South.

Sunday 25 June. Attended meeting at Parowan. Old man Sherwood preached. Dined with John Steel & rode with him & J.C.L. Smith to Cedar City. Bror W.C. Mitchell and family were very kind to me while I stopped with them, also Brors R. Harrison and Lady at Coal Creek. Attended a business meeting in Cedar City on Fencing herding &c., visited Brors Weston, Wylie, Liston, Pollock, Rogers — all well: all seem still to remember keenly the oppression of the authorities, in removing their cattle, cows &c. during late Indians difficulties — againts their will— more than the "Surplus cattle" were sent north without their consent, and up to this time most of those cattle have never been returned nor their value. This Compulsory consecration did not sit easy & took from Fathers & chidren or Sons their free agency: Aged men & young were put in Chains for resisting & had decapitation threatened: was this the over officious acts of sub-alterns or how else? Well might they ask then, where can we find such cruelty oppression & tyranny. My Spirit is grieved, and I am apt to exclaim. Surely these lesser authorities exceed their instructions from head quarters! Did Prest. Brigham know & sanction these acts — and that cattle so removed have not to this been returned? Does Israel's

June 1854

God tolerate such a course in his kingdom without restitution or punishment of the offenders?²²

Monday 26 June. I visited the Iron works, and now have much more hope of their future success than I had. The flour mill is also in progress. Rode to Harmony in Company with Brors Nelson, Cook &c. found the missionaries in meeting. Brors Richie, Eldridge & Henefer asked permission to go to Salt Lake, the two former to get their families if permitted by the Presidency — the latter to settle some business, granted to return as soon as possible.

Tuesday 27 June. This day 10 years ago Joseph Smith was massacred in Carthage jail, and we met this afternoon to commemorate the event. Very hot still wind from the south, from 12 to 2 o'clock I wrote a long letter to my wife, and 7 double verses that follow to the memory of Joseph and Hyrum, who this day 10 years ago fell martyrs to Truth, for the sake of Jesus, his kingdom and gospel, by the hands of apostates, pretended friends, and what are called religious men.

Bishop Davis presiding requested me to take the lead of the

²² This compulsory consecration refers to military orders issued a year previous, on July 25, 1853, which placed George A. Smith in command of all military districts of the south to carry out orders — first, that all people should concentrate in to forts for their safety; second, that they should permit all surplus stock to be driven in to headquarters to be placed under orders of the Presiding Bishop.

The people — reluctantly — moved into the town centers, but none felt that they had any "surplus" stock. They had not enough, they said. Those who resisted were placed under arrest.

On Tuesday, Aug. 15, after they had taken some from every ranch and town, the officers started north from Paragoonah with 271 head of cattle and four horses. (See Appendix VI)

Resentment grew. Some people moved away at once; others waited for company to travel with across the desert. Dr. Thomas Flint, who was taking a large herd of cattle and sheep across the country, recorded his experiences in these southern towns. He reached Parowan in mid-October 1853, and had cordial relations with people there. On Oct. 17, at his first camp out, he noted:

. . . Five wagons going out for California joined us here, requested the privilege of traveling with us. Their stock was very troublesome at night, but not one of the men would go out to look after them at night — it was said for fear of the Destroying Angels."

Wednesday, 19th Drove to Iron Springs and creek where we camped . . . Train of 17 wagons of disappointed Mormons left here this morning for California before we did . . .

(Diary of Dr. Thomas Flint, California to Maine and Return 1851-1855. Reprint from the *Annual Publications, Historical Society of Southern California*. Los Angeles, California, 1923.

Meeting, and speak to the people. I spoke on the History sufferings and glory of Joseph. I spoke in power & by the aid of the good Spirit. Bror Allen followed with the same strain.

To Joseph in Heaven.

Tune "Ye Banks & Braes o'bonny Doon."

1st O Joseph Prophet of the Lord,
Thy praise we sing, thy name revere;
This day brings round in mem'ry sad,
Remembrance of thy fate — severe
Twenty seventh June, in forty four,
In Carthage Jail thou wast assailed
By wicked — painted — fiendish men
How glad we'd been had their efforts failed.

2nd In twenty three & to twenty Seven,
Thou highly favor'd wert of God:
Salvation's ways — the errors of man —
Moroni's Record — to thee were showed
Thummin and Urim to thee were given,
Priesthood — the lesser and greater also,
The different pow'rs in Earth, hell & heaven,
To thee 'twas given for ever to know.

3rd A Seer — Revelator — a Prophet from Heaven;
A Church and kingdom, as at first, were restored;
Visions and blessing and power undisputed —
A god with a body and spirit adored.
Of Nephi & Laman — Mosiah & Alma
Moroni & Mormon — Lemuel & Dan,
From the plates thou did'st write by heavenly vision,
The downfall — the rise and the glory of man.

June 1854

4th Thick darkness and gross, covered earth & the people,
The heavenly light thou then didst bring forth —
The full blaze of Truth, through a channel so humble,
'Twas too much for pious wise men of this earth:
E'en false friends named Higbee — Foster & Law,
Bennet — Vandusen & Williams besides,
Gave scope to their passions — adultery & lying,
But Heaven's pure law these would not abide.

5th These, as agents of Satan and Pious Sectarials,
Determined to kill Thee, & overthrow Truth:
Law — falsehood & perjury could not assail thee
But powder & lead cut thee off in thy youth.
But Joseph and Hyrum, ye live yet and ever,
Your power's increased and your glory extends,
In heaven, on earth & in Space's vast dominions,
Jehovah & Jesus — all saints — are your friends.

6th Since the sixth day of April, the year 1830.
The number of Saints from six has increased
To hundreds & thousands, & soon will be millions
Of live wheat & tares also Martyrs deceased.
Ball proof-learned Willard to you has withdrawn,
John Taylor yet lives the Truth to proclaim;
The Indians — their missionaries & Saints without number
alive and unborn, shall yet sing of your fame.

7th The power of our Prophet in Heaven is wielded —
Of Hyrum & others, tho' ten years have gone;
The living and dead are still bound together
Brigham yet lives! and the work is not done
We'll love one another & never dissemble,
No evil we'll speak but ever be one,

And pray for the day when with Joseph & Jesus
The meek and the noble — shall sit upon thrones.

Wednesday 28 June. I this day was at the old Carrell watering & hoeing. There was a dance at the new settlement for the youths.

Thursday 29th June. Attended to the doctoring of my horse for inflammation of the kidneys & pissing of blood, gave him bran mashes & ground rosin infusion of Ash Bark tea — tea from Burdock seeds is the best. Attended lessons of the Indian language — made 2 benches — repaired wickeup for carriage.

Friday 30 June. Brors Hamblin & Colman started for Parowan 2 days ago, to day Brors Allen Roundy and Hardy went thither to spend the 4 July and perhaps visit the Indians on the Fish Lake. This day I spent in watering and hoeing several missionaries Gardens in the Old Carrel. This evening Dd Lewis returned from Santa Clara, having lived among them taught them much good & acquired an additional stock of Indian words: upwards of 100 desired baptism of them, and now those prefer being called Pahute Mormons to Pahutes. I now leave two pages for copying from D Lewis Journal.

[Seven-eighths of page 127 blank,]

Saturday 1 July. Working about camp and to save our boots and shoes some walk barefooted I have tried but the sand and soil are intolerably hot. A day of cleaning baking &c. I attempted to wash a pair of cotton socks & rubbed the skin off my fingers, this won't do, & yet I suppose it must, for Sisters are "non est inventus." [not to be found] How can I get help to wash? Will the sisters take such pay as I get from the Lord? I fear not.

Sunday 2 July. At Public meeting J.D. Lee presiding. Bror Lewis recounted the results of the missionaries trip South — the baptism — the healings by the power of God, and Brors Lee, Groves, Atwood, Clarke and Brown spoke in the afternoon meeting: Bror W. Willis from Cedar City testified of the good spirit among us — good meetings.

Monday 3rd July. I this day had "Sarah the wife of Abraham"

July 1854

washing for me — both baptized Indians, over-heated myself running the horses off the wheat. Meeting for singing at Bror Beddoe's.

Tuesday 4 July. In consequence of the failure of water for our irrigating canal, some of the missionaries went with the settlers to bring water from Canara Creek [Kanarra Creek] on the N.E. of this valley, 6 miles off. I was seized with a most severe bilious headache, very hot and much exposed. Young ones feast.

Wednesday 5th July. Still confined to bed & sick. Some more of the missionaries at the new irrigating canal for Canara — & some watering our crops.

Thursday 6 July. This is the third day of my bilious fever & of abstinence. I must take matters more coolly. This is Fast day being first Thursday in the month. I begin to amend. Bror Allen, Roundy & Hardy returned from Parowan, report the Indians there to be saucy, asking meat and flour & not receiving it, go up into the Kanyons and cut & fall trees across the road, tear up some bridges &c. I think that Indians living among the whites do'nt improve them much — that many of the Mormon youth are very rude in speech and behavior and much too familiar with them, equality felt before it is due, evil the results to both parties, to all. Would it not be better to go & live among them — some choice noble spirits? It would.

Friday 7th July. Morning Cool, Cloudy wind from the N.E. warm during day. Missy. meeting at 3 o'clock p.m. Bror Allen "I would not give \$5.00 for all the wheat we are likely to raise this season, the water fails & now there is our wheat heading before it is 6 inches above the ground! Let us go and labor for food for the coming year and not depend upon this, also apart of us may go off among the dissatisfied Indians and thus fulfil our mission. Bror Lewis agreed with Bror Allen and told a dream he had, He was up in a tree & heard a Cry ascending "Come down we are going to leave Harmony." Bror Brown spoke, tho weak, was opposed to our leaving Harmony entirely or as a body, but preferred staying watering & protecting what we had labored for, but agreed the offended Indians should be seen & reasoned with. Bror Roundy objected leaving this camp. "The crops do not at present seem

Journal of the Southern Indian Mission

worth much, but the Prophets have told us this is the place for this year. We are sent to strengthen this place and help to build it up." Resolved that R.C. Allen, A.G. Thornton, P. Colman, I. Riddle, Ira Hatch & R. Dickson go to morrow and live for a time among the Indians on Pangwitch Lake and do them all the good you can."

Saturday 8 July. The above started S. Atwood and B. Knell accompanying them as far as Coal Creek.

Sunday 9 July. The people met at 10 a.m. J.D. Lee & the Bishop arrived near noon when T.D. Brown was called on to preach. Addressed the Saints on the nature, power and foundation of Faith; showed that the Saints formerly exercised this gift much, and had great blessings in consequence. Asked whether we could exercise enough of Faith in the power and goodness of God, to bring rain from the Pacific in Abundance, now that the water from the irrigating canal had failed, & exhorted all to trust in God our Father in Heaven. Met again in the afternoon, addressed by Brors Davis, Lee & Lewis, the former on the follies of boys & girls here this past week. The Missionaries met again in the evening — full moon — no wind at night.

Monday 10 July. Very hot — little wind not much done in Camp. Brors Henefer & Hamblin return from Santa Clara. Trial this evening of the youth of Harmony before Bishop for loose and immoral conduct. Swearing among the girls — disobedience to Parents. The water being scarce and muddy in the ditch, Bror Lewis took a vote that we remove 4 miles north to the Springs. Not decided at present, some being absent.

Tuesday 11 July. Some thunder and rain yesterday round by the west mountains cooler this morning. According to vote removed to the springs, no shelter, very hot, but abundance of good clear water.

Wednesday 12 July. Still very hot not much doing, but reading &c. Brors A. Easton, Jno. Nelson and Hy. Evans off this day to Gt. St. Lake City. A. Hadden and R. Carter came from Parowan.

Thursday 13 July. Hot — a little thunder yesterday and rain

July 1854

round about us — wind South — rain and thunder on the west and north of us. Two of Bror Wm. Young's daughters came from Provo & told us the mail had arrived in Parowan, and that Dd Lewis' Second wife⁵⁵ also come thither. At sundown we beheld dark clouds and lightning north of us, wind south.

Friday 14 July. At midnight last night a thunder storm awoke me, wind strong from the north and considerable rain. A.P. Hardy refused this morning to go in his turn for the cows. I had to go for my cow, & among the long grass got very wet. Started to Parowan with Bror D. Lewis — got our letters on the way from D. Shirts, had been sent by J.C.L. Smith. Stayed all night at Johnson's Springs with Joel H. Johnson — good spring — a good range for cattle & many Indians around him — working on his farm and on a lot of their own enclosed for them.

Saturday 15 July. Arrived in Parowan, read and answered my letters. Hooping cough still among the children.

Sunday 16 July. At meeting Col. Dame recounted the business of Conference at G.S. Lake City and an outline of the teachings of the Presidency, followed by Brors Louder, Lewis, and by T. D. Brown in the afternoon. The latter dwelt on the evils of excessive selfishness, avarice, & the love of God: while in Parowan I enjoyed the liberality of Rd. Benson, J. Hoffreins, [C.C.] Pendleton, Bishop [James] Lewis, we ate with them, also with W.C. Mitchell, with whom I slept.

Monday 17 July. Started for Cedar City & let Bror Jno Western ride part of the way on my horse, stayed a short time there, then rode home to our camp 14 miles South near the springs, where I learned that Brors Roundy, Hamblin, Riddle & Hardy had agreed to go home to Gt. S. Lake City to see their Families, to attend to their affairs there & make some wheat and provision for the next year, and the rest of the missionaries had agreed to go up to Cedar City & Parowan & labor for their Bread stuffs there and in Parowan, as our crops at Harmony had failed from want of water & being too late soon [sown].

⁵⁵ David Lewis' second wife was Elizabeth Huntsman, who bore him one child, Ann Alizabeth, called "Liza."

Journal of the Southern Indian Mission

Tuesday 18 July. Started back early for and arrived at Cedar City and as one of my tires had come off on the road I stopped in the street opposite Pugmire & Cartwright's black-smith's shop for repairs, (& here I remained during hay harvesting season till I went home to Conference following September) ate with Brors Liston & Bosnell, and truly I was glad once more to sit down to a good meal with white men; Brors Allen, Atwood, Knights, Burges and Haskell went to Parowan to work — Brors. Brown, Hatch, Dickson, Thornton, Robinson & Knell stayed to work for bread in Cedar City. Bror Allen returned to Cedar City, & Bror Dickson commenced teaching there.

Wednesday 19 July. Most of this day employed making rakes, getting felloes in my waggon for which Robert Keyes would charge me nothing. Ate with Bosnell again: Sister Henry Lunt baked us some bread which with the milk from I. Hatch's cow had gone well.

Thursday 20 July. I. Hatch's mule put out of Carrell, found on its way back to Harmony, in wheel wright's shop repairing.

Friday 21 July. We finished repairs on waggon, snath-rake &c. & started for Hay field about 6 miles north-west of this city: Soon after we got there, discovered our horses and mule had started back towards C. City & Harmony. I walked back on foot about 8 miles, & found them in Bror Peter M. Fife's yard, ate with H.H. Kearns. Slept in R. Keys.

Saturday 22 July. Rode out to Hay field — raked & cut all day with I. Hatch, blistered my hands & this evening rode into Cedar City.

Sunday 23 July. Oh how rapidly time flies, and how little we seem to accomplish as a mission, yet we labor all the day long, but little among them & learn but little of their language, & each returning nights brings weariness & fatigue to me, & I doubt not also to my fellows. We had good meetings with the saints in Cedar City this day. — Jas. Lewis from Parowan, spoke many good things, firmness apparent and a desire to put down tyranny & oppression expose of what had been said & done by great ones that had been.

July 1854

The following song I partly composed on my waggon tongue,
and after dark by the light of Sister Hy Lunt's Candle.

On the 24 July.

- 1st. Deliver thy people Great Father
Was the prayer of many a Mormon,
In Kirtland, Missouri, Nauvoo —
From Scotland, the Isles & old England.
- Chor. We hail thee auspicious bright day
- 2nd. E'en Joseph while writing the good book
From plates long since hid by Moroni
And the world from his often would hook
These treasures of heavenly knowledge
- Chor. Would hail the auspicious bright day
- 3rd. When a house to the Lord he would build up,
Vast money from few then was wanted
Speculation then failed as it oft may
And the Saints in Ohio exclaimed
- Chor. We hail thee auspicious bright day
- 4th. For Bankers the world had become thin
Shin plasters were ripe as old paper
And forging seemed very nice fun men
If gold they could get for such paper
- Chor. Saints then hailed thee auspicious bright day
- 5th. For the west — "Indepence" they started
For Jackson far up in Missouri
A land choice & precious of old say-
From this by the mob they were routed
- Chor. These hailed thee auspicious bright day
- 6th. To "Clay farther east they were driven
Nor here were they suffered to stay long

Journal of the Southern Indian Mission

To "Caldwell" & Davies" they moved
At "Far West" they longed much to stay on

Chor. Yet they hailed thee auspicious bright day

7th. When in Liberty's Jail they were immured
Joseph — Hyrum and Parley P.P.
Their flag on this fourth day they hoisted
With an eagle and the word "Liberty."

Chor. They hailed thee auspicious bright day

8th. To fair Illinois they next hastened
Brought "Commerce" soon called fair "Nauvoo"
Where hundreds and thousands were gathered
Again soon alas! they were forced

Chor. To hail thee auspicious bright day

9th. In forty-six the Mississippi they crossed o'er
As a body no more to look back
Garden Grove — and Mt. Pisgah established
Indian town & Winter Quarters beside

Chor. Still they hailed the auspicious bright day

10th. In the spring of the year forty seven
The church o'er the plains made a track
Pioneers! — at their head was good Brigham
Their wives and their children left back

Chor. These soon hailed thee auspicious bright day

11th. When Brigham beheld the big valley
His delight was unspeakably great
For Joseph & he both in vision
Had seen it by the power of God.

Chor. Then they hailed thee auspicious bright day

12th. The "Vallies of Ephraim" as foretold
With fatness were soon to be crowned
The Saints plowed and then put their seeds in

July 1854

And plenty soon covered the ground.

Chor. Then they hailed thee auspicious bright day

13th. Wives, children and thousands then followed
From the States and the Isles of the sea
To learn holy laws and celestial
And how we may glorified be.

Chor. Now we hail thee auspicious bright day

14th. The Saints in these vallies of plenty
With rock walls around us so high
Enjoyed seven years' peace and favor
From Israel's God ever nigh.

Chor. Now we hail thee auspicious bright day

15th. Our songs now resound through these mountains
Of Iron – of Cedars and Coal
For our union, our health & our sufferings
Shout Hosannah – all saints – to each pole.

Chor. We all hail thee auspicious bright day

16th. To the mem'ry of Joseph & Hyrum –
Of Brigham and Heber we sing
We – The Saints – in the City of Cedars
Make the vaults of high Heaven e'er ring.

Chor. Yes, we hail thee auspicious bright day

Monday 24 July. Awoke in Cedar City by the firing of Cannon, &c. under care of Capt. R. Keys. Spent this day with Prest. Pugmire, who with the High Council were escorted to the Tabernacle by the citizens & the military under Cap. Key & City Marshal C. P. Liston. The day was too hot to walk around the fort 2 miles. We walked from the President's house up the east line, out at the gate towards the Iron Works turning at Snow & Bosnell's mill: I was appointed Orator of the day, in the absence of I.C. Haight who had gone to G.S.L. City. I did the best I could for the honor of my Father's Kingdom – Joseph's branch – many toasts given in

Journal of the Southern Indian Mission

writing were read from the stand, present at the marriage of Sister Chatterly to Joseph Hunter; a dance at this party, as well as by the saints generally at the Tabernacle. The good spirit prevailed & felt by all.⁵⁴

Tuesday 25 July. Went to Hay field and remained cutting hay with Ira Hatch till Saturday 29 July, when we had some heavy rain, thunder & lightning rolling around the mountains. plenty of rain at Harmony, learned that a thunder cloud burst on the mountains east of them & nearly swept them all away. About this time 3½ tons of our hay stolen, by some good? Saint, that would no doubt willingly help the mission in words.

Sunday 30 July. The first mail under the new contract,⁵⁵ passed through Cedar City this day on its way from Gt. St. Lake City to San Diego. I heard from my wife of my Family's welfare, and much of Prest. B. Young's teachings in the Tabernacle G.S.Lake City. This does me good. Bror Allen spoke to day to the Saints in Cedar City on Confidence & I followed him "on the Salvation of our dead." Attended a business meeting of the church in Cedar this evening, when it was agreed in response to the call of the Presidency to inform Bishop Hunter they want many additional settlers here. Resolved to send up several waggons — many yokes of cattle, spans of horses and mules offered to help them down, and near \$500 worth of wheat subscribed to aid the poor saints to this place & till next harvest.

Monday 31st July. Engaged all day with I. Hatch putting a picket fence up for Sister Bladen, her husband gone to California, and a pole fence round her stack & produce yard.

Tuesday 1 Augt. Engaged as above

Wednesday 2nd to Saturday 5th Augt. Cutting Geo. Woods 5

⁵⁴ This pattern for celebrating the 24th of July was followed in every village and hamlet throughout Zion.

⁵⁵ The contractor for mail service from Salt Lake City to San Bernardino was Mr. Leech [Leach?]. Among the mail carriers were David Savage, Leonard Conger, John Hunt, Griff Williams, John Louder and _____ Hope. Each man rode one horse and had an additional one for his mail and necessities, and rode the full distance and back monthly. For example; at Las Vegas, August 13, 1855 David Savage arrived with mail from Cal and on September 14, following he returns with the mail from Salt Lake City.

August 1854

acres of wheat to receive 3 Bush. per acre for cutting & putting up. On Saturday afternoon very much rain part of Cedar City washed down, we were in the field & got thoroughly drenched — Missionaries have no home but their waggons, by the kindness of Jonathan Pugmire Senr. I had a room in his new house part finished.

Sunday 6th Augt. Prest. Pugmire spoke on the second coming of Christ followed by T.D. Brown on the extent of Salvation to the dead as well as to the living. Dined with Jehiel McConnell, afternoon a general testimony meeting. Brors Bradshaw, Clews, McConnell & Bishop Smith spoke. I supped with G. Wood.

Monday 7 Augt. Cutting G. Wood's wheat.

Tuesday 8 Augt. Writing to my Family.

Wednesday 9th Augt. Very wet. Thunder & dark clouds.

Thursday 10th Augt. Cutting Mrs. Bladens' wheat.

Friday 11 Augt. Cutting Sol. Chamberlain's wheat. A fine day in the valley but raining on the mountains.

Saturday 12th Augt. Indians on the stir, heard of 2 Santa Clara Indians being in Cedar City yesterday Pahutes commonly called Piedes, and of Ammon, a leading Utah also being here.

Sunday 13th Augt. Bishop P.K Smith & T.D. Brown spoke.

Monday 14th to Wedy 16th Augt. Engaged cutting wheat, the other missionaries similarly employed.

Thursday 17 Augt. and Friday. I. Hatch at Harmony bringing up our horses — the people there herding them, putting them all night in Carrell and riding them till they have become so poor like to have died

Saturday 19th Augt. Cutting John Kay's wheat, wet afternoon.

Sunday 20th Augt. At meeting. J. Pugmire, Senr. sick, Joel H. Johnson presided, he called upon Alva Benson & Jno. Hamilton to

speak. The former spoke of a falling away among the Brethren of Cedar City — and against Sunday travelling — Sabbath breaking ceasing prayer — plenty & pride the probable causes, absenting themselves from the house of Worship and effect. Brors Hamilton & T.D. Brown exhorted them to a renewal of their Faith diligence prayer and trusting in God. J.H. Johnson followed under the influence of the same spirit, the afternoon occupied by the testimony of many, Bror J. Western spoke of the avarice of certain brethren, charging \$14 per 100 lbs. of flour, & others \$1.50 per Bush. of Potatoes & these small ones at this exorbitant price, when the people were almost starving.

