The World of Joseph Fielding: Chapter 39

1858: News of the War Reaches the East

With reports of the U. S. Army stranded on the plains due to the heroic efforts of the Nauvoo Legion, public sentiment was swayed against President Buchanan.[1] News from the east via returning missionaries reached President Young. He was told that soldiers being recruited to replenish the ranks of the army on the plains were encouraged to enlist with offers of properties, homes and crops in the Utah Territory once the LDS people were expelled. At the same time, government leaders were being harshly criticized in the press for not properly notifying Governor Young of the advancing troops. John Taylor's biographer wrote:

> It is admitted a great error on the part of the administration in not officially notifying Gov. Young of his removal and of the movements relative to Utah. In the absence of any such notice, it is urged that [Brigham Young's] acts must be considered legal.[2]

By February of 1858, troops in Utah were being readied to meet the army on the plains. In Utah County an armed force of one thousand men was raised.[3] At this time, a non-LDS merchant of the Livingston and Kinkade Company returned to the east. He was sought out for an interview by a New York Tribune reporter. Known only as Mr. Bell, the returning merchant had a lot to say about his eight years in Utah. The reporter wrote:

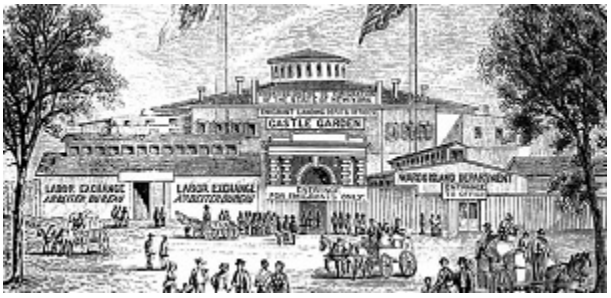
> Of a people, as a community, he represents them as honest, sober and very industrious. . . With all their faults, admitting he says, the legality of polygamy, there is, 'taking them all in all,' not a more moral community in the world than is to be found in Utah. . . Outsiders, or 'Gentiles,' have not been subjected to abuse or annoyance on account of negative faith in Mormonism. The troubles between the Gentiles and the Mormons have sprung from meddling, unnecessarily and unwisely, on the part of the former. . . .Mr. B. thinks it is a pity that special commissions were not sent to Utah to investigate the charges preferred against the Mormons. . . .Much interesting information would have been gathered. The fact should not be concealed from the public that the commencement of difficulties has almost invariably sprung from personal matters – not official. . . .
>
> Mr. B. had a lengthy interview with Brigham [Young] just previous to his departure. . . . To an investigation they never would have objected. . . but to an army entering their valleys, under such circumstances, they will not consent; and sooner than the army should enter they will fight, and if overpowered burn all their possessions and take to the mountains. Some have thought Brigham's discourses are for effect outside of Utah, but our informant thinks to the contrary, and considers that Brigham's works sustain his words. The people are devoid of fear touching the future. . . .
>
> Three thousand armed Mormons are in Echo kanyon, where they have plenty of timber for fuel and for building shanties, many of which they have erected for their comfort during the winter. It is not intended that they should at any time go out and have a fair stand-up fight with the troops – if it must be, guerilla will be fashionable. The Mormon 'boys' enjoy camp life, and would play a good part at guerilla warfare. This trip to the

mountain affords them opportunity of exhibiting their tact and willingness to serve the cause, without which many of them would have remained in the background for years to come .

Shortly before Mr. Bell's departure, he visited the Armory, where mechanics were busy in the manufacture of revolvers. They were turning out Colt's holster revolvers at the rate of twenty per week. The Mormons were quite pleased with their manufacture of this article and consider it equal, at least, to Colt's. They have often tried, unsuccessfully, the manufacture of gunpowder, but they have now got over their difficulties. . . . Before they require it, in the spring, they will have it in abundance.

. . .Scouting parties are out in every direction. From the mountains round the west and south sides of the camp of the expedition the Mormon scouts can see all that is going on without incurring risk. The redoubtable Porter Rockwell told Mr. Bell that he and his company stood on the mountains by the side of which Colonel Alexander was marching his command on the Fort Hall route, and so near that they could have thrown rocks upon the troops passing. An express leaves the neighborhood of Bridger every evening with an account of the movements of the expedition during the day, and Brigham has it at his breakfast table the next morning, and everything of note is communicated to the people from his office.[4]

A few weeks later, a reporter from the New York Herald published his personal account of meeting over twenty missionaries after they passed through the immigration port of Castle Gardens in New York City. The missionaries were greeted by members of the Church living in New York who knew of their imminent arrival.[5] The reporter wrote:



Returning missionaries from England passed through United States immigration at Castle Garden, New York.