Tuesday 22nd Augt. to Thursday 24th. Finished cutting Jno. Kay's wheat & some others

Friday 25th Augt. Cutting Larrietts out of Rawhides.

Saturday 26th Augt. Do & reading letters received from my family.

Sunday 27th. Brors J.C.L. Smith, J. Steel & Jas Lewis addressed us on the evils of going to California, aided by a good mild spirit.

Monday 28th Augt. Writing to the States about my goods left in care of Jos W. Johnson Council Bluffs. Wrote to Corn. Vorhees to secure the land & houses I left unsold there from the grasp of squatting gentiles & to sell them when the price would warrant. Also to J.E. Johnson to send my 6 boxes goods; attended a meeting this evening to arrange a discussion between R. Dickson & Arthur Parker on English Grammer.⁹⁶ Question Whether the Old System of English Grammar, or Brown's new system of Syntithology is the better. James Lewis of Parowan & T.D. Brown were appointed to judge & decide: Jnon. Pugmire Chairman: Brors Bosnell, Harrison & Liston Committee, and afterwards attended a meeting of the missionaries. 11 of them present, to hear Prest. Bm. Young's letter read, and to council.

⁹⁶ This day's entry gives some insight into Brown's past business affairs at Council Bluffs; the discussion on English Grammar says much for their level of culture.

August 1854

Gov. Young's 1st Letter to So. Indian Missionaries.

We received the following letter from President Young on

28 Augt. 1854

dated 26 July, 1854

"Bror John D. Lee, Rufus Allen, T.D. Brown, and the Brethren at Harmony.

Dear Brethren,

Your favor of the 10th inst. is received, and since Brors Riddle, Hamblin, Hardy &c have arrived in 6½ days from your place. You have doubtless received the plat of your fort before this as I sent it to you some time since by Bror Dame.

We have some considerable clothing on hand for the Indian Women and children. I intended to have sent some out by the brethren when they returned from the June Conference, but they could not carry it. I intend to send it by the first opportunity. It is my desire that you go ahead with your fort and improvements, and I have no doubt but that the water will so increase, that you will have plenty another year. Sow your wheat early and it will need but little if any irrigation. Remember your canals and ditches are new and run over dry soil and that probably absorbs the water. It is not best to be too easily discouraged.

From what I can learn the mission has made a good beginning among the Indians, created a good influence, now I wish to have them to follow it up, go and stay with them and become more and more identified with them, until they can be brought to an understanding of our principles. It needs a constant attention to improve them, and to improve ourselves in our intercourse with them. If the brethren go amongst them, let them turn in & help the Indians in their work, and show that they feel an interest for them, instruct them in their farming operation, and fix their tools, not only go and visit among them and then return but remain and not to be in a hurry about leaving, stay and become acquainted with them and their ways and they will have more confidence in you, and your influence will be much greater over them. In this way we shall be able ultimately to control and govern them, as it is now, whenever an excitement arises among them against the whites, they immediatley become unapproachable and we find it difficult to get access to them at all,

Now if our people were so well established in their confidence and friendship as to control and influence them & more or less, be with them all the time being in their midst at such times. Do you not see that all such excitements should be kept down & we should be able through this agency to have peace & control the natives if this policy could be carried into general effect.

Praying that wisdom may be given according to your necessities with every desirable blessing. I remain as ever,

Your friend and Brother,
Brigham Young."

Resolved that we leave Cedar City and Parowan next week, and go down & attend to our Crops — the putting in of fall wheat, take the necessary steps for commencing to build our room in the fort and arrange so that a portion of us be always with the Indians, also to write to the 7 missionaries gone home: Henefer, Ritchie, Eldridge, Hamblin, Riddle, Hardy & Roundy to return with all speed.

Tuesday 29 Augt. This day preparing Larrietts & writing 30th and 31st, do, do.

Friday 1st Sept. Some of the Iron Coy's goods came in. I, at the Larrietts, Ira Hatch & R.C. Allen at the Hay, for ourselves.

Saturday 2nd Sept. The remainder of the Iron Coy's goods arrived I agreed to help the manager, open out & mark the goods, prices &c. also to balance the old set of Books & open the Coy's new set by double entry.

Sunday 3rd Sept. I.C. Haight preached & said many would be disappointed in not getting the things they needed, because the shareholders and others had not paid in the necessary means, and by an error of the person carrying the money from England \$5000 of goods had been purchased for the Iron Coy., whereas only \$2600 belonged to the Iron Coy., the remainder belonged to the Perpetual Emigration fund had to be divided, & these were kept in G.S. Lake City.

Monday 4th to Friday 22nd Sept. I helped I.C. Haight & Christopher Arthur Junr. of the Iron in disposing of the goods balancing

September 1854

the Books & transferring all the accounts to New Books — Mean-time Cap. Allen, having heard of the stealing at Harmony of corn &c. by the Indians took a detachment of the Missionaries down & pacified the Indians, returned & got settled with for labor & then all the Missionaries started back to Harmony, save myself I was preparing to go home to see my Family at Fall Conference: & Bror Dickson was allowed to remain to teach children in Parowan & Cedar City during Winter, to procure a horse for his mission, and on

Friday 22nd Septr. I started for Conference in Gt. St. Lake City in Company with Bishop P. K. Smith, Brors Hamilton, Jackson & Humphries.

I arrived at my house in the City on *Sunday evening 1st Oct.* & found my family all well save my Father, whose bowels were much relaxed & his body & mind weak. My wife had been sick & was recovering, but her spirits were much depressed, having much care to provide for herself & children, perhaps the course of her Son John Sherratt²⁷ does not lessen this anxiety. Poverty is indeed a heavy burden, and for the first time, even in her advancing years my wife has to begin & bear it. "Age & Want oh ill matched pair" I commended all to the care of my Father in heaven, at whose call through the Authorities in his kingdom, I had in common with my brethren the missionaries left all to do good, and they soon got better.

On Friday 6th Octr. Conference assembled, in the afternoon being called on by President Bm. Young I addressed the numerous saints assembled in the Tabernacle, gave them an account of our mission so far, and had liberty. On the evening of this day elder O. Hyde delivered an excellent discourse proving that Jesus Christ

²⁷ Somewhere between England and Utah, date and place as yet unknown, John Sherratt married Sarah Bolton of Lancashire, England. Their one son, Orson Smith Sherratt, is buried in the family plot at Salt Lake City with the note: "Died 1852 age 3 years." A daughter named Sarah Jane for both grandmothers, died in infancy. The only one to survive was Martha Ann, born 23 June 1854.

The "trouble" referred to here and later was the divorce case, which took not only his wife and child, but most of his property. Martha Ann Sherratt grew to maturity and married a man named Moffitt or Moffatt. Since John Sherratt was a deaf mute, it was difficult for Brown to communicate with him.

John Sherratt remained in the South prospered, married and raised a family of nine children. His story is told by a descendant in the booklet *To-Batts, the Silent One* by Gwen H. Sherratt, Cedar City.

was a married man — and children besides. — See Deseret News Vol. _____. No. _____, and on

Sunday afternoon President B. Young delivered a discourse, equalled by none that I have ever listened to on “Space — the Eternities — of matter of duration. The Gods — Gentile Seductions & Mormon Saviors of the innocent betrayed. The following is the essence of his discourse:

“I believe in one Eternity — no beginning no end to anything — Gods — Angels and _____ never had a beginning & never will have an end: “no beginning no end to space — no end — no bounds — no place in time or eternity will end their formation — no end to matter — There is an eternity of matter yet to be organized: no true philosopher can count the millions of eternities yet to be made: we shall learn in all time and in all eternities: The Bible and the ordinances are the same from Adam to the end, there will be no change till the last of Adam’s race is saved — the ordinances are the same — duties & callings vary as do the circumstances, but the ordinances are the same for salvation in worlds without end. Text “This is eternal life to know the only wise and true God & his Son Jesus Christ whom he has sent” — “There are Lords many and there are Gods many, & the Father of our Spirits is the Father of Jesus Christ: He is the Father of Jesus Christ, Spirit & Body and he is the beginner of the bodies of all men: Neither can you have a Father, without having a Grandfather: God hath made of one flesh, all the dwellers, or inhabitants on the whole earth, we are all formed of the same materials, from the mother Earth; those who keep their second estate will be celestialized & brought back to dwell with the Father. Can any individual officiate in any ordinances of any nature, before obeying the same and honoring them? Can any man officiate in this kingdom without first becoming a subject in the same? We’ll let the numerous Gods alone, and take the one we have to do with. There is no time when worlds have not been created and exalted; there have always been an Adam and an Eve — the first man and woman, and their oldest son is heir, and should be our Savior. We have one Father and we all are brethren.”

Elloheim spoke, “Yehovah, Michael — see matter all around, go and organize a world,” Yehovah Michael went and carried material: Then Michael came down with his wife, & began to people

October 1854

it. Michael had his body from the dust of the planet he was begotten on, he obeyed his Lord, was faithful and obedient, died and was resurrected, he did not resurrect himself. An Angel resurrected Jesus — what Angel? I know not. When Jesus has completed his work, Adam shall have a fulness: Adam's descent was to organize people & redeem a world, by his wife he peopled it by his first born he redeems. Our Spirits were happy before they had a body. An allusion to the Indians — Father Adam knew all about oxen and cattle. Adam died and was buried, where he was interred is not said. Physicians will tell you, men's efforts to beget will be abortive, without the spirit put in by the Father.

Adam & Eve had children in the spirit — and their children married — brother & sister — then the bodies followed.

Joseph Smith will be the first resurrected being in this dispensation & he will hold the keys of the Resurrection & no man can be raised without his permission, he will delegate this power. He then spoke of the final baptism of the earth by fire — The earth to be as a Sea of Glass. He next said something of exchange of women & children. All are the children of Father Adam. When Jesus has done his work he will take this planet back to his Father.

“Saviours will come up on Mount Zion & save Esau”

The word “Gentile” means disobedience, and “Israel” means obedience

The present marriage laws and the usage of custom is folly — and worse they are the parents of “seduction” & this is worse than all the wives of the Israel of God.

Ye poor damned wretches — that left that poor girl ruined! her own sole protectress, & the support of your unlawful offspring! by virtuous means if she can, if not by a continuance of a course worse than death & more cruel than the grave! I never ruined a woman

In New York there are 18,000 prostitutes licensed by gentile authority! Philadelphia as bad. What shall we do for them? Burn up their unclean dens — these wretched holes, where such iniquity is legallized by license — take the women, cleanse and save them. Let the world cleanse themselves and cease talking about Utah. Recapitulation.

On Thursday 12 Octr. I started back to my mission, having in company my step son John Sherratt & David Tullis as now missionaries — L. [Lyman] Curtis⁵⁸ appointed also to the Southern Indian Mission to follow us. My son's additional horse team & my waggon brought down Wm. Haslam & family, viz a wife & 2 daughters, as a maltster & Brewer to Cedar City. We were 15 days on the road travelling with the ox teams & poor Danes [Danish Saints] &c. brought to Iron Coy. & on

Friday 27 Octr. Arrived in Cedar City here we were detained to Sunday 5 Nov. for repairs of my waggon wheels. J. Pugmire Senr. was very kind to me and mine & during our stay J. Sherratt & D. Tullis dug potatoes for him & Geo. Wood; & on

Sunday 5 Novr. We arrived at Harmony, found a Coy. of the Missionaries out among the Indians, & of my crops only 12 potatoes left undug, 3½ shocks of corn & about 20 sheaves of poor wheat — the produce of my 2 acres — \$15 of seed including 2 Bush of best Taos wheat cost \$5 cash given me by W.C. Mitchell of Parowan; all gone! & my labor lost. J.D. Lee attended & watered these 2 acres while I was at Cedar City harvesting for which he had half the crops. The Devil or some one else took the remainder! O Lord reward such according to their works unless they make restitution. The crops of all the missionaries were proportionably small though some of them had better crops than others. Brors Shirts and Beddoe had abundant crops of corn why had not the missionaries? Brors Young & Lee agreed to water our crops during our absence for half the same. Did they do it?

All is now bustle to get the Fort up & I with the 2 men are allowed one house of 2 rooms in it. We have all been making adobies till

Wednesday 22 Novr. When we had made 9000 & 1000 Bror H. Barney gave me for doing some business at the City for him. I have 10 acres of land for cultivation. This evening we held our

⁵⁸ Lyman Curtis was born 21 January 1812, at Salem, Mass. He joined the Church in 1833, was a member of Zion's Camp and one of the original pioneers to Utah. He returned to Winter Quarters with Brigham Young, and brought his family to Utah in 1850. He remained in southern Utah only one season, during which he is said to have raised the first cotton in Southern Utah. He returned to found the town of Salem, named for his birthplace, and died there 6 August 1898. *LDS Bio. Ency.* IV : 689, 697.

November 1854

first meeting of Seventies at Harmony. I presided agreeable to Jos. Young's appointment — a good meeting.

Thursday 23 Novr. dug out the foundation of my house.

Friday 24. Hunting Rock for foundation & most missionaries & settlers engaged Building Rock and adobies. Omitted on 16 Novr. The missionaries held a meeting R.C. Allen presiding, when Benj. Knell, Clarke Ames and David Tullis were called & ordained to the office of Elder under the hands of R.C. Allen. S. Atwood and T.D. Brown, at the same time C. Ames and D. Tullis were set apart to this mission.

Saturday 25 Novr. John and David hauling adobies. I writing to Prest B. Young & I.T. Geary.

[Copy of letter.]

Washington Coy.,
Harmony 25 Novr. 1854

Prest. Brigham Young
Respected Sir & Bror.

I enclose you a copy of the allotment of Houses in this Fort; it has been agreed, during the absence of the missionaries to allow 10 acres of land to each house, this has induced the missionaries to build more in the Fort, than they had though consistent with their duty on the mission, requiring of course much more time in making adobies, lumber, building and finishing, than they deemed expedient, considering their duties and promises to the Indians on the Santa Clara & elsewhere, where they calculated spending much of the winter & early spring in teaching the Indians how to build log cabins & farm more extensively with proper implements & more profitably than they have done. Prest. J.D. Lee, you will perceive has secured six houses- 60 acres, Nos. 9 to 14 inclusive on the west — the best line — his hired man no. 15, his son in law 17 & 18 his father in law 3 viz. nos. 19 to 21, giving them 120 acres all to be watered from the public canals which cost about \$1200, & these men individually did but little on these public canals not even their proportionate share, The missionaries did half the labor

Journal of the Southern Indian Mission

on these ditches & will have only $\frac{1}{4}$ of the water: I, my step son John Sherratt, & Dd Tullis, whom you sent with me, have only 1 house & 10 acres or $3\frac{1}{3}$ acres each to sustain ourselves upon: and from the 2 acres which I grubbed, plowed & sowed in wheat &c. last season, the seed costing upwards of \$10 & the crop left for me is $\frac{1}{4}$ bush. potatoes — $3\frac{1}{2}$ shocks of corn & 20 sheaves wheat! this we 3 have to live on for 12 mos. unless we leave our mission for a time and go out to labor for our bread stuffs for the year.

My step son, as you perceive from the enclosed, likes this place and wishes to have his wife and family with him, but so great is the desire of this people to “fort up” & thus keep counsel, or their selfishness to secure abundance of land (?) that there is no house allotted to him as yet in the fort. What shall he do? or what is to be done for him? The foundation of the fort is mostly laid & the adobie work Commenced: I have made 7000 adobies since we returned from the valley. We all enjoy good health & continue to pray that Heaven’s best blessings may rest upon you & the faithful. When may we expect “Farming implements” to carry forth among the Indians?

I remain,
Dear, Sir,
Yours in the everlasting covt.
Thos D. Brown.

The Following was extracted from D. Lewis Journal and amended to his dictation. Not very neatly done & finally much curtailed.

No. 2

Southern Indian Mission
(only Extracts sent to)
Brigham Young.

Washington County, Utah Ty.
Harmony 9 Novr. 1854

President Brigham Young.

Dear Sir,

Shortly after my return from G.S.L. City to this place. Eight

November 1854

of the Missionaries under the direction of Brors D. Lewis & S.F. Atwood returned from an interesting trip of 300 miles among the Paiede Indians living east and south east of this place.

This journey was recommended by Rufus C. Allen before he left for your city and was a consequence of requests by different Indians from that region of country: I now extract from Elder D. Lewis' Journal:

"4th trip On Monday 23 Octr. at 9 a.m. I, S.F. Atwood, J. Hamblin, A.P. Hardy I. Hatch, C.Ames & H. Burges of this mission, also P. Shirts & two Indian interpreters — Dick or Queets and Naguts (mountain sheep) started Southward intending to surround a district of country from the head waters of the Rio Virgin & the Sevier, thence east & north ward to the Fish Lake near Parowan, thence to return to this place. We travelled from this to Chief Toker's old Wickeup and crossed the Rio Virgin 20 miles south from this. We then took off in a So. east direction ascending a steep hill, then after travelling on a level for $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, we ascended a second mountain very steep and rocky, this was topped by a few rods of level land, then we ascended a third mountain up all of which we had to lead our horses, and after travelling 3 miles we found ourselves at the foot of a mountain higher by some thousand feet than the elevated land we now occupied. Directing our course a little southward 3 miles we came to a small stream of water & nooned; thence travelling 10 miles due east & 2 south by a spring near the base of the mountain we camped. The Perpendicular mountains on the north & the lower ones on the south between which we passed the day are most beautiful — lofty turrets; temple spires; elevated ramparts; forts inaccessible; bastions & outworks impregnable! I regretted that my daguerrotype apparatus was not by, that you might behold the likeness of nature's grandeur in this Southern land, the valleys are covered with good grass — & the land fertile but water scarce — pinion pines and scrubby cedar abound — upon the nuts of the former the indians at present chiefly Subsist. We ate them & thought them good; the indians willingly exchanged these with us for an equal measure of flour. Rain and snow fell this evening —

Our third days journey of 20 miles was in a similar course only the mountains on our right declines — these are the boundaries of Rio Virgin head waters — & finally on our right southward

the landscape opened out to an extensive plain, the tops of our mountain seem far off in the south. The lofty mountains on our left divide the head waters of the Rio Virgin from those of the Sevier, travelling this day sandy, but grass good.

We travelled 20 miles on the fourth over a similar soil — grass good but no water, our course S.E. by E. We encamped on a good spring; from this the Indians had fled on seeing us, we sent out one of our interpreters — Dick to hunt them up and bring them in, after sundown we went out to look after our horses, & perceived one approaching, apparently actuated by fear, we encouraged him to approach & he found our other interpreter Naguts, his brother; finding that we were friends he went out & brought in other 7 indians.

On the morning following another indian and one squaw joined us: some of our younger brethren had rolled a few rocks down one of the neighboring mountains & Naguts came up to me whispering as if afraid to disturb the dead, that all of their squaws & many of the indians had died lately, & up there among the rocks they had hid them. The disease from their description must have been vomiting and the bloody flux, only one squaw left among so many men! There was a heavy frost last night. This day we went 10 miles a little N. of east, we found a little water and camped. The indians had left us in the morning to hunt up some more, promising to return and on Saty morning our 6th day out — weather fine, Naguts who had tarried with his friends at our last camping place came up with four more indians. We travelled 10 miles N.E. & came to a little water standing in a ravine, and there we camped.

On *Sunday 29 Octr.* our 7th day out, Bror Lewis being sick we stopped 2 o'clock (morning fine but cool) we started & travelled 15 miles N.E. after sundown, we found a little water standing in a hole & camped. And on Monday 30th coming nearer the North end of Buckskin Mountains we travelled 15 miles mostly among cedars having many red mountains on our left about 15 miles off. We found some water by digging in a ravine after we camped. I, J. Hamblin & P. Shirts with our 2 indian interpreters went about 5 miles to a mountain the indians call Panacre i.e. iron, & brought back some specimens, 2 of which have been sent to the Editor of the news — the one seems principally lead ore the other perhaps

November 1854

contains antimony, quicksilver & lead, others think they contain probably nickel or silver, manganese & other fused metals — your city chemists perhaps have the means of testing them?

Amongst these mountains we also saw many specimens of fine earthenware well glazed on both sides, body red beautifully painted in black & white in various figures — squares, angles and circles, here at some former period must have been a busy population & the external appearance of these fused metals indicated rather the remains of some extensive metal works than a portion of metallic strata that no doubt lies beneath the surface undisturbed. Could so large a population as these appearances indicate remain here without water? No. What changes then have occurred in these places? — here also we found large specimens of petrified wood, almost entire trees as hard as stone, and fine specimens of green paint — & beautiful red, which in my opinion contains much quicksilver. We were here also near the large rocks of fine salt — and beautiful marble of light green dark & transparent, specimens of which they brought us.

From this point we meant to have visited the Upper Colorado lying S.E. of the Buckskin mountains — near which the Moquis tribe live, but having to feed our indians and others, our provisions would not hold out — they informed us that many of the Moquis had died — they wished us to go over & see them — they said they were very friendly to strangers — had plenty of sheep & would feed us well — they made blankets — and grew Corn, beans pumpkins & squashes; had plenty of horses but no guns — We were but one step off & the water was up to our armpits — we were now only about 110 miles from Parowan. — On Tuesday our ninth day out we travelled 20 miles in a N.W. course for the Pangwitch or Fish Lake, our indians having discovered some fresh foot-marks of Indians coming towards us that had turned & from the longer steps had run backwards went out to hunt them, after travelling many miles overtook them — they came & piloted us to their wick-eups (here were 9 indians, 5 squaws, 1 boy) — where we found water & plenty of grass — this day we found a beautiful mineral gravel mostly round & polished of all sizes mostly of marble size. Some of our lead workers say this is always near lead mines.

From *Wedy 1* to *Friday 3rd Novr.* we travelled N.W. over a rough and mountainous country. We first crossed Albatpa or

great water — one branch, of the Sevier, then 8 miles further on we came to another branch, the Paguimp or west fork the former about 2 rods wide & 2 ft. deep the other a little narrower, — here was the finest specimen of tall pines in great abundance I ever saw that at some period may be floated down & the quantity inexhaustible. 2 of the Indians we saw the day before came to us with Venison to trade for powder & lead. We arrived at Fish Lake & 25 miles onward, after passing over some snow covered mountains arrived at Parowan.

Our instructions to those Indians were different from those given to them on the Santa Clara, the latter were busily employed cultivating the soil and were content only requiring some farming tools & instructions on the use of them, & some winter houses to make them for the present happier and still more content; those on this new route know nothing of work & could not cultivate land profitably water being scarce. We counselled them to gather into settlements — learn to work — get good clothing and better food.

When Bror Lewis arrived at Cedar City he addressed the Saints there and told them from our knowledge of the different and peculiar habits of the indians it would be pardonable if he should talk to them of their duties as local missionaries. "We cannot employ these indians entirely ourselves we hunt & fish them out from the holes & caves of the earth, though they are the descendants of royal fathers through their disobedience they have become degraded but their fathers obtained blessings for them & now witness with joy the debt paid — the keys turned — the door of their father's kingdom opened for their admission. Shall we then treat them worse than our pigs are treated? or shall we bear with their ignorance — be patient & teach them? Shall we fare sumptuously & throw them our scraps? I would advise that you employ them — feed them well and at the end of a week or so give them one of those shirts which the Sisters of the various wards in and around the city made & now lying among you to warm them cheer them on to future diligence. These without your employing them may lie on the shelves & the Indian remain cold. Cease playing with them — wrestling — fighting & threatening them with instruments of death — and what you will do when your walls are built; no good Saint would ever circulate among them — that we meant to kill the older men & save the squaws and children!

November 1854

Can you tell the effects or results of such rumors among them? Are the heavens pleased? Do their fathers approbate such a course? No, we do not mean to regulate the churches in this southern region. You can judge the spirit by which these sentiments are dictated, but when we see a wrong — or a course of conduct that would be injurious to this mission & to the remnants of Israel, we shall speak of it for future good. Be not then stingy in feeding the indians — oppressive in their labor or penurious in their hire — & finally deceive them not in your trading with them. who among you could take from them a pair of good boots for an old kitchen knife?"

Extracts from the above and our second trip, among the Santa Clara Pahutes, have been sent to Prest. B. Young.

Sunday 26 Novr. Met in Bishop Davis' Elder T.D. Brown being called upon gave an outline of Prest. B. Young & O. Hyde's teachings at the October Conference, followed by E. H. Groves. In the evening the missionaries held their meeting at I. [Isaac] Riddle's. Many of the sisters were present. The testimonies, teaching flow of the good spirit were sensibly manifest.

Monday 27 Novr. to Friday 1st Decr. Hauling 7480 adobies, left on the field 2520. Mostly engaged building the outer wall of the fort.

On Wedy, 29 Novr. Seventies met. Spirits dull & sleepy. On the following evening the military met Major Lee presiding, when C. W. Dalton was chosen Captain in place of Robt. Thomas gone to Provo. The 1st Lieut. was over-ridden by this choice viz. A.G. Ingram & he felt bad, Jno. R. Davies was selected 2nd Lieut. in place of C.W. Dalton.

Snow on the mountains on the *2nd December*, first time this year, damp this morning but not cold.

Saty 2nd Decr. Hauled six loads of sand, shocked & brought home a little corn & wheat. Fort being built continuing to snow on the mountains — clouds lowering.

Sunday 3rd Decr. Much rain during the night & this morning sold this mud walled wickeup to Peter Shirts who wished to put up the abundance of his corn & squash in it perceiving that I must go out if the squash were put in, & that to dig another mud hole covering it with brush & mud would cost about as much labor, besides the exposure, I agreed to pay Peter Shirts \$10 for this hovel, though I had declined buying from Bror Nelson, in consequence of Prest. Lee's instructions that we should not purchased from any leaving this settlement without counsel or permission. This day I wrote some of this Record, & walked out some. Also wrote a portion of Henry Barney's journal, & in the evening went to meeting, sat in much pain hearing J.D. Lee hammering whaling or lampooning some unknown person, telling a dream about some one cutting his hair short & what woes would befall him, who should interfere with the head — "wither — wilt and be dammed"! It came out that some of the building committee had interfered to prevent Bror Lee putting his rotten adobies, rubbish in the centre of the outside wall, which should be 40 inches of solid adobies; instead of which he put 1 course of adobies 10 in. outside & inside and filled up the centre 20 in. with rotten adobies, not so good as damp clay would have been, this was the "interfering with the head." This committee was appointed by the people to see that this Fort was built as required by Prest. B. Young's plan. Bror Atwood requested that the Building Committee be released from their duties & responsibilities as a building Committee, as bror Lee had said this Committee had exceeded their bounds. J.D. Lee said he had appointed Lorenzo Roundy — the bos-workman & reserved to himself the right of being his counsellor and if said Roundy did not interfere — the building Committee had no right. Bro Atwood then wanted to know what the duties of the Building Committee were? This was not satisfactorily answered, but the Committee were still to be a Committee, they were to do as they were told & the responsibility should not rest upon them, he was appointed to build this Fort and he only was responsible.

W. Young was reproved for asking the Bishop to stand up in his place and do his duty, he being one of the Bishop's Counselors, wished him to magnify his office & not be the tool of any party.

Such a meeting! government so absolute, power so despotic

December 1854

I have not witnessed in the kingdom of God. How long will this people endure, to be suffered to [be] humbugged?

Monday 4th Decr. Hauling sand & shocking corn.

Tuesday 5. Very cold, North wind.

Wednesday 6. Writing in the Record to day. John Sherratt went up to Cedar City for some potatoes. A.P. Hardy returned from Santa Clara with Hy Burges, bringing a note from R.C. Allen, to which the Recorder replies as follows:

- 1 "Your note I have seen, & its contents I ween,
Are pleasing to God & to man,
Ten days have been cold, as the winters of old
Yet some have been hauling their sand.
- 2 If the weather prove fine, in very good time
We resume on the Fort 'gain to morrow,
But if Boreas cold, from the north again Scold
We'll come down south. without any sorrow
- 3 The Building Committee, Oh dear what a pity!
Have now got nothing to do,
But as chief bos Lorenzo, & Lee for his ends, oh!
Still chieffer — doth lead — they pursue!

To R.C. Allen

Thos. D. Brown

In the evening the Seventies again met, and a good time we had. By permission, W. Young, the Bishop's Counsellor, laid his grievances before his brethren the Seventies. Spoke of the visions, dreams, whipping and oppression of certain men, advised us not to dislike any brother against whom such influence might be used. We agreed unitedly to ask the Lord for better weather, that we might progress with the Fort, and

Thursday 7th Decr. Opened a fine mild morning. We learn that Sanpitch, Bror to Walker went to the Santa Clara & tried to persuade Tatsagobits & the Pahutes there not to have the missionaries among them & certainly not suffer them to build there, & live

among them, unless we paid them oxen, horses &c. and he asserted the land was not theirs but Walkers! Bro. Allen asked Tatsegobits if they should quit building & go home, or continue & help them to farm — teach them and live among them, after thinking a little he said go on I want you to live among us and help us.

Friday 8th Decr. Laying the rock foundation of my house in Fort, very cold North wind. A.P. Hardy & H. Burges returned to the Santa Clara with some more flour &c.

Saty 9. Still cold North wind. Writing in house.

Sunday 10. Llewellyn Harris struck Joseph the Indian living at Patriarch Groves with the barrel of his gun and cut him on the Forehead. L. Harris put in chains to await the result. J.D. Lee gone to Cedar City to a Ball. No meeting this morning — a good spirit prevailed at the evening meeting. I had great liberty of speech showing the results of evil ones & their power, and the spirit of opposition to righteousness from the beginning.

Monday 11th. A failure of water in the ditch from frost till noon, those who have no dishes have to be without water one half the day. $\frac{1}{2}$ this day at rock foundation of my house.

Tuesday 12th. Had a letter from my Father yesterday. I learn that my wife and children lack flour, & my mother still sick. Father employed teaching in the 19 Ward school. Sanpitch returns from the Santa Clara with 3 children which he had traded for, of him Bror Allen writes favorably & of his trade. He gave a few quarts of beeds for one papouse — a horse for another, & a gun for a third. At my own & B. Knell's foundation building rock in fort. Indian Joseph recovering & out to day. Llewellyn still in chains.

Wednesday 13. Was a part of this day engaged laying rock for Lorenzo Roundy's house. John & David hauling rock for ours. Still fine weather, no wind cold.

Thursday 14 Decr. Bror Lee having returned we were called early to decide on L. Harris' offence. Many Indians present. It was agreed that L. Harris receive 25 lashes for hurting Indian Joseph, & 5 more for whipping an Indian boy Lemuel. Jas Powell

December 1854

was appointed to whip him, this satisfied the Indians and the chains were taken off — they are mostly gone to see the whipping.⁹⁹ I have been much troubled by headache for a few days past, it cannot be from surfeiting, for we fast more than I choose, yet I shall try abstinence & prayer for a cure.

Friday 15 Decr. 1854. I was born in Stewarton, Ayr. Scotland 47 years ago this day, viz. on 16 Decr. 1807. I this day worked on the fort building with my Brethren.

On My Birthday

- 1 "Near two thirds of my race is run;
And yet how little have I done:
Of good, alas! alas! how little!
And yet the thread of life how brittle!
- 2 "The days of man are but a span,
And swifter fly than weaver's shuttle"
Yet work & eating is the plan
And "Self" keeps most men in a bustle.
- 3 What have I seen? On! tale to tell,
The child of heaven! — the child of hell! —
The one, 'tis true, the proud man's scorn
At toil, despised; in poverty, forlorn.
- 4 The other selfish, overbearing, rich,
Deceitful, cunning — ill bread bitch
Or rabid dog, "avoid him!" Cry,
Thro' love of money, some for him would die.
- 5 I've seen the hypocrite in priestly robe
The king a tyrant & the "Saint" a rogue
A Saint, a Sinner! and a fool a King
The miser poor, of such no more I'll sing.
- 6 Women for wine, and men for women crave,
Mean men tyrants, noble man a slave,
Nor this the Negro always — cursed seed of Cain,

⁹⁹ This attempt to placate the Indians by whipping a white man says much for their need to keep peace with the natives.

- The white dependent oft oppressed — in pain.
- 7 I've also seen the honest poor erect
Reprove the Knave — the Tyrant — with effect,
Bold as a lion, stand for Truth and right
And trembling cowards quell before their might.
- 8 The ignorant boaster, surely all despise,
Intruder! Vulgar, self conceited & unwise.
Rich by trading — cheating, proud of purse,
Deceiver! lustful, ignorant & worse.
- 9 I've seen the sons of men in Error's chains fast bound
And Truth rejected whispering from the ground
Religious men, to man's religion cling
Despising Truth, revealed by Heaven's King.
- 10 But many honest hearted have obeyed this Truth
I tried to know & serve my God in Youth,
Light came! — a Kingdom — officers & laws,
Thro' Joseph — Jesus — Saviors. — Noble cause.
- 11 A Saint I am, or try to be indeed,
Of heavenly parentage, of noble seed,
What is my destiny? A martyr's crown?
If so, oh God, Amen, says Thomas Brown.

Saturday 16th Decr. Again laying adobies on Bror Young & the Bishop's corner. Bror Allen & Burges returned from Santa Clara Missionaries met this evening had a pleasant time. Bror Allen told us they had built one house for the misionaries & one for the Indians on the Santa Clara, others of the Indians want houses and are willing to labor on them.

Sunday 17th. I have severe headache and being sick did not go to meeting. Wrote a portion of Hy Barney's Journal & this Record. I again resolved to quit smoking because it does me harm. I tremble all over as if my nerves were let loose, & my head shakes often as if I had palsy. Tobacco I believe is the cause.

Monday 18. Cold North wind. No work outside, writing.

Tuesday 19. Most of the hands at work on the Fort.

December 1854

Wednesday 20. Shortest day, yet here mild & no snow, Amos G. Thornton & Prime Colman returned from visiting their relations north. A good meeting of the 70. this evening.

Thursday 21. David and John hauling Firewood. I writing & most of the hands at work on this Fort. David Lewis here from Parowan, he says he has tried to get all the Indians to work at Parowan, they won't work for food only; he has tried to get shanties inside their Fort at Parowan but the authorities were opposed to it.

Friday 22nd Decr. Cold North wind. Still at work on the fort.

[Letter written on above date.]

Southern Indian Mission
Washington County
Harmony 22nd Dec., 1854

President Brigham Young.

Dear Sir,

This should be our second report of monthly sales of Indian clothing: but we have sold none & there is no report.

Perhaps it would be well to examine some of the causes in this "dull trade." The few that have been steady and regularly employed in the settlements have been clothed, those that still prefer an outside & offish course (with or without a cause?) are fully engaged hunting our Small game — rabbits for their food. And the many almost naked we find on the Santa Clara & surrounding country have nothing to give in return for this clothing, at present, but they are very willing to work, and perhaps the days are not far distant when they will be taught & capable of producing more than they need to consume.

Brors Allen & Burges have just returned from the Santa Clara where they and Brors Hamblin, Hardy & Haskell have been residing & laboring with the Indians during the past month. There they have built one log cabin for the missionaries, and one for the

chief & his friends. Others of them, have requested to have this increase of confort — houses, as soon as we can.

The Brethren cut the logs and the Indians carried them, they manifested their willingness to aid us, we in return cut their logs and showed them how to put them up.

While Prest. Allen and the brethren were preparing these logs, Sanpete or Sanpitch, one of Walker's brothers arrived, and the following interesting dialogue occurred. With an air of authority he demanded why we built there? The Pahutes did not want us. Bror Allen replied, "because we had been among the Pahutes for some months, and were sent by the Big Captain to live among them and teach them to build, plant & grow plenty of good food, and they were willing we should do so." "How many oxen, horses &c. are you going to give them for the land?" "We have not given them any neither do we mean to, but shall teach them how to obtain & raise them" "This land does not belong to the Pahutes, it belongs to Walker." "This land belongs to the Pahutes they have lived on it for ages, & the Big Captain wishes us to teach them how to use it." — "But the Mormons have shot some of the Indians." — "Many of the Indians have been mean and stolen many cattle & have shot the Mormons also" — "When the Snakes fought and killed the Utahs at Provo, the Mormons stood neutral and did not help us." "Perhaps this was because Squash head & others had acted meanly and were very saucy." During this conversation many more Indians had arrived and manifested much interest in it, Seeming pleased when the missionaries spoke, but hung down their heads when the Ute spoke. At length Bror Allen addressing the chief Pahute there Tatsagovats, said "Do you & the Pahutes wish us to live among you, build houses and teach you to make food, or shall we quit & leave you"? He hesitated for a time, and then replied "Go on and make houses, live among us & teach us to make food & get clothing — we have been a long time naked and often hunger & you are our friends." All the Pahutes approved — "toy" — it's all right, go ahead. Sanpete then put his finger to his forehead, & said, "I am not wise, I do not know much — it's all right" and from that hour he encouraged us and them. He came to trade for some children peaceably, here he gave a horse for a girl about eleven years old, the parents were reluctant to trade, but their chief prevailed & procured this trade for him; he then

December 1854

sent an indian off West, with 2 guns, ammunition and beads — In six days this Indian returned with 2 children — a boy and girl 6 and 7 years of age. For the one he paid a gun, for the other "Shontz of beads" that is "very many" or a few quarts, and to this Indian he gave a gun for his Commission. Walker, we learn, has now about 10 of these little ones at Parowan, we try to persuade him to sell them to the Mormons — he says they give to little for them. For a young Indian the Spanish and Mexicans will pay \$300 to \$500, we are told, & there they labor as Negroes do in the states.

I remain, Dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,
Thos. D. Brown Recorder.

P.S. — I am requested to say Brors E. Eldridge and Wm. Henderfer left this on 28 June last and have not returned & we purpose starting in a few days again to leave a detachment on the Santa Clara in place of the 3 now there & some will accompany Bror Allen to the Muddy. Some of the chiefs from there said the Indians wished us to come among them. The Walls of the Fort at Harmony are up about 6 feet all round. The majority of the missionaries help here daily & in rotation relieve those that are out.

Saty 23. Started for Coal Creek with John Sherratt, D. Tullis & H. Barney.

Sunday 24 *Decr.* Christmas of England! where art thou in the new world? Brors Allen, Smith and Steel taught.

Monday 25 *Decr.* The dates were all wrong in this Record from 22 *Octr.* till this day & I have had to alter them. Public Police party in Cedar City, all the missionaries there.

Tuesday 26th. The Seventies party. Brors W.W. Willis & T.D. Brown presiding. A business meeting at 2½ o'clock, when T.D. Brown proposed that the Seventies of this southern country be sent out two by two to teach, testify and exhort at Parowan, Johnson's Fort, Cedar City & Harmony. This was agreed to, J.C.L.

Smith approving. Dancing at 6 p.m. good spirit & good order. Brors Stratton & Gibbons managing the Ball.

Wedy 27. In Deseret Iron Coy's store assisting C. Arthur. Missionaries boys returned home, the following have been kind to us strangers, Brors. Pugmire, Bosnel, Walker, McMurdie, P. Fife, R. Wylie & others they have fed & lodged us.

Thursday 28th. In Iron Coy's office Calculatting Interest on stock of shareholders, and assisting in trading with the Indians the latter seemed partial to the missionaries & now begin to see they are their friends.

Friday 29th. Ch. Arthur junr.⁶⁰ preparing to go to Gt. St. Lake City with a Coy. asked me to take his place for a month. I wrote to Prest. Allen for his permission: Indians shot a heifer at Harmony Missionaries after them.

Saturday 30th. In Office. Called at noon by I.C. Haight to witness a marriage. Ann Chatterly to John McFarlane, and at 6 o'clock p.m., Caroline Haight married to Chrstr. Arthur junr, all by Elder Haight & to me unexpected. After all these and more friends spent the evening agreeably at Bror Haight's, and after midnight the following started for Great St. Lake City accompanying the above. Wm. Stewart, Mary Ann Collett, W.W. Willis, Jos. Clews, Barbara Morris & Mary Ann Whittaker, the latter only as far as Parowan.

Sunday 31 Decr. Ira Allen & Sam White having returned from the Muddy with Iron — the former spoke followed by T.D. Brown on Family Relationship — on God and the Salvation of the Lamanites.

Monday 1st January 1855. I had many of the Indians with me in store this day. Waiting a feast they were to have, after the Saints

⁶⁰ This is Christopher Jones Arthur, whose father, Christopher Arthur, had been sent south to take charge of the Iron Works, since he had worked in a similar situation in Wales.

Young C. J. Arthur promptly fell in love with Caroline, daughter of Isaac C. Haight, to whom he was soon married. For years he was clerk in the Iron Company Store and general recorder. His records and "Memoirs" are interesting additions to the history of Southern Utah. They are part of the collection made under the Later WPA Project, with copies at the Utah State Historical Society files.

January 1855

had feasted in the Tabernacle under Bishop Smith's direction, all the lame poor &c. were invited. The Brethren and sisters provided liberally — all of which all partook freely & left much to the Indians, then the young joined in the dance, rain this evening and snow on the mountains, heavy South wind for 24 hours. Fume of the coke at the Iron works almost suffocated Jno Humphries; recovered by semi-burying him, & letting him breath in the fresh turned up earth

Tuesday 2nd Jany. 1855. Snow on the ground, & drifting South wind continues. Young men's feast in School room Attended it.

Weddy 3rd. Very cold day, South & West wind.

Thursday 4th. Another cold day trading & conversing with the Indians. Went up to Iron Coy's new Furnace, to see the result of another casting — rather a failure.

Friday 5th. Very heavy fall of snow during the night. 10 in. deep and cold. Water froze up last night in creek, blast to the furnace stopped in consequence of the water wheel standing

Saturday 6th. Sunshine & cold. While we are thus engaged at Cedar City the missionaries at Harmony & the settlers there are warming their "Shins" and some of the youth seeking for more heat in companions, viz. Wives Betsey Williams to George Shirts & Margaret Haslam are married or betrothed to Darius Shirts, Brothers.

Sunday 7th. Sharp shooting in the meeting between Brors Haight, Pugmire & the Bishop P.K. Smith about the Still. The latter opposed to it.

Monday 8. At Coy's books & trading with the Indians.

Tuesday 9. At do & Distillery books

Wednesday 10 do do J. Sherratt arrived, wants to leave Harmony.

Thursday 11. do & at Iron Works — Missionaries up from Harmony.

Friday, 12. do Weather finer than during days past.

Saturday, 13. do John Sherratt appears to have left Harmony & his mission, he is released from the latter by letter of R.C. Allen and S. Atwood, from a misunderstanding of the language of his appointment. He is boiling salt for John Kay.

Sunday 14 Jany. Brors Savage & R. Wylie of the Seventies Spoke to the Saints this day. I spent the evening at Bror Jno. Hamilton's while there the mail & Cap Hooper's⁴¹ train from Gr. S. Lake arrived on way for California. Started from G.S.L. City on 3 Jany.

Monday 15 Jany. Busy delivering mail & papers. Evening attended Cap. Jno. Higbee's Military Ball.

Tuesday 16. Very cold frosty night. During all this cold weather, I slept in Jno. Pugmire's new house — very open — a Buffalo robe only under me, same & top coat over me — a bag of clothes for my pillow. Such is life in a new frontier wilderness country. They had plenty of good coal & a grateful, after the English fashion was always kindled when I lay down — if possible to warm the air a little. Thawed during the day.

Wedy 17 Jany. At meeting of the Seventies this evening and addressed them.

Thursday 18. John Sherratt gone to Harmony.

Friday 19. Wrote to Prest. B. Young of 3 dresses donated to 3 Indians by R.C. Allen viz. to Toker, Eyanqueets and Tooeplitz. Gave J. Sherratt a letter & much good instruction. He seems to take his own course, never comes near me, nor asks my advice in aught.

⁴¹ The Hooper train had made good time to cover the road in twelve days. William Henry Hooper had come to Utah a young man in the employ of Holliday and Warner, who opened one of the first stores in Salt Lake City. Hooper became a Mormon and married a Mormon girl, but he remained the husband of one wife, so never held an ecclesiastical position. He became affiliated with John Reese in business, and later with Thomas Williams. In the fall of 1855 he was made a member of the Territorial Legislature, and following the death of Almon W. Babbitt he was appointed Secretary of State for the Territory of Utah. (See Stanford Cazier, "The Life of William Henry Hooper, Merchant, Statesman," M. A. Thesis, University of Utah 1956.

January 1855

Saty 20. At Coy's Books as usual, and at mill with wheat to get flour.

Sunday 21. I. Hoffreins, Wm. Adams, Saml. Rogers & W. Burston & Ed Ward, Seventies from Parowan at Cedar City. Spoke to the Saints. Iac. Hoffreins slept with me.

Monday 22. At Books. W.C. Mitchell & family from Parowan at Cedar City visiting.

Tuesday 23. Bror Abraham Durfee having arrived from Gt. S. Lake City with a small stock of Goods. I bought $\frac{1}{3}$ lbs. Black tea for 65¢ cash. At I.C. Haight's to supper. Sent 70 lbs. flour to Harmony to David Tullis — had a long talk with the Parowan chief Cap. Canara "Ananoop" Joseph his baptismal name.

Wednesday 24 Jany. John Sherratt been at Parowan, at night a full meeting of the Seventies. Bror Curtis from Springville, a President, opened the meeting & a good spirit prevailed. G.S. Clarke, a High Priest followed on the celestial order of families. We had a good time.

Thursday 25 Jany. Jno Stoddard had ————— Kershaw given him to wife this day by Jno. Pugmire Senr., I was present. The first Iron this day from Trial Furnace of Iron Coy. was slightly rolled & squeezed on Pugmire's hearth, instead of being puddled it was wrought into a slightly malleable Iron rod, part of it sent to President Young & some nails made out of the balance. I have 2 in my purse made by Pugmire Senr.

Friday 26 Jany. Weather continues fine at Dist. Iron Coy's Books.

Saturday 27. do do do

Sunday 28. Prest. Pugmire cleaned the Tabernacle at Cedar City after plastering. Peter Shirts & C.W. Dalton of the Seventies from Harmony addressed us in the morning in the new school room, & R.C. Allen, I.C. Haight &c. in the Tabernacle in the afternoon, on the subject of grants of land &c. for the Indians & missionaries for Cedar City. The citizens voted a piece of their large field, a house

Journal of the Southern Indian Mission

for their missionaries in their city, cooking & washing free, much wheat, pork and farming implements, for the gifts & givers see my small book A.J. McConnell washing & A.J. Stratton a room & cooking. There were 28 Bush wheat given 3 Bush pease $\frac{1}{2}$ [Bush] corn, 16 potatoes 6 lbs soap, 10 lbs beef, 26 lbs pork, 9 lbs Butter: 5 spades, 7 hoes, 4 axes 2 picks & 1 tub.

I wrote a long letter for Peter M. Fife to his family in Edinburgh, on the gospel of Salavation. Address Mrs. Fife 22 William St. Edinburgh.

Monday 29 Jany. At Iron Coy's Books fine weather.