Unlike our notions of morose looking, sedate, quiet talking bishops or high priests, our Utah dignitaries were a jovial lot of fellows, who when they met with some of their Utah brethren residing in the States, would hug them in the bear style, more warm than fashionable. . . .If the grasshoppers in the valleys had damaged the physique of the brethren, the roast beef of old England had defaced every trace of famine. With the exception of one or two who had suffered from the tossing of the big waters, they were big, stout, hearty and hale fellows, just such a class as would enjoy a tussle or a fight in the mountains.

They reported themselves citizens of America, principally of the eastern and middle states. The recent orders from 'President Young' as they now and again called Bro. Brigham, to stop the emigration from Europe to the United States [with the U. S. Army on the plains interfering with returning missionaries and emigrants], had so changed the character of their mission that they had been 'released' to return and see their relatives. . . .

The reporter quoted the words of one unnamed member of the Church:

> We are not willing to believe that this boasted land of religious liberty, the country of our birth, whose interest is ever near to our hearts, will so far stoop from her lofty position as to persist in carrying on a war of extermination against the sons of her own soil, who are true and loyal to the backbone, for only having chosen to avail ourselves of our constitutional right to worship God after the dictates of our own consciences. . . . Our people are not yet prepared to witness calmly and unconcernedly the repetition of such scenes as have hitherto been enacted in Missouri and Illinois. . . . We love peace, we hate war, and hope that the good sense of the nation will oppose the measures now taken. . . but if otherwise, we expect the Lord will preserve the righteous. . . .

The reporter concluded:

> They report the mission abroad in a flourish condition. Some five thousand persons have been added to the Mormon church in Europe since the reformation began there last year. The brethren and sisters were full of faith and 'rejoicing in the fulfilment of ancient and modern prophets.' The 'boys,' as the individual parts of this company call each other, are willing to die for Bro. Brigham.[6]

During the winter of 1857-1858, various groups of returning missionaries and California settlers arrived in Salt Lake City. Apostles Orson Pratt and Ezra T. Benson had traveled with George Q. Cannon and Howard Egan from San Francisco, arriving in January.[7] Young Joseph F. Smith, who had spent many weeks returning from Hawaii, arrived in the Valley in late February.[8] Joseph F., by now nineteen, reported for military duty the day after his return from his three-year mission.[9] He wrote:

> From that time until the proclamation of peace. . . I was constantly in my saddle, prospecting and exploring the country between Great Salt Lake City and Fort Bridger.[10]

The pioneers planted their crops in the spring of 1858 full of faith, and Wilford Woodruff later stated that it became the largest harvest "ever known in these valleys."[11]

Brigham Young Recommends the Move South

On the 21st of March, a special conference was held in the tabernacle to discuss the plans to move the residents of the northern counties south. President Young stated that he would rather see the city in ashes than have one good Elder killed.[12]

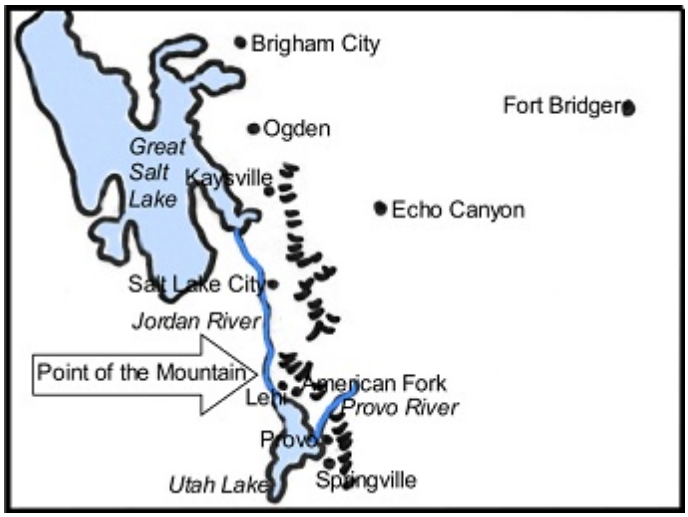
A few days later, as word reached the valley that the army was approaching, workmen plowed up the dirt in the temple lot and buried the foundation.[13]

The following Sunday Brigham Young addressed the large congregation:

> There is a great deal of inquiry as to whether we shall be under the necessity of burning. We are now under the necessity of preparing for it, and that is enough for the present. . . .