Tuesday 30th. do do at Works, chilling of the 2 Furnaces, and writing cards of invitation to the workers on the mill race, of Snow and Bosnell's mill. E. Snow's party. I.C. Haight his agent.

Thursday 1 Feby. At Coy's Books. Still fine weather.

Friday 2nd. Ball given this evening on E. Snow's account for the liberality of the brethren, cleaning mill tail race.

Brors Allen and Atwood arrived from Harmony on their way to Parowan. Also Clarke Ames & his wife, they are appointed to take charge of the Indian farming at Cedar City for a season. The Brass band from Parowan & many others arrived for the ball, some by invitation of Bror Bosnel. I.C. Haight for a time objected to their admission — hard feelings.

Saty 3rd Feby. Still fine weather. At Books of Iron Coy.

Sunday 4 Feby. Bror Jno Topham, junr. & Davenport from Parowan of the 70s spoke to the Saints of Cedar City, also Perry Liston who had just returned from Gt. St. Lake City, his relation of an interview with Prest. Young was generally interesting, more particularly to the Missionaries and to me, a crowded house in the evening, many spoke.

Monday 5th Feby. Still fine weather. Distillery going ahead. water wheel at Iron works renewed.

February 1855

Tuesday 6th. At Coy's Books. Weather fine till towards afternoon became cloudy & windy.

Wedy. 7 Feby. Wet during night, soil mellowed, & more fit for plowing.

Thursday 8th Feby. Good weather, Ch. Arthur returned. Party. 20.

Friday, 9. City Council Ball, order & peace.

Saturday, 10. Closing accounts in Coy's Books.

Sunday, 11. Col. Dame, Jas Lewis & I.C. Haight spoke to day.

Monday 12. I went to Parowan with them calling at Joel H. Johnson's at Parowan. I met David Lewis, he had arrived with a stock of Goods from Thomas Williams,⁶² to trade for Indian children, & some for Mr. Perry to trade for horses, attended the seventies meeting with W.W. Willis, spoke in favor of a Seventies Hall at Cedar City.

Tuesday 13th Feby. Returned from Parowan on foot with W.W. Willis, left my dog and gun Barrel with Wm. Mitchell Junr. to bring on. Bishop P.K. Smith and Prest. Jnon. Pugmire "locking horns."

Wednesday 14th Feby. In Office, straightening some accounts & writing letters. Annie Baugh & Jno. Humphries to be married.

Thursday 15th. All day in Jonathan Pugmire's, hearing the recit-

⁶² It is interesting to note that David Lewis is here trading goods for Thomas Williams for the purchase of Indian children, evidently for re-sale. Thomas Williams, through his early career and up to this time had been an ardent Mormon. As a member of the city police in Nauvoo and on the Mormon Battalion march he distinguished himself for bravery and resourcefulness. Later in San Francisco he contributed \$500 to the missionaries leaving for foreign lands. During the year 1851-1852 he contributed \$1,131.00 for the maintenance of the legislature. When President Young spoke against him for expecting to be reimbursed, he became bitter against the Church and as a lawyer defended men in claims against it. He left Utah in early 1857, but returned in 1858 after the brief "Mormon War."

On April 5, 1860, John D. Lee reported that "T. S. Williams & Jackman were killed by Indians at Bitter Springs below Las Vegas, more of his company wounded."

al by Sister P.K. Smith of her husbands⁶⁶ abuse, at Nauvoo, Sanpete & here. She was applying for council from I.C. Haight & Jnon. Pugmire.

Friday 16th. In Iron Coy's office, finishing my engagement in C. Arthur's place, wages allowed \$2.50 per day, or 50¢ more than their Common laborers! they allow mechanics \$3.00 & masons \$4.00 per day. A Book-keeper's experience & intelligence of less value here, than the bone and sinew. C. Arthur offered voluntarily to make up out of his salary a sufficient amount to remunerate me for my services. I paid Jnon. Pugmire for my board. He was liberal with me, as also were Jos. Walker's family, Jas Bosnel's, Jehiel McConnell's &c. They did my washing &c. free. So also were P. M. Fife's family & Jno. Hamilton's, ministering to my necessities.

Saty 17 Feby. Having received a message and note from Prest. Allen, I returned to Harmony in company of Dd. Lewis, had a meeting of the missionaries, a little feelings on account of our absence were soon allayed.

Sunday 18th Feby. Attended meeting at Harmony. Brors D. Lewis⁶⁷ and T.D. Brown spoke also R.C. Allen, Lee shortly. In the afternoon the missionaries met again, memorable. Meantime Bror J.C.L. Smith, Steel and Pendleton had arrived & were addressing the people. After lengthy remarks and explanations, Prest. Allen put to the meeting a vote of confidence in favor of Dd. Lewis, T.D. Brown and himself. After this all felt better & mutual recrimination ceased.

Monday 19th Feby. Returned to Cedar City with Dd. Tullis for

⁶⁶ P. K. Smith is Philip Klingonsmith, at this time bishop of Cedar City, and later the first man to turn state's evidence and tell the story of the massacre at Mountains Meadows. He was born 3 April 1815 in Pennsylvania, of German descent. His wife Hannah Henry Creemer had been married to him since 1841 and had now five or six children. On May 30, 1854, her husband had married his first plural wife, Betsy Cattle, of England. Her first child would be born about a month after this complaint. He would take a second plural wife, Margaret Alicer (later spelled Elliker), a girl from Switzerland.

Hannah bore him 14 children, Betsy 5, Margaret 4. [See Appendix VII]

⁶⁷ There is a strange omission here. Brown neglected to record the death of Chief Walker, who has figured so prominently in all the doings of this Southern area. On January 28 just previous, David Lewis wrote full details in to Salt Lake City. [See Appendix VIII]

February 1855

grist from mill, Bedding &c. Dd. Lewis and A.P. Hardy in company. A private meeting of the High Council in Prest. Pugmire's on P.K. Smith's Family affairs. At 9 o'clock, moon 3rd day old, and till next morning only about 2 inches fell.

Tuesday 20th Feby. Could not return to Harmony — strong south wind, very cold & showers of snow.

Wedy 21. Snow storm still continued. Started for Harmony, very cold — as we approached Harmony, after 5 hours exposure in an open waggon, the snow became deeper till it reached 12 to 18 inches, and inside the Fort much snow drifted.

Thursday 22nd. Snow still very deep, & continuing to fall. C. Ames our farming Missionary returned to his appointment at Cedar City. Engaged writing up this Record and arranging my house; found many of my luxuries gone! during my absence viz. Tea, sugar, coffee, dried apples, Leather, Lead, powder, caps. — 1 shirt certain & perhaps more — my clothes box opened, my best linen pants worn till worthless. I know who thus abused my confidence in them while I was absent, but will not here record it against them.

Friday 23rd Feby. Snow still falling this day up to the Knee. Writing all day in Journal. Wind from the South.

Saturday 24th. Snow melting rapidly this day. J. McConnel of the 70s from Cedar City, arrived on foot to preach to us. A mass meeting here this evening on business to choose Select men &c. for the organization of Washington County. The following were chosen.

Robert Richie	Justice of the peace.
C.W. Dalton	Constable
Peter Shirts	Road Commissioner
Wm. Young	Stray Pound Keeper
J.D. Lee	Fence Viewers
Rueben Carter	

Also a fence committee, and an allowance of land was given to Darius Shirts, he being lately married, & having no house. Some opposed increase of farming land, because water was scarce.

Sunday 25th Feby. A fine morning. Snow thawing rapidly. Jehiel McConnel addressed us, followed by T.D. Brown & J.D. Lee. Items: — obedience, confidence, returning in good order, on stealing and the day of separation — a good spirit indited & prevailed. T.D. Brown exhorted all to obedience of Presidents' orders right or wrong, telling all, when any one in authority took an unwise and unrighteous course, which instead of saving destroyed, such would be removed out of the way & known only on the records of the Church. "Let us individually do right:" Evening meeting. Bror Allen spoke on the duties of Parents to children & of children to Parents: Bror P. Shirts spoke of the disobedience of his sons, and of some one at Parowan, for teaching and estranging the affections of his children, then their disobedience began. Bror Lee, said when the children were disobedient there was some fault in the parent, T.D. Brown took up the subject and showed the obedience and submission of Isaac, in the selection of his wife by Abraham, also in his offering the sacrifice of himself, doing as his Father required him, his calmly lying down on the altar! &c.

Monday 26th Feby. Snow going off quickly. S.F. Atwood and A.P. Hardy started for Tornaquint with flour &c. for that station.

Tuesday 27th. Most of the Missionaries and settlers at Harmony out cutting pickets for fence to put round big field. I was very tired and sore wielding the axe all day, unaccustomed.

Wednesday 28th Feby. All out this day cutting pickets. 70s meeting. I was sick with toil, headache & lassitude, but after the meeting was opened I aroused up. and spoke at some length on the necessity of attending the 70s Conference at Cedar City, and advised all that could to go and take shares in the 70s Hall to be built there. Bror Allen being called, counselled them not to help in building this Hall. First, Because as missionaries we might be called off among the Indians and not have time. 2nd Because of the amount of public labor that devolved on us in helping to build Fort Harmony fencing, &c. the settlers too might have as much as they could do and perhaps a little more, at home. T.D. Brown

March 1855

then addressed them on "The duties of Parents and Children" counselling parents present to a wise & kind government of their families, & children to a like faith, submission and obedience as manifested by Isaac, Jacob and others, to begin and practice childlike submission.

Thursday 1 March. Out at picket cutting again during forepart of the day. Baking and cooking afternoon. Quite an alarm in fort, on account of two fearful brethren reporting Brown was cutting pickets too small! how easy it is to see our bro'r's mote & be blind to the beam in our own eye.

Friday 2nd. At picket cutting again.

Saturday 3rd March. Started for the 70s Conference at Cedar City in Company of Brors Allen, Barney and others from Harmony, For report see the Deseret News. Good will result from these meetings.

Sunday 4th. T.D. Brown preached to the host of 70s from Parowan, Harmony & Johnson's fort by request, the 70s & saints of Cedar City also were present, houses crowded — felt good, returned to Harmony.

Monday 5th March. Wrote a report of the Conference of the Seventies at Cedar City to Jos. Young, Senr. Prest. of the Seventies, also a letter to Prest. B. Young about 6 boxes of my goods left at Kaneshville, also a copy J. Hamblin's Journal on the Tornaquint to the Deseret News.

Tuesday 6 March. Plowing two horses with R. C. Allen all day. I wrote in the fore noon & grubbed all afternoon, most of the missionaries so employed at this time. Seventies meeting full, Prest. W.W. Willis from Cedar City. The brethren had a time of rejoicing and increase of intelligence.

Thursday 8th March. Dd. Tullis grubbing & I burning the willows, brush &c. R.C. Allen & other sowing wheat &c.

Friday 9th. In the forenoon Dd. and I went for Firewood. Afternoon Dd. and R.C. Allen plowing my land & I grubbing. Shower this afternoon.

Saturday 10th. Thunder and rain this morning, unable to work out of doors reading and writing, very cold & wet tho' it lightens much throughout the day, cold east & north winds — the March dust whose value was equal to gold in Scotland, when I was a boy, will soon follow.

“A peck o' March dust is worth a peck o' gold”.

Sunday 11th March. At meeting this morning. Prest. J.D. Lee related 2 or 3 more dreams, showing him that some 2 or 3 in this settlement were trying to pull him and Bror Allen down! Bror Allen arose and said he did not believe that any one was trying to pull him down— he was unwilling to believe it, there had been a small misunderstanding between him and Bror Brown, but this had been made right — he had been misinformed, and was satisfied to a demonstration that all was right in his Coy. This mellowed J.D. Lee's tone, but he said Time would show whether the Lord had spoken by him. Bror Groves had stated in opening the meeting, that when we were not near head quarters, our President was the channel through whom we should have the word of the Lord. Bror Lee said that some were writing to Brigham to carry out his dreams of putting down. When the choir was singing at the close of the meeting Bror Wm. Young, overcome by the power of the spirit & being unwilling to quench it, arose and spoke in a mellifluous unknown tongue, much resembling the Greek in its terminations — “on” &c. apoliston — episton — &c. and afterwards interpreted it: “Wake up oh my people, purify yourselves and prepare for coming events” for which interruption he was rebuked by J.D. Lee — “God's house is a house of order.” J. Hamblin still remains with us, and recovers from his sickness begun on Santa Clara, but slowly.

Monday 12 March. The former part of this day I was grubbing — the latter plowing, so are all the missionaries here, save A.P. Hardy & Thales Haskell now on a visit here from the Tornaquint. D. Tullis sewing at home.

⁶⁸ “Speaking in Tongues,” practiced during the early years of the church, is now forbidden. On several occasions earlier, Lee had rebuked people for this with the same statement that “God's house is a house of order,” where men can express their ideas most effectively in their own language. Though given to dreams and promptings himself, Lee objected to this manifestation in others.

March 1855

Tuesday 13th. Brors Lee & Allen are off to Parowan, where the Batallion boys are having feast & dance. We and others of the Mission engaged grubbing and plowing. Very cold wind this day.

Wedy 14th. We were engaged plowing — wind variable — cold when from the S.E. or N., A.P. Hardy & Thales Haskell had to relinquish the upper station on the Tornaquint, for a time, for want of Breadstuffs, they slept under a cedar a little east of mountain meadow, under the fall of heavy snow, and were two days on the road without food, We comforted them on their arrival with a share of such good things as we had, and they soon forgot their temporary suffering.

Thursday 15 March. S.F. Atwood gone to Gt. St. Lake City this day. Wind cold from N.W. weather generally milder, last night a Snow Shower & cold, wrote a Letter to the 35th. Quorum of Seventies, of which I am one of the Presidents.

Friday 16th. Plowing &c.

Saturday 17th. Dd. Tullis went to Cedar City for some of my wheat, most of the missionaries employed out of doors. Lyman Curtis joined this mission to day, apointed last Octr. Conference, wrought in Cedar City to procure an outfit. & John Sherratt withdrawn by Prest. B. Young. And by letter I.C. Haight is requested to find work for him.

Sunday 18th March. Brors Savage & Hopkins & Leigh from Cedar City spoke to us this day. After they had spoken of the good spirit they felt in our midst, & the great work we had accomplished in the building of our fort, J.D. Lee arose and spoke of the evils resulting from disunion, one asp in our midst did or would destroy all! (?) Tho' unpleasant, I here deem it necessary here to record a few facts, which I think under his Presidency militate against the harmony of Harmony —

Because a Building Committee set apart to superintend the erection of this Fort interfered with him for filling the middle of his Fort wall with rubbish, broken, rotten adobies, he dismissed the building committee as a building committee, appointed another man bos. and himself the head of all to do as he pleased & not be interfered with. He teaches that a President

has no need of Councillors, and practices it, for he has none; if he had, they might give their council, but he would take his own course. — As was his privilege. Farther, he has abundance of dreams, vision and revelations, from which he instructs, reproves & governs; telling most of them in public meetings, saying his position as leader of this people demands that he should have such close association with the heavens, but some of the people say that they know his most important revelations are those he overhears listening as an eavesdropper, he listened behind a fence to Brors P. Shirts & Wm. Young who were talking of his immeasurable selfishness, and he repeated it next meeting as having read it from a sheet let down from the heavens before his eyes, this cause much ill feeling among the brethren, for he was seen listening by a third party. Again, he overheard Wm. Young telling over his grievances in the 70s meeting & made a use of it in public. Saml Knights saw him a week ago listening outside to our 70's meeting, and not long since when Bror P. Shirts was praying in public — having been asked by Bror Lee, he asked the Lord to bless the Lamanites and restrain the Utah Chief Walker, and make him an instrument of good, for this Bror Lee chastened Bror Shirts severely by reproof. Again when another Bror was exhorting to meekness, humility, and against theft, Bror Lee followed and all but accused said brother of hypocrisy, blackness of heart & evil speaking, and said he himself would not hesitate to steal from the gentiles who had so often robbed the saints. This week we found out, that he himself in Novr. last wrote a letter to Prest. Young, extolling his own course with the Indians and accusing the missionaries of having deserted their posts, fled from the settlement, and others followed till there were only 12 families left. — When Bror Allen spoke to him of this he admitted writing the letter, but said he did not send it. Yet he accuses us of writing to Prest. Young against him! When the missionaries left to cut hay and wheat for their breadstuffs & were at Cedar City and Parowan, hearing the Indians were acting ugly at Harmony, Bror Allen took a posse & went down to Ash Creek had a long talk with Toker, and subdued the harsh unkind hostile feeling he had lately manifested, in consequence of the Utahs talking to him, he said the land was his and the Mormons must pay him oxen for it, and afterwards when the Utahs killed an ox, the Missionaries compelled the Utahs to pay for it by giving up a horse: and when Bror Lee told the Pahutes, they had a

March 1855

large debt to pay for stealing corn, squash &c. and talking this matter over they determined to fight with and for the Utahs rather than pay the penalty just talked of. — Bror Lee called out the settlers & missionaries with their arms, and after appearing so brave, when he came up he cowed down and bought their friendship by giving them 2 shirts. The missionaries objected to this, 1st to the threat, 2nd, to the cowardice.

Again, Bishop Davies & P. Shirts went to the Court at Parowan at his request to appoint Select men &c. as nominated by J.D. Lee. He had named 1 man for 2 offices and the Judge said it was illegal. The Bishop doing as he conceived for the best nominated P. Shirts, for the fourth man, and when he came home, and told President Lee — “he could neither be bound nor held” — rising up taking of his hat dashed it to the ground & threw a shoe on the floor, spoiling both, and cursing in his wrath. The Bishop rose to defend himself, expecting to ward off a blow, and asked him why he was so mad. Lee said “I am not mad but angry as was Moses with this people, I am always to be in hell & surrounded by Devils.” He has so offended the Bishop by this and reversing 2 decisions formerly, that he has refused to act except as custodier of the Tithing and accounts. Lee also charged Beddoe for 15 feet of the Fort wall \$125, which was afterwards reduced to \$75 by arbitration. Weekly there has been some difficulty between him and some of the settlers, his excessive greed, Selfishness, and jealousy, being the cause, many have left and will do. The officers respect his office as President, but they abhor tyranny & oppression. “he ties up his own hands and does not know it.”⁶⁶ At meeting this evening, few or none would speak.

Monday 19 March. Dd. Tullis not returned from Cedar City till late this evening. Missionaries at work in the field.

Tuesday 20th. All at work on fence or field, weather fine.

Wedy 21. I grubbed 1 acre, help by D. Tullis, others fencing. C. Ames and Jno Sherratt came from Cedar City. No 70's meeting only 2 came out.

⁶⁶ A summary of offenses justified and well put. It brings together definite justification for differences which are suggested often before.

Journal of the Southern Indian Mission

Thursday 22nd. C. Ames & J. Sherratt returned, mostly in the field. I was writing for Bror Allen to Prest. Young "Report Sale of Indian clothing."

Friday 23rd. All in field or at pickets.

Saty 24. Harrowing in 3 acres of wheat.

Sunday 25. Brors G. Bowering, Chas. & Elliot Wilding 70's from Cedar City, addressed us this day. Afternoon testifying meeting evening 70's meeting.

Monday 26. By error of M. Ensign my horses I let go to Cedar City to let Dd. Lewis get his own calf all in field.

Tuesday 27. Jacob Hamblin returned from Cedar City, having sent Thales Haskell, A.P. Hardy, C. Ames & L. Curtis to Santa Clara by California road. My cow calved. — I mending harness all day. The Indians assembled in fort to have a talk in good spirits, one of their number had shot I. Riddles colt.

Wedy. 28th. J. Hamblin & S. Knight started for the Santa Clara on horseback packing provisions: the others by the Californian road had a waggon, 1 yoke of oxen, flour, seed &c. All others at fence or in field.

Thursday 29 March. Most in field, at pickets or putting up fence.

Friday 30th March. In consequence of a charge against Peter Shirts for abusing his son Darius; charge laid by Wm. Young Bishop's Counsellor and the Bishop having gone to Gt. St. Lake to conference, a trial before the Seventies was counselled, T.D. Brown presiding: Lor. Roundy & J.R. Davies speaking as Counsellors: proved that P. Shirts had acted unkindly in passion to his son. The boys too being reproved for acts of disobedience.

Decision that P. Shirts, go to Darius' & confess to him before wife, & pray with & for him & himself, asking forgiveness: and give his sons, Darius and Carlos 10 acres of land each, reserving 18 acres for himself. That Darius work with & for him till harvest & he sustain him & his wife till then. All satisfied.

Saturday 31 March. A seasonable rain last night & this morning.

April 1855

Sunday 1st April. More or less rain last night, and a little to day. Some wheat sown 3 weeks ago up nicely. No morning meeting. Bror Lee at Cedar City. Bror Allen called the Missionaries together at 2 o'clock and a few of the settlers joined us. Brors Allen Groves & Brown spoke — a good spirit. At night the 70's met and Bror T.D. Brown read a Synopsis of Bm. Young's Lecture at the Octr. Conference 1854 — on the 8th, and copied in this Record, the brethren rejoiced much & spoke of some of the great principles contained therein. Bror A.S. Hadden's boy almost dead of Croup, but healed in answer to the prayer of faith and anointing with holy oil. Brors Allen, Hadden & Brown administered.

Monday 2nd April. At 3 a.m. Again Allen & Brown were aroused to minister again to this child, Croup returned, these Brethren with the Father & Hy. Barney, again administered in living faith & by the name of Jesus Christ again healed. A cold North wind, grubbing and fencing.

Tuesday 3rd Ap. Still very cold north wind in the morning. Mass meeting in the evening to provide for those whose garden patches have fallen into oak brush. I have got a small patch in Bror Lee's garden.

Wedy 4th. Still very cold North wind, all grubbing, plowing and pickets.

Thursday 5 Ap. Sowing 2 acres wheat, and harrowing in other named above. I hear Bror Lee was fighting with an Indian, and knocked him down in the field, report by Bror Blackburn of 2 oxen having been run off from R. Wylie's waggon between Parowan & Cedar City, he being weary unchained his oxen to feed & when he awoke, saw them being driven into a kanyon by an Indian. Pursued & recovered them.

Friday 6 Ap. This day the Saints in many places but more especially in Gt. St. Lake City meet in Conference, may the good spirit, intilligence and wisdom prevail and abound. Finished putting in 5 acres wheat in good order.

Saturday 7 April. Started to Parowan for seeds for self & others. Mother Willis and Sister Darius Shirts & other rode to Cedar City with me, & Jas. Bosnel to Parowan.

Journal of the Southern Indian Mission

Sunday 8th Ap. T.D. Brown spoke to the Saints in Parowan, dined with Bror Jno. Steel. J.C.L. Smith gone to Conference. slept at R. Bensons with Jas. Bosnel.

Monday 9 April. At Parowan I got seeds from Sisters West, Fayliss, Z. Judd, McGuffee, Haitt, Ellmere, Pendleton, Mittlell, Brors Bastion, Steel, Topham, Whitney, Dame, Hoffreins & many others 2 bags full.

Tuesday 10 Ap. Bror Bosnell having finished his nail making &c. I started for Cedar City, having Sister Mary Lee & child Miss Carter & him for passengers: Bror W. Willis having returned from Gt. St. Lake City, brot me a letter from my Father & a bag of seeds. Spent this evening among friends at Jno. Westerns.

Wedy 11 Ap. Heavy South wind, & I was sick did not go to Harmony. Had 3 Bush. wheat ground, got some seed from P.M. Fife.

Thursday 12 Ap. Rode to Harmony, having R.M. Dickson & Mary Lee with me. I bought 1 Gander & 2 Geese from Dr. Pendleton, & got them safe to Harmony.

Friday 13th. I worked in Garden planting, most at pickets & in the field, many Indians at work with us & being paid with food & clothes.

Saty 14th. Grubbing land in the field $\frac{3}{4}$ acre. Wrote a monthly advice to Prest. Young. Sale of Indian clothes.

Sunday 15th. Bror Allen spoke mostly at meeting this morning on union and the mission to the Lamanites, and on increased growth of wheat, corn &c. Many letters written by the recorder this day to relations & friends in Gt. Britain on the gospel & kingdom of God. F.D. Richards, Mrs. Chas. Thomson, Walter Johnson Liverpool: Francis Dunlap Scotland &c. See my letter book for copies.

Monday 16. Heavy rain falling, bad for men going out to milk cows! but the women shrink not from this duty. A good meeting of 70's last night. All spoke especially on not attending meeting & breaking the sabbath. An indian whom I had administered to &

April 1855

given a little mild medicine, was healed & attended meeting with his son & both slept on my floor all night.

Tuesday 17. Most out at pickets. I grubbing. Wind, South-east. Bror J. Hamblin arrived from the Santa Clara, with C. Ames & waggon for more food for that station, he reports all well there; the missionaries had put 6 acres wheat & oats in there, they mean to show the Indians how to put theirs in, to exchange labor with them, and not do all the work.

Wedy 18 Ap. Wind & sleet from the North very cold, all out working. J. Hamblin brings word that C.W. Dalton is called on an Indian Mission this last Conference, & above 100 more.

Thursday 19 Ap. Dd. Lewis & Company, returned from Buckskin Mountain near the Colorado, having gathered about 10 cwt. of manganese for black glaze for pottery ware, found some Hieroglyphics on a thin rock 18 by 12 inches — about 12 inches below the surface. I copied them & sent a copy to Prest. Young, see my letter book No —.

Friday 20 Ap. At grubbing, 5 ac. Hired two Indians 10 days to help me cut pickets &c — fine hot day.

Saty. 21 April. Bror R.C. Allen started again for Parowan, to solicit some aid for the missionaries on the Santa Clara, most that had donated freely of their dried Beef, ham, pork, molasses, cheese, butter &c. with some more seeds which will render the brethren on that station still more comfortable, he heard a report of Conference from J.C.L. Smith, who stated, "when Prest. Young said the day has come to turn the key of the gospel against the gentiles, and open it to the remnants of Israel, the people shouted, Amen, and the feeling was such that most present could realize, but few could describe." I agreed to give 2 Indians shutcup & 2 shirts to help me cut pickets & put up fence for 10 days.

Sunday 22 Ap. Brors P.M. Fife & Robt. Kershaw, two of the 70's from Cedar City occupied the time, followed by Bishop Davies, who gave us the details of doings at Conference and confirmed the above, he also read a circular from Prest. Young on the P.E. Fund, calling upon all indebted to hasten their payments, that the

oppressed might be gathered. The Bishop also occupied the afternoon.

Monday & Tuesday 23 & 24. Cutting pickets with 2 Indians

Weddy 25 Ap. R.C. Allen returned from Parowan, 2 Indians cutting pickets I hunting horses to haul them.

Thursday 26 Ap. Hauling pickets. The settlers having found out that the fence line had been improperly surveyed round the big field by P. Shirts; held a meeting and agreed to re-survey it & allot it equally as surveyed by W. Dame. P. Shirts acknowledged that he had made an error of 20 rods on his own, but the Bishop and others discovered that upwards 80 rods too little he had allotted to himself. This evening Brors Roundy, Richey & Allen met to consider, what was to be done with my house & lots of land. Dd. Tullis claimed the half of all, & I had drawn the Fort lot & land in my own, promising to Dd. Tullis & John Sherratt, one third each, if they continued to "act in Concert with me" as Prest. B. Young had counselled. After making 17000 adobies together John Sherratt went back to Gt. St. Lake City, & David Tullis went to work for himself, cutting pickets for Blackburn, &c. and I continued to board & lodge him to 1st June next from 9 Octr. last 33 3/7 weeks.

Tullis claims his own third & the half of John Sherratt's tho' he had broken the conditions on which the one third was promised! The Brethren agreed that he had broken the counsel of Prest. B. Young, but as the third of two rooms was hard to be got at they thought he should have half. To this I object. First because the house and lots were and are mine legally. 2nd, because I promised D. Tullis only one third on certain conditions, these no being complied with I retain my property — the whole paying D. Tullis & J. Sherratt for their labor less their board account. 3rd, I shall need the whole by bringing a portion of my family here. 4th, I do not wish longer to have Dd. Tullis saddled on me, for he is dishonest. He uses my coffee, tea, sugar, powder, lead and dried apples as his own without permission, my boxes & personal clothing he opens & has used, without any apparent regard to my interest, feeling or rights; therefore I shall appeal this matter & have a righteous decision & separation.

Friday 27 Ap. S.J. Atwood returned from Gt. St. Lake City. I

April 1855

hauling pickets, 2 indians chopping them for me, and one digging the ditch for my fence.

Saty 28th. Employment same as yesterday. The mare that C.W. Dalton gave Lo. Roundy 14 head of stock for died! leaving a young colt.

Sunday 29th. Writing all day. Went to meeting evening. J.C.L. Smith gave us an account of Conference.

Monday 30th April. Putting up fence, 2 Indians helping.

Tuesday 1 May. Grand entire eclipse of the moon. Hardy & Hamblin arrived from Santa Clara.

Wedy 2. Hunting horses at old fort & writing.

Thursday 3. do do

Friday 4 do & hauling pickets, some plowing & putting in corn and potatoes.

Saty 5 May. Finished my 20 rods fence, & 6 rods more having surplus pickets, which I hold for sale.

Sunday 6 May. J.D. Lee being at Cedar City making lumber the Bishop presided. Brors Allen & Brown spoke, the former exhorting & showing some causes why many absented themselves from meeting, the latter in a similar strain excusing only the sick, & showing that in a house of prayer the body was rested and the spirit refreshed, & showing that we had much labor we ought not to loiter on our beds when we should worship together "The Lord does not wish us to destroy our bodies that we may live." In the afternoon we had various business on making & enlarging our ditches &c. And in the evening the 70's gave way to the Missionaries who had business Connected with the Indian farm at old fort. Agreed to Commence farther operations one week hence, 2 acres of wheat already in. J. Hamblin and D. Tullis sick.

Monday 7 May. In the morning completing my fence, then writing to my family, to England, & to Mr. Voorhis, Kanesville also to

Journal of the Southern Indian Mission

B.F. Johnson Petetnete on the unsettled account for goods he sold for me. Invoice \$239, no returns.

Tuesday 8 May All on water ditch.

Wedy 9th May. At Cedar City with & for mail, clothes, &c. saw new station Harrison.

Thursday 10. Aiding Bp. Davis with his tithing accounts & Books.

Friday 11. do do most now planting potatoes.

Saty 12. Plowing for putting in potatoes, oats & garden. At drill & voted for Capt'n. R. Keys to be advanced to Lieut Colonel.

Sunday 13 May. Writing my family letters. Bror Lee spoke well on various subjects, especially on the Consecration Law, followed by R.. Allen, S.F. Atwood returned from his trip to Metallic Mountain 15 miles N.W. of this. He had accompanied Peter Shirts and brought back 3 specimens, 1 much the appearance of a rich Iron ore, the other more brilliant as if mixed with silver or some bright substance resembling it; the third more like the spiral grown leafy appearance of some rich lead ores I have seen but of a darker color.

Monday 14 May. Hauled 2 loads of pickets for J.D. Lee, he promising to plow $\frac{1}{2}$ acre land for me.

Tuesday 15 May. Wrote 12 deeds of transfer from the saints of all they owned, they owned to the Trustee in Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of latter-day-saints.⁶⁷

Wedy 16 May. I planted potatoes $\frac{1}{2}$ of the day. The settlers & the missionaries out repairing the western ditch. I rode to Cedar City with Willis Young, bad road from irrigating ditches breaking out, tire 3rd off. Sisters B. Richey & Martha Lee with family,⁶⁸

⁶⁷ In every part of the Territory these deeds were made out, an identical form being used. Few, if any, actually did give their property to the Church; at least all their possessions were carefully listed. As a sample we use the deed by Richard Robinson, one of the younger missionaries to the Indians. [See Appendix IX]

⁶⁸ This was Martha Berry Lee, daughter of James Berry, evidently going north

May 1855

went in same waggon for Gt. St. Lake City. I slept at Jos. Walker's.

Thursday 17 May. Spent visiting among friends. Very windy.

Friday 18. do.

Saty 19 May. do. When I was about to start for Parowan, with Bror W. Willis, Bp. P.K. Smith returned from there, and told us 1st Presidency & suite had spent the previous evening there and would be in Cedar City by 1 o'clock. — Brors Jas. Simpkins & I.C. Haight purpose going into partnership in Cedar City as carders, spinners. I wrote to Cap. Allen of the President's expected arrival & the Bishop wrote to Bror J.D. Lee, as they did not purpose visiting Harmony this year. An express was despatched to Harmony. At 1 o'clock the President arrived at Cedar City. At 3.40 p.m. he reached the Iron works to inspect Furnace, Cupulo & coke ovens, also to witness their early operations — in casting, moulding &c. — he thought there was more scattering of the metal than was necessary. Asked whether a crane or railway would not be better, than carrying the melted metal by hand? The workman were more than usually excited, which no doubt caused more scattering. Prest. Young sat down on a log outside, conversing affably with many, & perceiving T.D. Brown outside the circle stretched out his hand, asking how he did? and of the farming, fencing & water at Harmony & of the crickets. How he liked the mission? Well, but sometimes felt dull especially when good Saints left to go north towards home. The Prest. then said — "Bror Brown you have worked well in mule harness, we shall soon put you in plated." Afterwards he asked T.D. Brown if his horses and carriage were in good condition, & said he would like him to go up with him now, and also in Octr. if he wished. I thanked him for the permission but felt more like going once more south among the Indians, and assist Bror Allen in his trip south with the new mission to the Los Vegas and in exploring the Colorado. Af-

to visit her people. Lee had married her in 1845 in Nauvoo. She now had two children: Harriet Josephine, aged five and William Orson aged three. She remained in the north for the birth of Thurza Jane on October 24 of this year.

In 1858 she left John D. Lee and was married to Dennis Dorrity as his third wife.

terwards, when I asked him of my Family affairs, he said, I might either bring my family, or take some additional,⁶⁶ he had confidence that I would do right, and blessed me in the name of the Lord.

After he left the works he went and fixed upon a location for a new city South of the works, on the bench land & out of the way of floods from the Coal Creek kanyon.

Sunday mornng. 20 May. J.M. Grant addressed the Saints nearly as follows.

Monday 11 January 1858. I have lost my M.S. Journal and hence cannot give the discourse of Prest. Grant as I anticipated, nor many of the details of the South Indian Mission from the above date to the period of my being called home, but I shall now give the more prominent points from memory:

On the 31st May, 1855, Prest. Rufus C. Allen, Thos D. Brown, Isaac Riddle, Thales Haskell, James Allred & Peter Shirts started for the Colorado, arriving at the Santa Clara station next day or *1 June*, we found the Indians there still increasing in knowledge of farming & very friendly with our brethren of the Mission there, viz. Brors Robert M. Dickson, Curtis &c. *Next day* we arrived at the Virgin (*2nd June*) we were all on horseback, & each had 50 lbs. of flour in a sack, and a blanket or Buffalo robe behind him, a knife & tin cup completed our equipment. Our mode of Kneading & baking being somewhite novel to me, I shall describe it, when we came to a camping place, we took off our sacks, made a hollow in the centre of the flour in the sack, put a cupful of water in it, knead it up till we could lift it up, then cutting about 15 inches square of Cotton wood bark from a tree, finished the Kneading therein, & spreading it out on the same pegged it down around the edges, and set this up near to the fire, till the cake was hard enough to stand alone, or with a small prop behind, till fully baked, meantime we proceeded as before to make another &c. Two

⁶⁶ That T. D. Brown should choose to remain in the south when he had permission to visit again in Salt Lake City would suggest that he had a special reason for doing so. With the statement that "I might either bring down my family, or take some additional" left him free now to court a girl if he cared to.

June 1855

days more brought us to the "Muddy," where we found a large body of Indians, they had heard of us & received us very warmly. They had heard of our baptising other Indians, and a day or two after our arrival they demanded baptism, and about the 8th June at 9 a.m. we commenced & by noon had baptized over 330 Indians, upwards of 500 were present, we rested an hour & then blessed them, better order I never saw in any assembly of white men of equal numbers. We took down their Indians names and the operator gave them a new name, either from the Bible, Book of Mormon or after some of the leaders in his Kingdom, or of the Mission. Peace and a good spirit prevailed, and we are all abundantly blessed.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Since Brown had lost his original note book, we shall fill in some details from the diary of George Washington Bean, one of the Las Vegas missionaries. From the diary:

31 May at Mountain Meadows "met A. P. Hardy going home from Santa Clara also Bob Gillespie & Hen Gates from Calif.

"June 1 . . . Joined Wesley Willis, Ez Curtis & others going with 2 4-horse teams out to the Muddy after iron."

(Typescript in hand of the writer.)

Transcribed later into the permanent record this read:

"Thursday, May 31 The Las Vegas missionaries camped in a beautiful valley, known as the Mountain Meadows. Here they met A. P. Hardy, one of the Santa Clara missionaries, also R. H. Gillespie and Henry Gates California with stolen horses." (Nevada State Historical Society Papers V. 5. P. 129)

From his Diary:

6th Wednesday (June, 1855)

Started at 7 am Had a very heavy sand hill to begin with. Most teams had to double. Pretty rough hill to go down two miles further where we struck the Rio Virgin. Very deep sand through the bottom and about the hottest weather I ever experienced. Travelled about 12 miles today. Crossed the Virgin six times Camped on salt grass bottom. A merchant train from Los Angeles camped just below us. The captain's name was Sanford had fifteen wagons, ten mules to each wagon. They sold us some coffee and sugar at fifty cts per lb. We traded a few eggs for coffee at the rate of 1 dozen for a lb of coffee . . .

"June 10 (at the Muddy) Met Capt Rufus Allen & James Allred here they having come on ahead some days ago Stopped here through the day then at night went on to Allen's camp 6 miles up the river. Today scores of Indians came to camp very friendly & well behaved. Bro Allen & company have baptized about 230 of these Indians since they arrived a week ago. They gave the Indians new names which they appear to be very proud of."

We waited here about a week, when the Los Vegas Company of missionaries¹¹ came up with their Slower ox teams. Wm. W. Willis & his son John had come down with us to procure a load of old iron, they assisted us in the baptisms &c. The indians here farm more than any others we have been among, some of them had about 1 load of wheat straw already thrashed out, they took charge of our horses daily, & were thankful for a piece of our bread, but were not greedy, nor did they ever attempt to take any of our trappings, tho' they had ample opportunity. We left them with ample good feelings, we partook of their wheaten bread, wine made of sweet berries & some dried meat. We left them many sorts of seed carrots, turnips &c. &c.

We had now to cross the desert, 55 miles, only one small patch of grass on route, & no water except what we carried in canteens. We started a 9 o'clock morning, & some on mules &c. got over to the Springs (Los Vegas) about 3½ a.m. next day, I lent my horse to help Jno. Steel whose team was weak, Peter Shirts lent his to Wm. Mitchell, I walked a good part of the way, till George Snider accommodated me with a horse, for this kindness I helped the Los Vegas Missionaries to drive their loose stock, this day was very hot, & George Snider rode on ahead some six miles & came back on foot with 3 canteens of cold water, this beverage was never more welcome to us, we would all cheerfully have given 1 barrel of Brandy for 1 pint of water. We arrived about 1 o'clock, having been 27 hours on the desert, some of the ox trains did not get in till night, & these helped in by those who had arrived first, who went back with a waggon load of water in the Casks which many had with them.¹¹

Here we rested 2 or three days, bathed in the Springs, the strength of whose waters, or the bubbling force of the Springs upheld us. so that when we would jump from the banks, we could find no bottom & would arise just as if our bodies had been so much cork. Much fine grass here, & hay, but the soil seems much mixed with lime & other light colored substances.

¹¹ "The History of the Las Vegas Mission" gives details of the trip across the desert and of the final arrival of all the company. On Saturday they rested and visited the springs, on Sunday they built a bowery under which they held a meeting in the afternoon, the course of which it was voted that Sylvester Hulet and George W. Bean should accompany Brother Allen and his group. They left Las Vegas camp at 11 A.M. Monday morning, June 18. (P. 134)

June 1855

When we had seen the ploughs started & sowing commenced we started for the Colorado about 25 miles distant, N.E. here we found the country much broken, & red, having much the appearance of a Volcanic Country. Where we struck the Colorado we found it over $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide & very deep, quite navigable. We travelled six miles down the river on foot, till we came to a point where the rocks closed up nearly, were of great height, the river contracted and rolled on smoothly through the deep excavation. the water was of a whitish color like the Missouri, & bore much drift wood along, & from the appearance of the banks, we inferred that the waters sometimes rose to a greater height say 14 to 30 feet higher, such were the indications of the marks on the banks of floodwood &c. The indians here also grew wheat, no irrigation, a few seeds seem to have been dropt into holes dug in moist places, these were about 1 ft. diameter & 8 or 9 inches deep & this wheat was probably reaped in May. Many of the men were sitting gambling with sticks, the women doing the work.

Next day we travelled on the bench some 15 miles & then made a turn towards the river but so conical & mountainous was the country we could not approach the river only by the dry bed of some stream. We travelled down one of these with our indian guide some 5 miles to get to the river, but it had not occurred to him that our horses could not descend drops or falls over rocks of 5 to 25 feet. We came to one 5 feet perpendicular descent, which we got over by placing rocks &c. so as to make it a stairlike decent & ere long this was succeeded by one nearly 30 ft. perpendicular, just in sight of the river, with impassable mountains of rocks on each side, here fortunately we found a sip of water that produced as much water every 5 minutes as sufficed to refresh 1 man & his horse, here at noon we sat in the "Shaddow of a great rock in a weary land," we found no grass for our horses yesterday & but little to day, of this we complained to our guide, who then informed us there was a spring over the mountain, this was a lofty hog's back between the dry bed of the next hollow & that we were now in, only about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile apart, with great care we kept our own feet & led our ponies, when we reached, there were 2 or 3 rods of grass only around the spring & this for 6 horses & our third day out, here we stopped all night, here George Bean our interpreter fainted away from fatigue & thirst our guide informed us that "Iatts" [Tribe of Indians] were about 1 day's journey farther south, on a

good level country, "plenty of grass," but our animals were hungry & the distance being uncertain our Captain determined to return to Los Vegas, by some route, more direct if possible, than that we had come.

We had ascertained the Colorado was navigable here and the Indians informed, there were no "falls" below this, but above there were. On our parting with our [Indian] guide next morning, he was going among the "Iatts" or "I-ahts" & by a shorter route he began to ascend the neighboring almost perpendicular mountain leaping from crag to crag with as much ease as if he had been a boy or a mountain sheep, yet he was a man weighing probably 175 lbs. Such is habit.

Having travelled 35 or 40 miles in the neighborhood of the hot rays of a southern sun, about 600 miles south of Gt. St. Lake City, we came to a divide over which we could see the dark stripe of the green grass below the Los Vegas 15 miles off, the rocks sand & soil under our feet being too hot for us to stand on with our moccasins, & those of us who had metallic stirrups could not bear our feet in them, & when we stopped to brace the trappings of our pack animals, such was the heat our mules would lay down & turn up their feet for a change, as we believe the heat to them was almost intolerable, Bror Hullet who had accompanied us from the Los Vegas, this afternoon "gave out" & lay down under the slight shade of a muskeeto bush. Just prior to this we discovered some 5 miles to the S.W. a dark green spot that we supposed might be a spring. Some of the brethren rode more hastily on for water, the little we had left was warm enough to cook eggs — an hour more & we all quenched our thirst, once more in poor water. Is. Riddle rode back with water to Bror Hullet, who being refreshed thereby, came in a few hours later, here we camped for the night, and on the following day arrived at the Los Vegas camp.

The mail from San Bernardino under charge of David Savage had arrived, and in the evening Chauncy W. West arrived ahead

¹² "The History of the Las Vegas Mission" states: "Friday, June 22. Brother Allen's exploring expedition returned today, finding it impracticable to proceed at this season of the year, on account of the extreme heat and desert country to be traversed" (Ibid.)

July 1855

of his company of returning missionaries &c. The next day their train came up, including Brors Reddick, N. Allred, Jacob Bigler, Wm. Farrer, N. [Nathan] Tanner Dustin, Rueben Gates, Wilkin, and several others, besides Sisters & children, the next day the mail from Gt. St. L. City arrived under the charge of Mr. Leach⁷³ who had contracted to repair this southern road for \$25,000.00/00. I judge from appearance he had expended from \$2,000 to \$5,000 on it, & pocketed the rest. He gave the Indians a few Blankets and other presents which caused them to say "The Americans sometimes very good, give us clothes", &c. It would have been a difficult task to explain to them why U.S. nincompoops had frequently more in their power to do them good than we had, but by our united & unfeigned attention and kindness to them, we gained upon their affections, and a little reflection upon the oft repeated cruelties, shootings & killings among them by the American emigrants, far outweighed the paltry presents now bestowed upon them, they very soon exclaimed "The American no good, they won't allow us to come into their camps as the Mormons do, they are not our friends, but you are; we are Mormons & no longer Pahutes;" this was frequently repeated.

On our return we found Ira Miles sick,⁷⁴ & it was counselled that he return with us to his home: We recrossed the Desert in the night and travelled up and down among the Pahutes on the Muddy about 10 miles, The Company from the South were with us, on the Rio Virgin we halted a day, fished, washed some clothing bathed &c. Father Sherwood was in Company, bringing along some merchandise for one Abraham a Jew,⁷⁵ also in the Company. We arrived in Cedar City Iron County in July after having travelled about 5 weeks; on returning to Harmony Washington County, I found my 5 acres of wheat, which was beautifully green and

⁷³ C. W. Bean's diary says, "Capt. Leach with the mail from SLC got here about 11 o'clock p.m. brought letters & papers from home which caused us to rejoice in our hearts all being well."

⁷⁴ "History of the Las Vegas Mission:

"Tuesday, June 26. At 2 p.m. Brother McBride and company took their departure . . . Brother Rufus Allen and company also gave the Las Vegas missionaries the parting hand. Brother Ira S. Miles . . . accompanied the Allen Company on account of ill health . . ."

⁷⁵ Abraham the Jew and Father Sherwood evidently were reconciled after the difficulties of the last trip, about one year ago, almost to the day.

healthy when I left, burnt up, for want of water, either through the ignorance or carelessness of David Tullis who was left to irrigate it, this being the second year we had lost our crops there, from deficiency of water, our prospects of living & paying the Indians for their help, were not very bright, we found the missionaries both at Harmony and on the Santa Clara still wielding an influence for good among the Indians. We continued to attend to the gathering of what few potatoes &c. we had helping one another till *near the Octr. Conference*, when it was my privilege again to visit my family in Gt. St. L. City; on my return thither I found many of the Saints had jaundice in this region, I also was attacked, but was speedily cured by the administration of the elders & by the application of wet sheets wrung from cold water, in these I lay for a few hours, had a thorough perspiration & recovered.

Erastus Snow had brought on some goods for the states, and had purposed to send some of them to Iron County, where he had a mill & some liabilities to meet on account of said mill, & to help forward the Iron works there. He required of me on my return to my mission to take charge in the selection of said goods, and to help him in seeing them conveyed thither & sold; *on some of the last days of Novr.* we started with two loads of merchandise, arriving at Cedar City on *9th Decr.* In one week these goods were all disposed of, such was the scarcity of clothing in this district. As one of the home missionaries appointed to labor under Erastus Snow in the South, I accompanied him, Jacob Gates, V. Nobles & G.B. Wallace in a preaching tour in Washington & Iron Counties; visiting Forts Harmony, Johnson & Paragoona, also Parowan and Cedar City. "The people heard us gladly." On the *22 Decr.*, [1855] according to previous permission & appointment of Prest. Young, E. Snow Sealed to me Mary Lucretia, daughter of Willis," I was then left in charge of those southern

"There has evidently been a friendly relationship between Brown and the family of W. W. Willis: The two men walked together the whole seventeen miles between Parowan and Cedar City (February 13), he had "Mother" Willis along on one trip. It was common for middle-aged men to take very young girls for their plural wives. In this case the groom is older than the father of the bride.

William Wesley Willis was born 16 August 1811 in Hamilton Co., Ill. and in 1833 married Jane Willis. They joined the Mormon Church and started west from Nauvoo, with the body of the Saints. He was one of the volunteers in the Mormon Battalion, being 3rd Lieut, under Captain Jefferson Hunt. At Santa Fe, Col.

April 1856

parts to co-operate with the Presidents & Bishops in preaching to the Saints, at the time I attended to these duties, I ministered to the necessities to my red brethren, trading with the rifles &c. for five of their children (only 2 of these now alive!) and kept in Cedar City two months, teaching the young — over 70 [students] — in the day, assisted by son James, and their parents and other adults in the evening.

1856. *In the Month of April*, I made another visit to my family in Gt. St. L. City, intending to return to my mission & wife same month," shortly after my arrival Prest. Young informed me I was released from my mission, and as breadstuffs were at this time very scarce, I had better look out for some food for myself and family. I had brought some flour with me, for which I was readily offered \$20 per hundred. I sold some for 10¢ per lb. to relieve the hungry, and went down to Provo Lake to procure some fish, shortly after my return Govr. Young sold me a surveyor's compass & levelling apparatus attached, and appointed me to level for the bringing out of the waters of Weber River for irrigating purposes. As I had been long out of practice, I procured the assistance of Jesse W. Fox.⁷⁵ We labored on this work six weeks. My next call

Cooke ordered all the women and children and the men who were unable to travel, back to Pueblo to spend the winter. Later — on November 10, 1846 — Lieut. W. W. Willis was ordered to take the fifty-four sick men of the ranks back to Santa Fe and then on to join the group at Pueblo. Many stories were told of the hardships of this journey and of the heartlessness of the Lieutenant.

The whole group arrived in Salt Lake Valley on July 29, 1847, just five days behind the original pioneers. The Willis family settled at Big Cottonwood, where they lived until they were called to strengthen the Southern Mission in 1855. A millwright and a farmer, he became mayor of Cedar City for one term. He died in Beaver 8 April 1872. Of his seven children to grow to maturity and marry, Mary Lucretia was the third child and the second daughter.

⁷⁵ Family folklore given by Mrs. Lucretia Farr of Logan, Utah, is to the effect that Thomas D. Brown never went to Southern Utah again. He was kept so busy with one assignment or another that he purchased a small, comfortable home in Kaysville and sent money to fit his wife out and to pay her transportation. This was the fall of 1856, after the death of her baby. Family letters may yet be found to give the details.

⁷⁶ Jesse William Fox would become Surveyor-General of the Territory of Utah, in which capacity he served for many years, until the office was discontinued. Born March 1819 in Jefferson County, New York, he had a good education, and was teaching school when he became a Mormon. This was in 1844, just after the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

He was secretary of the Company in which he crossed the plains in 1849, and in Utah taught school in Manti, Salt Lake City, and for a time in the University of Deseret. But his real work was as a surveyor of canals, roadways for the Utah Central and Utah Southern railroads. He was loved and trusted by all who knew him. He died 1 April 1894... [LDS Bio. Ency.]

was to survey a "new City" & farming lands at Fort Supply. To accomplish this I accompanied Prest. Young & company in *Octr*, when the Prest was seized in East Kanyon, about 30 miles from the city, suffered much pain, & chose to return home, sending me onwards on my mission accompanied by John Tobin to attend to the survey before named, also Ft. Bridger ranche. This occupied me over 1 month, when hearing of the distress of the last companies of this year's emigration of Handcarts &c. I preferred going with Isaac Bullock out to meet and aid them, and returned with them to this City in *Decr*. Now I proposed going south, but found I had been called to labor in this place as a City Missionary to aid in the great work of "The Reformation." I labored in the 2nd & 9th Wards, over two months, visiting every house in 18 Blocks, catechising and instructing as best I could with Heavenly aid.

Early in Feby. As I purposed going south with the members of the Legislature, I was unexpectedly called by Prest. B. Young to

²³ "The Reformation" of 1856 carried with it a Catechism which every member was to answer. It was included in the Diary of John Pulsipher as follows:

CATECHISM

- Have you committed murder, by shedding innocent blood — or consenting thereto?
- Have you committed adultery by having connection with a woman that was not your wife or a man that was not your husband?
- Do you pay your tithing promptly?
- Have you spoken against any principle contained in the Bible, Book of Mormon, Doctrine & Covenants or any principle revealed thro Joseph the Prophet or the authorities of the Church?
- Do you wash your bodies & have your families do so as often as cleanliness require or circumstances permit?
- Do you teach your family the Gospel of Salvation?
- Do you preside over your family, as a servant of God — & is your family subject to you?
- Do you fulfill your promises, do you pay your debts, or do you run into debt without prospect of paying?
- Have you taken anything that did not belong to you without the owners knowledge or consent?
- Have you borrowed anything that you have not returned or paid for?
- Have you found lost property & not returned it to the owner or used all diligence to do so?
- Have you lied about — or maliciously misrepresented any person or thing?
- Have you branded any animal that you did not know to be your own?
- Have you taken up strays & converted to your own use, without accounting to the proper Authorities?
- Do you work six days & go to the house of worship on the 7th?
- Have you taken the name of Deity in vain?
- Have you been intoxicated by strong drink?

[Typescript in State Historical Society]

June 1857

aid him as "Corresponding Secretary," here I remained till 16 June, when I was sent out to survey 5 mail station of 1 square mile each, to level for mill sites & irrigating &c. At "Last Crossing" of the "Sweet Water," "Devil's Gate," "Deer Creek," "La Bonte" and "Horse Shoe Creek," while laboring out there, I had interesting interviews with the "Arrappahoe" chiefs and indians. They were much about the Deer Creek Station in large numbers and very friendly, but the mountaineer Traders around seemed much annoyed by this intimacy, & the fear of a loss of their trade & influence among the natives.

I forgot to mention that I accompanied Prest. Young and suite to "Salmon River" in May & June last," and from my intercourse with the Indians there & for 900 miles South of that, I have come to the following conclusions, viz 1st, That intercourse with dishonest "white traders" has not improved the natives in their morals but otherwise, &

2nd, That it will be best for the Indians to follow up Prest. Young's peaceful policy, to speak the truth & be straight with them in all our intercourse with them, and remove from among them all mountaineer traders, who are daily seducing and debauching them.

3rd, That it was a good policy to remove all our southern indian missionaries from Fort Harmony & from Painter's Creek and to concentrate their efforts for the amelioration of the condition of the Indians on the "Santa Clara" under the superintendency of the patient and industrious Jacob Hamblin who may be truly designated "the Indians' friend," under his industrious care, I doubt not they will soon be able to raise their own wheat, stock and other edibles, also cotton.

4th, I am sure we, as a people, undervalue their labors and friendship, & keep them at too great a distance. Let us try and draw them a little nearer to us, and treat them more kindly, rewarding & encouraging those whom we must teach to labor, many of whom are ready and willing. And finally

⁸⁰ The Activities listed by T. D. Brown in these last pages can all be verified by contemporary sources.

Journal of the Southern Indian Mission

5th We must enter into alliances with them that cannot soon be broken nor easily dissolved, so soon as this is considered wisdom. Is it not now?⁴¹

God bless the Lamanites & them that befriend them. Amen.

Thomas D. Brown

Recorder to the South Ind. Missr.

10th January, 1857.

⁴¹ John Pulsipher who was living at Fort Supply and who kept a daily journal, wrote on June 21st, 1857, "Bro. T. D. Brown, having come by request to survey our land. We agreed on a nice site first in the midst of the farm land & then all along we had the farms arranged in 5 & 10 acre lots near & large lots further away to suit parties, some were already farming further away than this . . ."

Brown had earlier surveyed Fort Bridger of which Pulsipher wrote on August 12, 1857 . . . Bro Robinson made a feast & dance invited us all to celebrate the completion of the new *Fort Bridger* stone walls 16 feet high & 5 feet thick. Is the Church property & a good job. Our men worked considerable on it. We sawed the lumber." [Typescript p. 107]

Since this is the Journal of the Southern Mission, Brown properly closes it with his impressions of what should be done to continue the work and to make it effective. There is no word of his own private affairs, not even to his appointment in January 1857 as Territorial Road Commissioner, and nothing regarding his second wife, or his private business. It is evidence of his skill and sensitivity in making the record a work of art as well as an accurate account of history.

Conclusion

The record here reproduced, "The History of the Southern Indian Mission," is eloquent not only of Thomas D. Brown's ability as a writer, but of his complete loyalty to the Church. The brief summary of his continued activity after he returned to the Salt Lake City area is accurate. From the time of his call to the Southern Mission until his visit in Salt Lake City in 1856, he had been completely dedicated. Now he expected to return to the young wife he had left there, if not to remain, at least to move her to the North. From his various assignments, following each other in such quick succession, it would seem that he had to write for her father to arrange transportation for her or to bring her north in his own outfit.

We find no record or folklore concerning this; we know only that Mary Lucretia Willis Brown was set up in a home at Kaysville, where her two sons were born. Evidently the children of the first family had no knowledge of this marriage.

By 1859 Thomas D. Brown had become disillusioned and critical. On the 23rd of December that year he was excommunicated "for apostasy and for writing anonymous letters." On 9 January 1862, he was re-baptized into the Church.

When Thomas D. Brown came to Utah, he was unable to transport all the goods in his store. His diary mentions letters written to one and another person regarding them. In early 1862, with Sarah, he went back to Kaneshville and helped Henry W. Miller to close out the business and come west. The record shows that "T. D. Brown and his wife crossed the plains to Utah with the wagon train of Henry W. Miller." A wagon train is usually at least twenty wagons; whether more or less, this was the final closing out and settlement with Henry W. Miller.

Brown evidently became alienated from the Church again, for his name is signed to the letter of Gentile merchants offering to leave the state if the Mormons would settle their outstanding accounts and buy up the stock at cost. This was in 1869.

The rule of the Mormon Church was that even though a woman's husband left the Church, she must remain in; she must take her children and leave him. Though Mary Lucretia hated to do this, she moved back south to her family in 1864, or early 1865. That year on the 10th of October, she was married to Elisha Samuel Groves, who was born September 14, at Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri.

Thomas D. Brown carried on his business in Salt Lake City and opened a branch store in Stockton, which his son James managed. He became a part of the group of dissenters of the early 1870's who insisted upon investing in mining stock, and became active in the Liberal Party.

When he died, 20 March 1874, of gastric fever, his funeral services were held at his home. This was on Sunday, March 22, the speakers being Judge McKean, E. L. T. Harrison, T. B. H. Stenhouse, John Chislett, Dr. Conger, and W. H. Shearman.

. . . Many of the friends were unable to find even standing room in the house, and a long train of carriages followed the hearse to the City Cemetery, where the remains were deposited in the family plot . . .

Mr. Brown was well known throughout Utah as one of the earliest and most fearless advocates of the republican principles in opposition to theocratic rule; . . . but . . . he avoided the bitterness of spirit and expression which are apt to characterize earnest natures . . . and maintained that gentlemanly courtesy towards all men that commanded the respect of foes, as well as friends . . . (Salt Lake Daily Tribune, March 24, 1874).

Conclusion

A brief summary of the descendants of Thomas D. Brown seems to be in order here.

His wife Sarah G. Sherratt Brown continued to live in the family home until her death 16 July 1881.

John Sherratt, his step-son, remained to make his home in Cedar City. On 4 February 1856 he married Christina Bullock, avoiding her father's authority by slipping away with her and a group of their friends to Hamilton's Fort, where the ceremony was performed. Since Christina's mother was dead, she remained as mistress in her father's house for several years. She had nine children, seven of whom grew to maturity and married. John Sherratt drew Lot No. 3 of Block 24 in the town survey. Here they later built a spacious house. They also had a ranch home on the mountain where they operated a dairy during the summer. John Sherratt died 18th January 1899, age 71, much respected and loved in spite of his handicap.

His son James G. Brown, born 7 November 1842 at Liverpool, England, had been in partnership since he helped to teach the school in Cedar City the winter of 1855-1856. In Salt Lake City the store was T. D Brown & Son, even after a branch had been set up in Stockton with James in charge. He died at the family home in Salt Lake City 3 March 1886. His three children were James G. Brown II, Nellie B. Lemmon, Salt Lake City, and Rosa B. Robinson, Pioche, Nevada.

His daughter, Sara G. Brown, taught school in Salt Lake City for many years. She was married to a Mr. Goodwin, and with him moved to Logan, where she became a member of the first staff of the Utah State University, then the State Agricultural College. She taught music and served as librarian. She had no children.

From his second wife, Mary Lucretia Willis, Thomas D. Brown had three children:

A daughter, Emily, was born at Cedar City and died at the age of six weeks.

His son John William Brown, was born 2 November 1858, at Kaysville, Utah. He returned with his mother to Southern Utah,

grew up in Kanarraville, and married two of the Berry sisters. During the general emigration to Arizona, he took his families there, settling at St. Johns. From 1886 to 1888 he labored as a Mormon missionary in Great Britian. On November 3, 1926, he was set apart as Second Counsellor to the stake President of the St. John's Stake. He had a large posterity, with many distingushed people among them.

The second son, Frank E. Brown, was also born at Kaysville, and came south with his mother. He married Amy Jane Middleton, and made his home at Hamilton's Fort, where he built a large home. His family of nine children also had teachers, doctors, and professional people among them, all proud of their grandfather, Thomas D. Brown.

For those who are interested in the family dates, we include here inscriptions on the large stone in the Brown plot, Salt Lake City Cemetery.

Orson Smith Sherratt — Died 1852 Age 3 yrs.

James Galt Brown — Brown 1786 Died 1860

Agnes Dunlop Brown — Born 1786 Died 1860

Thomas Dunlop Brown — Born Dec. 10 1807 Died March
7, 1874 — born Ayrshire, Scotland

Sarah Godwin Brown — Born Oct. 18, 1800 Died July 16,
1881 — born Staffordshire, England

APPENDIX I

A LARGE IMPORTATION OF ENGLISH & FRENCH DRY GOODS, HARDWARE, AND CUTLERY

BROUGHT DIRECT, and this day opened for sale to the Ladies and Gentlemen of Kaneshville and other inhabitants of Pottawatamie county by BROWN & BARHAM

GROCERIES, sugar, tea, coffee, salt, soap, &c.

PRINTS – English and American, and domestics.

BLANKETS – quilts, carpets, rugs, woolens.

CALICO – shirting and shirts of all colors.

FLANNELS – muslins, jaconets, gauze;

RIBBONS – satin, sercenet, galloons, binding;

CLOTHES – velveteen, cords, moleskin, cloth;

SHEETING – tick, diaper, toweling;

HOSE – woolen and cotton, gloves, socks and stockings;

- LADIES — Alapaca, Merino, Coburgh and French dresses;
- LACES — French and English, silk and cotton thread, nets, quilling and flowers;
- SEWED MUSLIN — Collars, braids, thread, needles, pins, and thimbles;
- SILK AND SATIN — bows, ties, neckcloths, h'ks and eyes;
- SMALLWARES — buttons, glass, steel, gilt, silk and satin;
- THREADS — silk, linen and cotton of all colors;
- SHOES — ferrotts, edging, binding, caps and bonnets;
- IRISH LINEN — union check;
- SAWS — tuper, pit and mill, ripping, compass, and hand saws, also turning web, pit and hand-saw sets and tillers;
- FILES — bastard, horse rasps, and flat wood files;
- GIMLETS — shell and spike, turnscrews;
- NAILS AND GLASS;
- STEEL — knives, forks, pocket knives and pen knives, screws, door hinges, Scissors, and spoons of good, and common quality, door locks;
- SALERATUS — spices, oils, paints, varnish, salt-petre, olive oil, camphor;
- LIQUORS — rectified whiskey, gin and cognac, brandy, by the Gallon;
- HAMS — barley, rye, rice, dried apples and peaches;
- RAISINS — currants, almonds, allspice and pickles;
- TOBACCO AND SNUFF — ginger, tartar, wax, and candles;
- POWDER — lead, vinegar, tinmans solder;
- TARTANS AND PLAIDS — a good selection from Scotland for ladies and gentlemen's dresses, all offered cheap for cash, by

BROWN & BARHAM

Kanesville, Aug. 22, 1849.

The Frontier Guardian

APPENDIX II

OH YES!

The Old Pioneer on the Track Again

MR HENRY W. MILLER, well known in this region, as one of the first western men has joined me as partner; and we have removed our large stock of English Goods

IMPORTED DIRECT FROM LIVERPOOL
to our new store opposite our late stand; and in addition to the largest and
BEST STOCK OF HARDWARE AND SMALLWARES in Kanessville, we have selected some superior lots of

Dry Goods, Iron, Steel, Springs, Axles
Axes and Holloware
in the St. Louis Market, expressly for the WINTER TRADE, and the necessities of this community.

We have re-marked all our goods and have agreed to sell off our stock — superior in quality though it

be — at prices sufficiently low to induce a continuation and increase of our trade; and to remove an influence existing, not altogether without foundation that some of the goods of the late firm — Brown & Barham were too high; in a word, we only want to live among you and desire not to enrich ourselves, at your cost, we wish “to spend and be spent,” for the good of the cause, which is to us, as to you the greatest and best. Our motto in business is and shall be

“Small Profits and Quick Return.”

The truthfulness of which you cannot prove unless you Come, see and trade with

BROWN & MILLER

N.B. All accounts due to the late firm — Brown & Barham, will be received, settled and accounted for by

THOMAS D. BROWN

at Brown & Millers Store.

Kanesville, Oct. 14, 1849

The Frontier Guardian ’

APPENDIX III

"August 2 [1853]

. . . Paragoona is situated in the valley of the Little Salt Lake, and lies near the foot of the mountains which form its eastern boundary, at four miles from the lake. It contains about thirty houses, which, although built of adobes, present a neat and comfortable appearance. The adobes are small and well pressed, and are made of pink-colored clay. The houses are built to form a quadrangle, the space between them being protected by a strong stockade of pine pickets. Outside the village is an area of fifty acres inclosed within a single fence, and cultivated in common by the inhabitants. It is called The Field, . . .

Shortly before our arrival in the Territory, hostilities had broken out between Walkah, a Utah chief, and the Mormons, and we found them in a state of great alarm and excitement, in consequence of some of his recent acts.

. . . soon after our arrival the inhabitants, in obedience to a mandate from Governor Brigham Young, commenced removing to the town of Parowan, four miles to the southward, as he considered it unsafe, with the smallness of their number, for them to re-

main at Paragoona. It was to us a strange sight to witness the alacrity with which these people obeyed an order which compelled them to destroy in an instant, the fruit of two years labor; and no time was lost in commencing the work of destruction. Their houses were demolished, the door, windows, and all portable wood-work being reserved for future dwellings; and wagons were soon on the road to Parowan, loaded with their furniture and other property."

Gwinn Harris Heap, recorder for E. F. Beale, Sup. of Indian Affairs in California, *Central Route to the Pacific*, . . . (Philadelphia, Lippincott Grambo & Co.) 1854.

APPENDIX IV

[Typescript Journal of Jacob Hamblin]

Tuesday 24th, [January 1855]. Last Saturday & Sunday the Piedes collected to fight for a squaw, she & her husband had come to visit her family & friends. The man that she came with had stolen her from another Indian about a year before. Her former husband came & claimed her. The Chief said they should fight for her. About fifty fighters gathered near the bank of the River, naked, except a strip about their loins; their hair tied back; the two husbands commenced the fight, bruising each other's faces at a horrible rate. At length one fell, when one of his friends took his place. Thus they fought until they all got their faces badly bruised. They then took the bride by the arm and pulled her along. This was a signal for another fight; he had not proceeded far when he was met by an opponent, & now again commenced the fight. Thus they fought until an hour after sundown; dragging and hauling her around. Once they undertook to cross the river with her; (20) she gave them the slip & ran back near where I was standing on the bank. She reached out her hand and asked me to pull her up which I did. One of the warriors presented himself for a knock down. I told him I did not want to fight. He

said I must not take hold of that woman then. I told him I did not understand it. It passed off. I was glad to get out of it without a bruised face. They dragged her over the river near five or six lodges, where the two contending for her fought again. One of them caught the other by the hair, which they called foul play. One of his friends struck the other, when they all commenced fighting like so many bull dogs. This presented a sight & sound that I cannot describe, the women & children hallooing & screaming; throwing fire, ashes, & whipping the crowd over the heads with long sticks. At length, having beaten one another until they were tired, they quit; the woman had fainted. There was not appearance of life in her. Two of them hauled her back of one of their lodges, here they quarreled some time. Then they tore her buckskin shirt off her, & pulled and fought over that until they were tired. One of the claimants got the shirt & slept on it. The marriage was not decided that night, The next morning I counted one hundred that had assembled for the fight on a convenient place, near their lodges.

& took sides. After they had heard and talked some time; they made a general rush at each other, and beat each other until their faces were all covered with blood. After they had rubbed their faces and pulled their fingers, they commenced pulling her about and fighting over her, which they kept up till three o'clock the next day.

There was another fight for a squaw about eight miles below. (21). They asked me to go. I went. They commenced beating one another about 9 o'clock. About 12 o'clock they commenced abusing her. About three o'clock they dragged her to the lodges.

I could see no signs of life in the woman.

The following day they fought for the other squaw about whom there had been so much contention. She did not want the one that won her. She would not sleep with him. The same one won her again. She would not sleep with him. The next night, they fought about two hours. Then they took her & dragged her about & abused her in the most shameful manner. They tore her clothes off her dragging her over the sage brush & grease wood. They started to drag her down the bank of the river. I ran before them; talked all the Indian words I could use of any service. I was happily disappointed to see them stop. They carried her to

Jacob Hamblin

the camp apparently lifeless. They were somewhat mad because she could not have the one that won her.

I then went to the Chief, & told him I would not stay with his people, if they did not stop such conduct. He said that was the way they got their women. I will tell you, as you are the Chief. If a man wants a wife, & he can find a woman that wants him, He being Chief should marry them & the men should love the women.

You want that I should write good to the Great Mormon chief. O yes said he, that is right. Said I when I write, I write truth; & when I talk, I talk truth. It would be bad talk to talk all that you have done here, to the Great Chief, unless you try to stop it now. I heard him (22) & his principal men counceled on it that night. The next morning the Chief came to me and said, he did not want me to say anything about what had been done; that they were ashamed of it themselves. He wanted me to throw away all that I had seen, and they stop such fights.

APPENDIX V

BRIGHAM YOUNG TRAVELS SOUTH

Journal History

May 10, 1855

. . . We arrived at Summit Creek at 11 a.m. , . . at 12:45 p.m. came to a halt at Refreshment Springs, where we organized as follows: Daniel H. Wells, commander in chief of the Company; Robt T. Burton, captain of the Guard; Wilford Woodruff and Thos Bullock, historians of the Camp. Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor chaplains; Thomas Bullock, clerk of the camps; Dimick B. Huntington and Geo. Bean, interpreters; Edward Hunter, Lorenzo D. Young, Aaron Johnson, Silas Richards, and Henson Walker, Bishops; Enos Curtis, Patriarch, and Samuel L. Sprague, doctor.

The company consisting of 82 men, 14 women, and 5 children traveled in 34 carriages with 95 animals. The people of the camp were distributed in the 34 wagons which traveled in the following order:

Wagon 1 Pres. Brigham Young, wife and Andrew Muffit
(2 horses)

Brigham Young Travels South

Waggon 2	James Leatham, B. Young Jr., Sister Easton	(3 horses)
" 3	Pres. Kimball, wife, Charles and Heber	(3 horses)
" 4	John Watts	(2 horses)
" 5	Lorenzo D. Young and wife	(2 horses)
" 6	Ephrian Hanks, wife, child Yoades	(3 horses)
" 7	Joseph Young, Phineas Young, Jos. W. Young	(2 horses)
" 8	Erastus Snow and wife	(2 horses)
" 9	Lewis Robinson, wife and child	(2 horses)
" 10	Henry Johnson, wife, J. N. Walkly, T. Jenkins, H. Woodward	(5 horses)
" 11	Stephen Chipman and wife and Thomas Bullock	(2 horses)
" 12	Dimick B. Huntington and wife	(2 horses)
" 13	Francis Pirsch, wife	(2 horses)
" 14	Gideon D. Wood, wife and child	(2 horses)
" 15	Joshua Arthur, wife and 2 children	(2 horses)
" 16	Anson Call, wife and Father	(2 horses)
" 17	Parley P. Pratt, Smith B. Thurstin	(2 horses)
	Wilford Woodruff, T.C. Angell, Sam L. Sprague	(2 horses)
" 19	John Taylor, A.C. Brown, Geo Taylor	(2 horses)
" 20	Ezra T. Benson, Thos McKenzie, Chas Benson	(3 horses)
" 21	Geo. A. Smith, A.J. Stewart	(2 horses)
" 22	Edward Hunter, Archibald N. Hill	(2 horses)
" 23	Daniel H. Wells, Arza B. Hinkley, Stephen Taylor	(5 horses)
" 24	Lot Smith, Robt Burton, Ed Walker, Henry S. Dalton Wm. R. Smith	(6 horses)
" 25	Porter Rockwell, Amos Neff, Geo. Bean	(2 horses)
" 26	Henson Walker, John G. Holman	(2 horses)
" 27	Lyman S. Hutchings, Wm.W. Hutchings	(2 horses)
" 28	Silas Richards, Alexander M. Shoemaker	(2 horses)

- Waggon 29 Aaron Johnson, Enos Curtis, David A. Curtis
(2 horses)
- " 30 John T. Caine, Edward Partridge, Joseph A. Peck
Ward Peck (4 horses)
- " 31 Henry P Richards, Orson K. Whitney, Joseph F.
Smith, Daniel S. Mills, Devalson and Merrick
(5 horses)
- " 32 William Cluff, Silas Smith, Eli Bell (2 horses)
- " 33 Edson Whipple (2 horses)
- " 34 Wm Smith, Dave Garner, John Whitney and
Orson Miles traveled on horse back having five
horses.

At 2:30 p.m. we again hitched up our teams and continued our journey passing through a good grazing country and plenty of sage brush, to Nephi. Pres. Brigham Young preached to the people on the necessity of building a fort and his first orders not for a woman to come to the place until a fort was built; he rebuked the negligence of the brethren severely. This place is built of mud houses covered with dirt. The creek running through the south portion is very dangerous for children. The cow pens are on the south side and are dirty, giving a great chance for the Indians to prowl around. These are already very impudent and bold enough to walk into the houses of the settlers.

Geo. A. Smith left Payson at 1 p.m. together with Bro Stewart and his carriage and arrived at Nephi at 5:45.

APPENDIX VI

Thomas D. Brown is so shaken by the stories of this "enforced consecration" that he can hardly contain himself. It would seem that some of the seeds of his later apostasy are planted here. To make more clear the formality of it all, details are included here in the form of the general orders, etc.

That in spite of all resistance they should drive back from these small settlements 271 head of cattle and 4 horses seems incredible.

Journal History, July 25, 1853

Head Quarters Nauvoo Legion
Adjunt General's Office
G.S.L. City, July 25, 1853

General Orders
No. 2

I. Col. G. A. Smith is hereby assigned to the Command of all the military Districts of this Territory south of G.S.L. Coun-

ty, and is strictly enjoined and commanded to enforce orders No. 1, of the 21st.

II. It is distinctly understood that all the people shall assemble into large and permanent forts, and no man is at liberty to refuse to obey this order without being dealt with as an enemy.

III. All surplus stock that is not particularly needed for teams and milk, must be driven to this city and placed in charge of the Presiding Bishop in this city until further orders.

IV. Col. Smith is fully authorized and required to carry out the instructions which have heretofore been universally given by the Governor, and authorities of this Territory in regard to defence, and all people are now required to obey those instructions as Col. Smith shall direct.

V. Col. Smith's instructions and counsel will be those of the Executive of the Territory; and he will be sustained by him in enforcing the orders which he has, or shall receive, and in doing all other necessary things, which in his judgment he may think proper.

Signed, BRIGHAM YOUNG

Governor, Ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs,
and Commander-in-Chief of the Militia.

D. H. Wells, Lieut Gen'l Commanding Nauvoo Legion.
(*Des. News*, July 30, 1853)

A letter written by William H. Kimball to General Daniel H. Wells explains briefly the activities of August 7, when the first attempt was made to take the cattle. Original in the files of the military:

8/8/53

We had just got ready to start home when Col. Smith ordered me to send the rest of my detachment at Red Creek to march to this point & remain here until the excitement is allayed & also until the people are removed from their fort to the new one at one o'clock there was a court of inquiry called to examine the case of the mutineers the charge was not sustained

We have 5 yet in custody & a probability of soon having more & a good chance to raise a California Company

Enforced Consecration

there is already several petitioners to be cut off the Church

I have the honor Dear Sir to remain &c

Wm H Kimball

The charges were neglect of duty, disobedience to orders, insult and contempt to the officers of the day, among the men of the posse itself. Evidently they did not like this assignment.

As for the citizens, John Gregory, when ordered to stop talking, had said that this was a free country and he would talk when and how he pleased, also that he was ready to organize a company to go to California.

Wm Hunter Sr refused to turn over surplus stock & threatened to bayonet anyone attempting to take them "Call me brother no more, all brotherhood is broken." Would rather shoot his stock than see them taken to SLC

Geo. Hunter had gun in hand (rifle) threatened anyone who tried to touch his cattle.

Wm Adshead refused to let heifer be seperated & tried to drive it back to herd when it was seperated. Said he would shoot heifer.

Utah Territory

Head quarters Southern Mil. Dep"

Nauvoo Legion in Camp near Cedar Fort Aug 10/53

Special Orders No. 26

A court of Enquiry is hereby ordered to be held at camp Quarters in cedar fort on the 11th inst at 6 o'clock P.M. to investigate the extent of crime of which Wm Hunter Geo. Hunter John Gregory Wm Adshead and David Stoddard are guilty- Charge mutinous conduct- Specification On the 7th inst the above named persons did openly and with deadly weapons resist Lt. Col. J.A. Little - Adj J.L. Smith while they were acting under the direction of Lt. Col. Wm. H. Kimball in carrying into effect the specific orders of Brigham Young Gov. U. T. contrary to the laws and statues made and provided.

Officers Maj. M. Courthers comd. B Inft Adj. A. Parks

Capt. Geo. Wood Compy E Cav. Lt. E. Elmer [Elmer?]
 " Jac. Houghbines

E.M. Greene

Adjutant

(Signed) Geo. A. Smith

Colonel Commanding

John Gregory (Private Compy B Inft)

John Gregory (Private Compy B Inft)

Charge: Mutinous Conduct.

Specification That John Gregory, did on the 7th of August inst. when Lt. Col. Jas. A. Little and Adj. John L. Smith were endeavoring to see that Gov. B. Youngs orders were carried into effect relative to surplus Stock (Gen Orders No.2 Sec 3) talk publicly for sometime against these orders of Gov. Young being carried into effect, when ordered by Lieut. Col. Little to stop talking, he replied he lived in a free country and would talk when, where, and as he pleased and he might help himself, also declared that his cattle should not be taken away.

Signed Lieut. Col. Jas A. Little

Plead guilty to the charge and Specification, only he did recollect of saying to Col. Little that he would talk when, where, and as he pleased

Adj. John L. Smith Testified that he heard John Gregory tell Lt. Col. Jas. A. Little, and that he was ready to organize up a company to go to California.

Decision Guilty of the charges & Specification

Arthurs Parks Adj.

Matthew Caurthers Maj. Batt [Carruthers]

Elijah Elmer 1st Lieut. 1st Art.

Jacob Hofheins Capt. 1st Art.

George Wood Capt. Compy E. Cav.

Enforced Consecration

I hereby certify the foregoing is a true copy of the proceedings of a Court of Enquiry held Aug. 11th 1853 at Head Quarters

Southern Military Department Cedar Fort U. T. In persuance of Special Orders No. 29. Col Geo. A. Smith

REGARDING CATTLE TAKEN FROM SOUTHERN UTAH 1853

Journal History Aug. 25, 1853

Journal of Southern Expedition No. 1, S.L.C.

.....
Sunday, Aug 7. Commenced starting the cattle and driving out the young stock; explaining orders, etc., when the citizens threatened to shoot when by order of Col. Little, we left the corral

Monday, Aug 8. Took the six leading men of the riot prisoners, took their guns and equipments and placed them under guard. Called a court of inquiry, the charge against R. Varleigh not sustained and be dismissed. Sent express to G.S. City

Thursday, Aug 11. Called court of inquiry in the evening to examine prisoners. Released D. Stoddard by fining \$5.00. Lt. Hosea Cushing to pay the same at G.S.L. City.

Monday, Aug 15. Col Kimball arrived from Parowan from Cedar City, 49 head, in the evening received 109 head from Bishop Lewis of Parowan, placed the prisoners in charge of Maj. J. D. Lee.

Tuesday, Aug. 16. Received 88 head of cattle from Coal Creek (Cedar City) and 25 more head from Parowan, left Red Creek (Paragoonah) for G.S.L. City at 9 o'clock a.m., with 271 head of cattle, 4 horses,

APPENDIX VII

Because he was the first participant in the Mountain Meadows Massacre to make a confession, Philip Klingonsmith has become a controversial character, about whom it has been difficult to gather facts.

Born 3 April 1815 at Brush Creek, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, he was the son of Philip Klingon Smith and Mary Anderson. They were of German descent, their family consisting of four boys and four girls. Young Philip received a fair education and became a blacksmith by trade. In his young manhood he stood over six feet in height, weighed 175 pounds and was dark complexioned, with black hair and grey eyes.

He married Hannah Henry Creemer on 28 Feb. 1841, the ceremony being performed by Peter Castor, Tippicanoe County, Indiana. Later they joined the Mormon Church and on 21 Jan. 1846 received their endowments in the Nauvoo Temple. To them were born fourteen children, their places of birth marking the location of the various family homes.

The 1850 census lists them in Manti, Utah, with four children. In 1852 they moved to Cedar City, where he was made the first bishop.

The *Millennial Star* reported that in 1854 "Bishop Tarleton Lewis [of Parowan] and Philip K. Smith of Cedar City, came to

Appendix VII

the conference with about 30 wagons, and succeeded in procuring about 150 persons, who had been brought here by the P.E.F. to return with them to Iron County; quite a number of Danes also accompanied them in addition." [V.17 p.61 Letter Geo. A. Smith to F.D. Richards dated 30 Oct. 1854].

On 30 May 1854 he was sealed to a plural wife, Betsy Cattle, of England. She bore him five children; the first, Priscilla, born 20 Mar. 1855.

On 21 March 1857 he was sealed to Margaret Alicer (later spelled Elliker) who was born 31 Dec. 1837 in Switzerland. She bore him five children, the first of whom, Alfred, was born 20 Dec. 1858, in Cedar City.

As Bishop in Cedar City, Philip Klingensmith first took charge of the children who survived the massacre at Mountain Meadows, but a week later handed them over to Jacob Hamblin.

In early 1858 he was sent to Las Vegas to mine lead; soon thereafter he moved to Nevada, where for a time he worked in the mines at Pioche. Later he took up a farm near Caliente, where he established his first wife and her family.

On 10 of April 1871 he made a confession of his part in the Mountain Meadows massacre in an affidavit before Peter B. Miller, Clerk of the Court of the Seventh Judicial District of the State of Nevada. He testified in the court at the first trial of John D. Lee.

Leaving his first wife and her family on the ranch at Dutch Flat, Caliente, he moved to Arizona. Later, reports came that he had been killed prompted his wife to send her twin sons, John and Philip, to Arizona to search for him or for some word of him. They reported that "they ran across some Indians in Arizona who said a white man who said that his name was Klingensmith had come into their camp sick, and had died, and they buried him."

[Letter from Freda Schofield, Hiko, Nevada, 1963]

The *Salt Lake Tribune* of 4 August 1881, quoting from the *Pioche Record* said that he had been found dead in a prospector's hole in the state of Sonora, Mexico, evidently murdered. The implication was that he had been pursued by avenging Mormons and killed as a traitor.

APPENDIX VIII

Elder David Lewis wrote the following:

President Brigham Young:

Dear Brother — I improve this the earliest opportunity to inform you of the Death of Capt. Walker, the Utah Chief after a sickness of 10 days; he died on the 29 inst., at Meadow Creek, about 6 miles from Fillmore. His complaint seemed to be a cold settled on his lungs.

I arrived at Fillmore on the 28 inst., and started next morning for Walker's lodge, and met the Utahs coming with Walker, and supporting him on a horse. He held out his hand, and shook hands, and seemed very glad to see me. He asked me if Brigham talked good and if I was going with him the the Navajoes. I told him that Br. Brigham talked very good, and perhaps I would go with him. I showed him the letter you sent to him, and I gave him all the articles you sent to him. He seemed greatly pleased with them, and wanted me to come the next morning to Meadow Creek, and read the letter for him. On the next morning, before day the Pauvans came running into the Fort, and said that Walker was dead,

Death of Walker

and the Utahs were mad; that they had killed two squaws, and two Piede Children. Ka-norche, the Pauvan Chief, sent us word to drive up all our horses, and cattle, and keep out of the kanyons; that the Utahs intended to kill two Pauvans and two Mormons, and a great many cattle.

About eighteen of our people went out in the morning, and found that the Utahs had killed two Squaws, Piede prisoners, and two Piede children, and about twelve, or fifteen of Walker's best horses; (the Pauvans said twenty horses.) They buried Walker with the letter, and all the articles you sent him.

Yours as ever, in the Gospel of Christ,

DAVID LEWIS

P.S. Walker's last words to his people were not to kill the Mormon's cattle, nor steal from them. I was with him until he was struck with death. He was in his senses, and greatly desired to live. He possessed a good spirit and shook hands twice with me. As I was starting for the Fort he pressed my hand, and said "come and see me again to-morrow, for I wish to have a long talk with you, but am too sick to talk now."

[St. Louis Lum. March 31, 1855: 2]

APPENDIX IX

Washington County Record Book A page 25

Be it known by these presents that we Richard Robinson & Elizabeth Robinson both residents of Peuta creek station in the county of Washington & Territory of Utah for & in consideration of the good will which we have to the Church of Jesus Christ of L. D. Saints, give & convey unto Brigham Young, Trustee in Trust for Said church, his heirs & successor in office & assigns. all our claims to the ownership of the following described property to wit. Improvements on lands not claims not Surveyed, lying & situated at Peuta Creek Station, supposed to be in Washington County, consisting of carrals & underground Room, the whole Estimated at

Estimated at	\$100.00
also 2 Mares 9 years old each valued at (78) (90)	168.00
" 2 colts 4 months old valued at \$30 each	60.00
" 2 cows 6 years old with young calves valued at \$40	80.00
" yearling Heiffers valued at \$20 each	40.00
" one waggon & harness valued at \$75	75.00
" 12 head of sheep " " \$6	72.00
" 5 head of swine consisting of 1 sow 4 pigs val. at	50.00
" Brewing apparatus on a Small Scale estimated at	50.00
" double barrel fowling Piece valued at	20.00

Appendix IX

Household kitchen furniture & wearing apparell	
all estimated at \$150	150.00
	\$ 855.00

Together with all the rights preveleges and appertainances thereunto belonging or appertaining we also covenant & agree that we are the lawful claimants & owner of Said property & will warrant & forever defend the Same unto the Said Trustee in Trust his successor in office & assigns against the claims of our heirs assigns or any Person whomsoever.

Witnesses

W., R. Davies)
James Davies) Signed
Benjamin Knell)

Richard Robinson
&
Elizabeth Robinson

Territory of Utah County of Washington, I John Doyle Lee Judge of the Probate Court in & for said Co. & T. certify that the signier of the above Transfer, Personally Known to me appeared this 6th day of July A.D. 1857, & of their choice executed the foregoing Transfer.

(Signed J. D. Lee Probate
Judge W.C. U.T.
& County Recorder.

Index

— A —

- Abraham (Indian), 22, 24
 Abraham, the Jew (see Abrams, Levi)
 Abrams, Levi, 64, 69, 133; bio. sketch, 62 fn. 49
 Adam, Brigham Young speaks on, 89
 Adams, Wm., 109
 Adshead, Wm., 157
 Allen, Ira, 106
 Allen, Rufus C., 2, 5, 6, 16-20, 22, 23, 26, 28, 30, 37, 38, 39, 41, 44, 58, 59, 60, 63, 64, 72, 74, 75, 76, 78, 82, 85, 86, 87, 91, 93, 102-105, 108, 109, 110, 112, 115-118, 120-129, 130 fn. 71, 132; bio. sketch 3 fn. 1
 Allred, James 128, 129 fn. 70
 Allred, N., 133
 Ames, Clarke, 91, 93, 110, 113, 119, 120, 122
 Ammon (Indian), 83
 Anderson, Miles, 20, 70
 Angell, Trueman O., 32, 153
 Arok (Indian), 26
 Arrappahoe Indians, 137
 Arrowich (Indian), 13
 Arthur, Caroline Haight (wife of C. J. Arthur), 106 fn. 60
 Arthur, Christopher J., 86, 106, 111, 112; bio. sketch, 106 fn. 60
 Arthur, Joshua, 153
 Atneat (Indian), 53
 Atwood, Mary Jane C., 4 fn. 3
 Atwood, Samuel F., 2, 6, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 27, 28, 37, 38, 74, 78, 93, 98, 108, 110, 114, 117, 124, 126; bio. sketch, 4 fn. 3
- B —
- Babbitt, Almon W., bio. sketch, 62 fn. 48
 Banks, John, 5
 Barham, _____, xv, 144
 Barney, Henry, 26, 90, 102, 105, 115
 Basset, _____, 10
 Bastion, H. D., 15, 122
 Baty, _____, 69
 Baugh, Annie, 111
 Bayliss, H. D., 15
 Bayliss, Mrs., 122
 Beale, E. F., 148
 Beale, George W., 10, 11, 12, 13, 30, 129 fn. 70, 130 fn. 71, 131, 153; bio. sketch, 10 fn. 9
 Beddoe, _____, 119
 Bell, Eli, 154
 Benson, Alva, 83
 Benson, Chas., 153
 Benson, E. T., 1, 3, 33, 34, 153
 Benton, Mrs. Jerome, 5
 Benson, Richard, 15, 77, 122
 Bentley, _____, 8 fn. 4
 Berry, James, 127 fn. 68
 Beshamp, _____, 26
 Bigler, Jacob C., 8, 133; bio. sketch, 8 fn. 5
 Birch, Francis, 153
 Blackburn, Elias Hicks, 5, 121
 Bladen, _____, (Sister), 82
 Blair, Seth M., xvii
 Bolton, Sarah (wife of John Sherratt), 87 fn. 57
 Bolwinkle, John, 5
 Bosnel, Jas., 17, 32, 33, 78, 84, 106, 112, 120, 121, 122
 Bradshaw, _____, 83
 Brannan, Sam, 42 fn. 35
 Bread, baking of, 128
 Brown, A. C., 153
 Brown, Agnes Dunlop (mother of T. D. Brown), xii, xvi, 142
 Brown, Amy Jane Middleton, 142
 Brown, E., 5
 Brown, Emily, died at six weeks, 141
 Brown, Frank E., marries Amy Jane Middleton, 142

- Brown, G., 5
 Brown, James (son of T. D. Brown), xiii, xviii, 135, 140
 Brown, James Galt, (father of T. D. Brown), xii, xiii, 141, 142
 Brown, James (son of T. D. Brown), 141, 142
 Brown, Mary Lucretia Willis (wife of T. D. Brown), 87, 134 fn. 76, 139, 140
 Brown, Sarah Godwin (daughter of T. D. Brown), xiii, 141, 142
 Brown, Sarah Godwin Sherratt, (wife of T. D. Brown), xiii, xiv, xviii, 141
 Brown, Lorenzo, xvi
 Brown, Thomas Dunlop xi, xii, xiv, xvi, xix, xx, 1-3, 6, 20, 28, 37, 41, 64, 74, 76, 77, 78, 82, 84, 85, 86, 97, 105, 112, 114, 115, 120, 121, 122, 125, 128, 143, 146; bio. sketch, xii-xviii; bio. following Southern Indian Mission, 139; born, xii; appointed pres. quorum of seventies in Harmony, 33 arranges for Mary Lucretia to move, 135 fn. 77; arranges to sell his goods, 140; death of, 140; descendents of, 142; inventory of goods in Kanesville, 143, 144; letters to Brigham Young, 67, 69, 103; poetry of, 46-49, 72-74, 79-81, 99, 101-102; preaching tour of South, 134; relation with Sherratt, 108; speaks against leaving the mission, 75; speaks on Indian mission, 59; speaks on salvation of Lamanites, 106; trip to Santa Clara, 128; works in Cedar City, 78; works for Iron Co., 106; works as surveyor, 135; Young's permission to take second wife, 128
 Buckskin Mountains, find manganese in, 123
 Bullock, Thomas, 32, 33, 36, 152, 153
 Burges, Hyrum, 2, 6, 14, 29, 67, 78, 93, 99, 100, 102, 103
 Burston W., 15, 109
 Burton, Robert T. 152, 153
- C -
- Cain, Jos., 4
 Cain, John T., 154
 Cairns, _____, 18
 Cairus, _____, 17
 California, possible southern road to, 68
 Call, Anson, 153
 Canfield, D., 5
 Carampour (Indian), 61
 Carter, Dominic, 5
 Carter, Miss, 122
 Carter, Rueben, 32, 39, 70, 76, 113
 Carter, Simon, xiii
 Cartwright, Thomas, 33
 Cato, Judge Drummond's Negro, attack on Sherwood, 63 fn. 49
 Catscomb (Indian), 61
 Caurthurs [Carruthers], Matthew, 158
 Cazouni (Indian), 53
 Chipman, Stephen, 36, 153
 Chislett, John, 140
 Clarke, G. S. 17, 18, 19, 50, 74, 109
 Clews, Jos., 83, 106
 Cluff, William, 154
 Collet, Mary Ann, 106
 Collett, Sylvanus, 7
 Colman, Prime, 7, 38, 74, 76, 103
 Conger, Leonard, 82 fn. 55, 140
 Consecration compulsory, 17 fn. 19, 32, 71 fn. 52, 126; orders for, 155-160
 Contooitz (Indian), 26
 Cook, Hyrum, 18, 71
 Cooke, Dd., 17
 Coradzise (Indian), 26
 Crisman, Charles, 11 bio. sketch, 11 fn. 12
 Cummings, _____, 12 fn. 15
 Cunningham, W., xiv
 Curtis, David A., 154
 Curtis, Enos, 152, 154
 Curtis, Ez., 128, 129 fn. 70
 Curtis, Lyman, 90 fn. 59, 109, 117
- D -
- Dalton, Henry S., 153
 Dalton, C. W., 19, 21, 27, 97, 109, 113, 123, 125
 Dame, W., 14, 50, 51, 77, 111, 122, 124
 Davies, Jno. R., 32, 58, 71, 76, 97, 119, 120, 123, 124, 126

Davies, James, 165
Davies, W. R., 165
Davenport, _____, 110
Dee, _____, 69
Deseret, territory of, ix
Devalson, _____, 154
Dick, *see* Queets
Dickson, Robert M., 2, 6, 17, 76, 78,
84, 87, 112, 128
Dickson, Wm. D., 2
Dixon, _____, 27
Dog Valley, description of, 11
Dorrity, Dennis, 127
Drummond, [W. W.], 63 fn. 49
Dunlap, Francis, 122
Durfee, Abraham, 109
Dustin, Nathan Tanner, 133
Dymock, *see* Tooanap

- E -

Eason, A., 76
Easton, Jno., 20, 70
Edwards, Margaret J., 42 fn. 35
Eldridge, Elnathan, 2, 7, 71, 86, 105
Ellmere, Mrs., 122
Elmon [Elmer?], E., 158
Ensign, M., 15, 120
Evan, W., 56
Evans, Henry, 58, 60, 76; bio. sketch,
42 fn. 36
Eyanqueets (Indian), 108

- F -

Farrer, Wm., 133
Fife, Peter M., 78, 106, 110, 112, 122,
123
Fillmore, site of state capitol, xi; selec-
tion of as state capitol, 10 fn. 10
Fish, Wm., 15
Flint, Thomas, 71 fn. 52
Foote, _____, 8 fn. 4
Fort Bridger, 136
Fort Supply, 136
Fox, Jesse William, bio. sketch, 135 fn.
78
Frontier Guardian, xv, xvi, Brown's ads
in, 143-146
Fullmer, John S., 62 fn. 48

- G -

Gabriel, *see* Tooan-knife
Garner, Dave, 154
Gates, Hen., 129 fn. 70
Gates, Jacob, 134
Gates, Rueben, 133
Geddes, Archibald, xiv
Geary, I. T., 99
Genesis, Brigham Young on, 88
Gibbons, Andrew, 22 fn. 22, 106
Gillespie, Bob, 129 fn. 70
Grant, J. M., 128
Greene, E. M., 158
Gregory, John, 157, 158
Groves, Elisha Samuel, 19, 21, 22, 24,
27, 30, 37, 60, 74, 97, 116, 121, 140;
bio. sketch, 24 fn. 24
Grouvard, B. F., 11; bio. sketch, 11 fn.
11

- H -

Hadden, Alfred, 20, 28, 32, 121
Hadden, Mary C., 70
Haight, Isaac C., 17, 18, 36, 70, 81, 86,
106, 109, 110, 111, 112, 117, 127
Haitt, Mrs., 122
Hall, Chas., 14
Hamblin, Jacob, xix, 2, 7, 21, 38 fn. 32,
41, 42 fn. 35, 53 fn. 42, 64 fn. 51, 74,
76, 77, 78, 86, 93, 94, 103, 115, 116,
120, 123, 125, 137, 149, 150, 151,
161
Hamilton, Jno., 83, 84, 87, 108, 112
Hanks, Ephriam, 153
Hardy, A. P., 2, 6, 41, 58, 69, 74, 75,
77, 85, 86, 93, 99, 100, 103, 113, 114,
116, 117, 125, 129 fn. 70
Harmony, New Fort, Brigham Young's
plans for, 31
Harris, Llewelin, 26, 100
Harrison, E. L. T., 140
Harrison, Richard, 17, 18, 32, 70, 84
Haskell, Thales, 2, 7, 58, 60, 78, 103,
117, 128; bio. sketch, 42 fn. 35
Haslam, Margaret, 107
Haslam, Wm., 90
Hatch, Ira, 2, 6, 21, 22, 28, 38, 67, 76,
78, 82, 83, 86, 93; bio. sketch, 21 fn.
22

Heap, Edward, 32
 Heap, Gwinn Harris, 148
 Heap, William, 15, 16
 Hedlock, Reuben, trustee, Joint Stock Company, xiv
 Henefer, William, 2, 6, 21, 21 fn. 22, 22, 39, 41, 52, 59, 64, 71, 76, 86, 105
 Heywood, Joseph L., 62 fn. 48
 Heywood, Martha Spence, 8 fn. 4, 12 fn. 14, 12 fn. 15
 Hinds, Sister, 5
 Higbee, Jno., 108
 Hill, Archibald N., 153
 Hinkley, Arza B., 153
 Hoffreins, Isaac, 109, 122
 Hoffreins, J., 77
 Hofheins, Jacob, 158
 Holbrook, _____, 11
 Holden, Elijah E., 9, 10
 Holman, John, 5
 Hooper, William Henry, bio. sketch, 108 fn. 61
 Hope, _____, 82 fn. 55
 Hopkins, _____, 117
 Horne, Joseph, on Southern Mission, x
 Horace, quotes from, 57, 61
 Houghbines, Jac., 158
 Hulet, Sylvester, 130 fn. 71, 132
 Humphries, Jno., 87, 111; fume of coke nearly suffocates, 107
 Hunt, John, 82 fn. 55, 134 fn. 76; exploration of, in 1849, ix
 Hunter, Edward, 152, 153
 Hunter, Geo., 157
 Hunter, Joseph, 33; marriage of, 8 2
 Hunter, _____, 18
 Hunter, Wm., 157
 Huntington, Dimick B., 152, 153
 Huntsman, _____, 10
 Hutchings, Lyman S., 153
 Hutchings, William W., 153
 Hutchinson, J. Y., xvi
 Hyde, Orson, xiii, 1, 3, 15, 87

- I -

Iatts (Indian tribe), 131, 132
 Indians, agriculture, 44, 50, 57, 67, 68, 131; Brigham Young speaks about,

xiii; baptism of, 26, 27, 129; burial, 42, 43; "Cheaper to feed than fight," ix; clothing for, 85; clothing sold to, 103; dam, 56 (diagram, 57); description of dress, 13, 60; dining with, 44-45, 54; expedition against, viii, ix; gather berries, 52; marriage, 21, 21 fn. 21; mission to described by Brigham Young, 29-31; preparation of wheat for flour, 54-55; preparation of Yant, 65; settlers oppressed by, 10; stealing at Harmony, 17; trading with, 55; making willow baskets, 54; relations with Mormons and Americans, 133; rock drawings, 39, 39 fn. 33

Indian doctor, description of treatment, 23

Ingram, A. G., 20, 97

Iron Company, building of, 16

Ironworks, Brown's visit to, 71

Isaac, *see* Obanipe

- J -

Jackson, _____, 87

Jenkins, T., 153

Johnson, _____, 13 fn. 15

Johnson, Arron, 5, 152, 154

Johnson, B. F., 126

Johnson, Henry, 153

Johnson, Geo., 33

Johnson, Mrs. Huntington, 8

Johnson J. E., 84

Johnson, Joel H., 36, 83, 84, 77, 111

Johnson, Jos. W., 84

Jones, Benj., 14

Joseph (Indian), 100

Judd, Jadoc, 14

Judd, Mrs., Z, 122

- K -

Ka-norche (chief, Pauvans), 163

Kaweed (Indian), 64

Kay, John, 83, 108

Kearns, H. H., 78

Kelsey, Eli B., xiv

Kershaw, Robt., 109, 123

Keyes [Keys], Robert, 81, 126

Kimball, Heber C., viii, 32, 153; meets with Walker, xi; prophesy on Parowan, 35
 Kimball, William H., 156, 157, 159
 Klingonsmith, Betsy Cattle, 112 fn. 63, 161
 Klingonsmith, Hannah Henry Cramer, 112 fn. 12, 160
 Klingonsmith, Philip, bio. sketch, 160-161
 Klingonsmith, Margaret Alicer, 112 fn. 63, 161
 Knell, Benjamin, 2, 7, 14, 38, 78, 91, 100, 165
 Knight, James, 16
 Knights, Saml., 2, 7, 67, 78, 118, 120

- L -

Lamanites *see* Indians
 Lane, _____, 5
 Las Vegas Mission, 130 fn. 71
 Leech [Leach], _____, 82, fn. 55, 133
 Leatham, James, 153
 Lee, John D., 17-22, 27, 28, 30, 36, 38, 40, 50, 69, 74, 76, 85, 90, 91, 97, 100, 112-119, 121, 125, 126, 127, 159, 165; Brown's dislike of, 30 fn. 28; Brown's grievances against, 118; builds fort with rotten adobes, 98; dreams of, 116; treatment of Pahutes, 118; on Southern Mission, x
 Lee, Martha, (wife of J. D. Lee), 126 fn. 68
 Lee, Mary, (wife of J. D. Lee), 122
 Leigh, _____, 117
 Lemuel (Indian), 100
 Lewis, Benjamin, 25
 Lewis, David, 2, 5, 6, 16, 17, 18, 20, 27, 28, 37-39, 50, 56, 58, 66, 67, 74-77, 94, 103, 111-113, 120, 123; councils Cedar City on Indians, 96, 97; first counselor, Southern Indian Mission, 1, 4, 4 fn. 2; letter to Brigham Young about Paiede Indians, 93; reports death of Walker, 162, returns from visit to Indians, 40; starts on visit to Toquer, 38

Lewis, Druitha Trial, 4 fn. 2
 Lewis, Elizabeth Huntsman, 77 fn. 53
 Lewis, James, 77, 78, 84, 111
 Lewis, Preston, 2
 Lewis, Tarleton, 160
 Little, Jas. A., 16, 158
 Lott, John, 2, 5, 7, 22, 25, 36, 38, 41
 Liston, C. Perry, 32, 70, 78, 81, 84, 110
 Louder, John, 77, 82 fn. 58
 Lunt, Henry, x, fn. 5, 17
 Lunt, Sister Henry, 78

- M -

McBride, _____, 133 fn. 74
 McConnell, Jehiel, 32, 83, 110, 112, 113
 McEwan, _____, 10
 McFarlane, Ann Chatterly, 82, 106
 McFarlane, John, 106
 McGaw, Sister, 10
 McGuffee, Mrs., 122
 McKean, Judge, 140
 McKenzie, Thos., 153
 McMurdie, _____, 106
 Macoooveok (Indian), Jim, 64; baptism of, 63
 Mananowite (Indian), 61
 Manasseh, Indians descendents of, 29
 Mangeweinunt (Indian), 63
 Margetson, _____, 62, 63
 Markham, Steven, 8
 Martindale, Perry, 32
 Matuprenup, (Indian), visit to, 53, 54
 Meeks, Dr., 14
 Merrick, _____, 154
 Michael, *see* Pamonis
 Miles, Ira, 133 fn. 74
 Miles, Orson, 154
Millennial Star, xiii, xiv
 Miller, Henry W., Brown's parner in Kanesville, xv, xvi, 140, 145, 146
 Mills, Daniel S., 154
 Missouri, persecution of Saints in, 25
 Mitchell, Mrs., 122
 Mitchell, W. C., 14, 15, 69, 70, 90, 109, 130
 Mitchell, Wm., Jr., 111
 Moquis (Indian tribe), 95
 Moogwarawweep (Indian), 63

Mook-witch (Indian), 26
 Morgan, Dale L., xix
 Mormon, Book of, history of Indian tribes, vii-viii
 Mormon Batalion, Allen in, 3 fn. 1
 Morris, Barbara, 106
 Morris, Elias, xvi, 18
 Mortensen, A. R., xx
 Mott, Stephen, 7
 Muffit, Andrew, 152
 Murdock, John, 2, 7, 9, 19, 22, 36, 38, 41; joins Southern Indian Mission, 5
 Muris family, 18
 Musser, A. Milton, xx

- N -

Na-akum (Indian), 26
 Naguts (Indian), 93, 94
 Nefe, Amos, 10, 11, 152; bio. sketch, 10 fn. 7
 Neianirike (Indian), 53
 Nelson, John, 33, 71, 76, 98
 Nephi, xi; description of, 8 fn. 4
 Newman, Elijah P., 15, 16
 Nobles, V., 134
 Norton, W., 10, 11; bio. sketch, 10 fn. 8
 Numan, _____, 70

- O -

Obanipe (Indian), 26, 27
 Onpiqueets (Indian), 63
 Onhtoupe (Indian), 64
 Oreump (Indian), 63
 Ovanukets (Indian), 26

- P -

Paheacit (Indian), 53
 Pah Ute, language, study of, 41
 "Pahute Mormons," 74
 Pamonis (Indian), 26, 27
 Panacoïn (Indian), 61
 Pantemonea (Indian), 50
 Paragoona, removal to Parowan, 147, 148
 Parker, Arthur, 84
 Parooamp (Indian), 26

Parowan, xiii
 Partridge, Edward, 154
 Pauvans (Indian tribe), 162
 Pa-vant Valley, description of, 11
 Pavinapooch (Indian), 50
 Peck, Joseph A., 154
 Peck, Ward, 154
 Pendleton, C. C., 15, 16, 17, 112, 122
 Perpeual Emigration Fund, 86, 123, 124
 Perry, _____, 111
 Peshamihty (Indian), 53
 Pieves, 163; marriage among, 149, 150, 151; report murder, 12
 Pierre (Indian), burial of, 42-43
 Plow, stocking of, 19 fn. 20
 Pollock, _____, 70
 Pomeroy, Francis M., 42 fn. 35
 Powell, Jas., 100
 Peter (Indian), 61
 Pratt, Parley P., 1, 3, 4, 6, 17, 18, 28, 31, 34-36, 68, 152, 153; exploration of, in 1849, ix; preaches to Indians, viii
 Prowe (Indian), 26
 Pulsipher, John, 136 fn. 79, 136 fn. 81
 Pugmire, Jonathan, 33, 81, 83, 84, 106-109, 111-113,

- Q -

Quawoo (Indian), 26
 Queets (Dick), Indian, 43, 51, 56, 64, 93, 94

- R -

Red Creek, 14 fn. 16
 Reddick, _____, 133
 Redfield, Harlow, 5
 Reese, Enoch, 61
 Reese, John, 61 fn. 46, 62, 64, 69
 Reformation of 1856, 136 fn. 79
 Richards, F. D., 122, 161
 Richards, Henry P., 154
 Richards, Silas, 152, 153
 Richards, Willard, meets with Walker, xi
 Richey, Mrs., B., 126
 Richie, Roberts, 2, 7, 27, 86, 113, 124
 Riddle, Isaac, 2, 6, 21, 38, 51, 56, 67,

76, 77, 85, 86, 97, 128, 132; joins
Southern Indian Mission, 5
Rigdon, Sidney, 27
Robert, Charles, murder of, 13 fn. 15
Roberts, Richard, 17, 68, 78; joins
Southern Indian Mission, 5
Roberts, Robert, 26
Robinson, Richard, 2, 7, 164, 165
Robinson, Elizabeth, 164, 165
Robinson, Lewis, 153
Rockwell, Porter, 9, 11, 36, 153; bio.
sketch, 9 fn. 6
Rogers, Claude, 17, 32, 70
Rogers, Saml., 109
Roundy, Lorenzo, 2, 6, 38, 41, 64, 74,
75, 77, 86, 98, 100, 120, 124, 125

- S -

Salmon River Mission, 137
Sanford, _____, 129
Santa Clara, Brown's trip down, 41-69
Sarah (Indian), washes for Brown, 74-
75
Sanpitch (Sanpete) (Walker's Bro.),
99, 100; trades for children, 100, 104,
105
Savage, David, 82 fn. 55, 108, 117, 132
Sawowats (Indian), 63
Schurtz *see* Shirts
Sewooraris (Indian), 61
Shearman, W. H., 140
Shenowab (Indian God), 46, 48
Sherratt, Christine Bullock, 141
Sherratt, Mrs. Gwen Heaton, xiii, xvi
Sherratt, John (stepson of T. D. Brown),
xii, xiv, 2, 87, 90-92, 99, 100, 103,
105, 107, 109, 117, 119, 120; bio.
note, 87 fn. 57; leaves mission, 108;
remarries, 141
Sherratt, Orson Smith, 87 fn. 57, 142
Sherratt, Sarah Bolton (wife of John
Sherratt), 87 fn. 57
Sherratt, Smith, xiii
Sherratt, William, xiii, xiv; dies, xv
Sherwood, Henry G., 63, 64, 70, 133;
bio. sketch, 62 fn. 47
Shirts, Don Carlos, 16 fn. 17, 38, 120
Shirts, Darius, 77, 107, 114, 120

Shirts, Mrs. Darius, 121
Shirts (Schurtz), George, 16 fn. 17, 107
Shirts, Peter, 19, 21, 22, 27, 28, 93, 94,
98, 109, 113, 114, 118-120, 124, 128,
130; bio. sketch, 16 fn. 17
Shoemaker, Alexander M., 153
Simpkins, Jas., 127
Singleton, _____, 5
Smith, _____, 10
Smith, George A., xvii, 71 fn. 52, 153,
154, 159, 161; in charge of Enforced
Consecration," 155; leads Southern
Mission, x; letter to Walker, x
Smith, Hyrum, 71
Smith, Jesse, 17
Smith, John (father of Joseph), 27
Smith, John C. L., 16, 70, 77, 84, 89,
105, 112, 122, 123, 125; bio. sketch,
12 fn. 15
Smith, John L., 158
Smith, Joseph (Prophet), 11 fn. 11, 25,
77
Smith, Joseph F. (nephew of Prophet),
5, 154
Smith, Lot, 153
Smith, Mary Anderson (wife of P. K.
Smith), 112, 160
Smith, P. K., 83, 87, 107, 11, 113, 127,
160; bio. sketch, 112 fn. 63
Smith, Silas, 154
Smith, William K., 153, 154
Smithie, James, xviii
Snider, George, 130
Snow, Lorenzo, 1, 3
Snow, Erastus, 1, 3, 81, 134, 153
Southe,rn Mission called, x
Spaneshank, Sarah, 22 fn. 22
Speaking in tongues, 116 fn. 65
Sprague, Samuel L., 152, 153
Steel, John, 16, 70, 84, 112, 122
Stuart, _____, 32
Stenhouse, T. B. H., 140
Stewart, A. J., 153, 154
Stewart, Wm., 106
Stoddard, David, 157, 159
Stoddard, Jno., 109
Stratton, A. J., 106, 110

- Tanterbus (Indian), x
Tatsagovats (Indian), 104
Tatsegobits (Indian), 100
Taweewats (Indian), 63
Taylor, Geo., 153
Taylor, John, xvi, 152, 153
Taylor, Stephen, 153
Terab, (son of Toquer), 27, 27 fn. 26, 49
Thomas, Robert, 97
Thomas, Chas., 122
Thornton, Amos G., 2, 7, 42, 59, 64, 76, 78, 103; joins Southern Indian Mission, 5
Thrustin, Smith B., 153
Tobin, John, 136
Tockwits Macoveooks (Indian), 63
Toker (Toquer) (Pahute chief), 47, 49, 50, 108, 118; description of, 44; description of wickeups, 43-44; decision to make trip to, 37; vision of, 59
Tomkinson, _____, 10
Toonanap (Dymock) (Indian), 26, 27, 30
Tooah-knife (Indian) 26, 27
Tooepitz (Indian), 108
Tootapea (Indian), 26
Topham, Jno., 14, 110, 122
Toqua (Pa-edde chief), 24
Tsategoup (Indian chief), visit to, 56
Tsatwouts (Indian), 53
Tsibekoo (Indian), 26
Tso (Indian guide), 51
Tullis, David, 2, 91, 92, 100, 103, 105, 109, 112, 115-117, 119, 125, 134; claims part of Brown's land, 124; comes to Harmony, 90

- Uncapan (Indian), 61
Urie, John, 161
Utahs, 162 (see also Indians and individual names)
Van Stewart, Urban, bio. sketch, 33 fn. 31
Vorhees, Col., 84, 125

- Walker, Chief (Indian), viii, x, xi, 10, 68, 118, 147; Brigham Young's overtures to, 12 fn. 14; death of, 112 fn. 64, 162, 163; lands belongs to him, 100; letter from Brigham Young, viii; meets with Brigham Young, xi; quarrel with a Piede Indian, 13; sells children for goods, 11
Walker, Ed, 153
Walker, Henson, 5, 152, 153
Walker, Jos., 106, 112, 127
Walkly, J. N., 153
Wallace, G. B., 134
Wanteits (Indian), 26
Ward, Ed, 109
Ward, Thomas, xiii, xiv
Wardel, _____, blacksmith of New Harmony, 19
Watters, _____, 11, 12
Watts, Benj., 15
Watts, John, 153
Webbs, _____, 24
Weimer, Capt. Robert, xvi
Wells, Daniel H., 152, 153, 156
West, Chauncey W., 36, 132
West, Sister, 122
Western, Jno., 77, 84, 122
Weston, _____, 70
Whedon, A. L., 11
Wheeler, Thomas H., on Southern Mission, x
Whipple, Edson, 154
White, S. D., 24, 62, 106
Whitney, _____, 122
Whitney, Francis T., 14
Whitney, John, 154
Whitney, Orson K., 154
Whittaker, Mary Ann, 106
Wild, Vernon, 5
Wilding, Charles, 33, 120
Wilding, Elliot, 120
Wilkin, _____, 133
Williams, Thomas, bio. sketch, 111 fn. 62
Williams, Betsey, 107
Williams, Griff, 82 fn. 55
Willis, John, 130

- Willis, William Wesley, 74, 105, 106, 111, 115, 122, 127, 129 fn. 70, 130; appointed president of quorum of seventies in Cedar City, 33; bio. sketch, 134 fn. 76
- Willis, Mrs. W. W., 121
- Wilson, Thomas, xiv
- Wood, Geo., 33, 82, 158
- Wood, Gideon D., 153
- Woodbury, Hannah Maria, 42 fn. 35
- Woodruff, Wilford, 1, 3, 32, 152, 153
- Woods, M., 67
- Woodward, H., 153
- Wylie, R., 17, 18, 32, 70, 106, 108, 121
- Y -
- Yant, preparation of, 65
- Yawoowat (Indian), 63
- Young, Brigham, 2, 10, 12 fn. 14, 14 fn. 16, 32, 57, 82, 87, 88, 108, 110, 115, 122, 124, 136, 147, 162; instructions to missionaries, 85-86; letters to, from Harmony, 67, 85, 91; letter to Walker, viii; meets with Walker, xi; orders for Enforced Consecration, 56, 70; plan for building fort, 154; sells Brown surveyor's tools; 135; sent specimen of first iron from Iron Coy., 109; sent copy of hieroglyphics, 123; speaks to missionaries, 29-31; travels south, 152; visits iron works, 127
- Young, Brigham, Jr., 153
- Young, Joseph, 115, 153
- Young, Jos. W., 32, 153
- Young, Lorenzo, 16 fn. 17, 32, 152, 153
- Young, Phinehas, 32, 153
- Young, William, 90, 98, 99, 102, 113 118, 120; speaks in tongues, 116
- Young, Willis, 126