> The Lord is leading this people as he designs for the building up of his kingdom, and we need not worry ourselves about it. You were told last season, when we heard that an army was on the way here, that we would rather lay waste [to] this Territory than yield our rights to men . . . . We were able, last fall, to keep them from us, and we are well able to defend this city. How long, I do not know. . . . Can you understand that it is better to lose property than the lives of men, women and children? . . . . If we vacate the ground, that may satisfy them; but if they undertake to come in before we are ready, we will send them to their long home.[14]

After the conference, hundreds of families who were already prepared hitched up their wagons and moved south on the road which traversed the Jordan Narrows below the Point of the Mountain. Brigham Young, John Taylor and Ezra T. Benson moved their families that week, with President Young spending the night in American Fork, intending to return to Salt Lake City.[15]

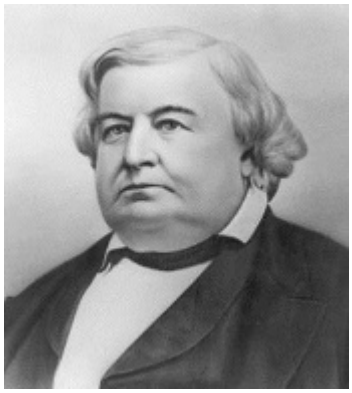


Thirty-thousand people from Salt Lake City and north moved south to Provo and beyond in the spring of 1858.

Reporters from the east, including one who had covered the Crimean War, began making their way to Utah to cover the invasion of Utah by the army, which was reportedly on the move.[16]

Joseph Fielding and his two families, with his daughter Rachel, her husband William, and baby Isabella, moved south to the Provo river bottoms, where about thirty-thousand pioneers from the northern counties ultimately relocated for the summer. Mary Ann, the daughter of Joseph's second wife, later told her descendants that she was just twelve years old when her cousin Joseph F. Smith put her on the back of his horse and they rode together to Provo. Mary Ann "did not sense the seriousness of that move." In fact, she "thought it quite a lark to ride horseback to Provo."[17] Joseph F. returned to the Salt Lake Valley, being among the men left to torch the homes and business left behind.[18] Surely Mercy and her daughter Mary Jane, who was by then twenty years old, also traveled and camped with this family group.

Brigham Young returned to Salt Lake City and presided over that spring's general conference, with most of the apostles in attendance.


Alfred Cumming arrived in Utah in April of 1858.

Alfred Cumming, the New Governor, Arrives

On Thursday, April 8th, 1858, Governor Cumming, who spent the winter in the Bear River Valley in what is now Idaho, arrived in Echo Canyon, traveling at night.[19] He was accompanied by Colonel Thomas Kane, who had privately mediated an agreement between

President Young and the new governor and was met by one hundred armed Nauvoo Legion soldiers who stood at attention.[20] The Legion soldiers had built fires along the route into the canyon for over a mile, brightly illuminating the governor's route. After passing through the trails lit by these fires, Governor Cumming stated that "the illumination in the canyon outstripped anything he had ever expected to see. . . . The effect, he said, could not be described." Farther along his route he was again met, this time by one hundred and fifty armed soldiers also standing at attention. The governor was fed a superb meal at Heber C. Kimball's military camp at Yellow Creek where he was introduced to several Legion officers. After coming down out of the mountains into Weber County, he was greeted by a band which played The Star-Spangled Banner. The next day a band traveling in carriages surrounded the governor and performed a series of patriotic melodies. Governor Cumming was impressed and stated that the attachment for national music could not be feigned.[21] Not long after the governor reached Salt Lake City, he asked to meet with President Young, who hosted the new governor and Colonel Kane at a small reception.[22]

Upon arriving in Salt Lake City, Governor Cumming wrote Colonel Sidney Johnston, still at Fort Bridger:

> I have been everywhere recognized as Governor of Utah, and, so far from having encountered insults or indignities, I am gratified in being able to state to you that, in passing through the settlements, I have been universally greeted with such respectful attentions as are due to the representative authority of the United States in the Territory. . . .I have not yet examined the subject critically, but apprehend that the records of the United States Courts, Territorial Library, and other public property, remain unimpaired.[23]

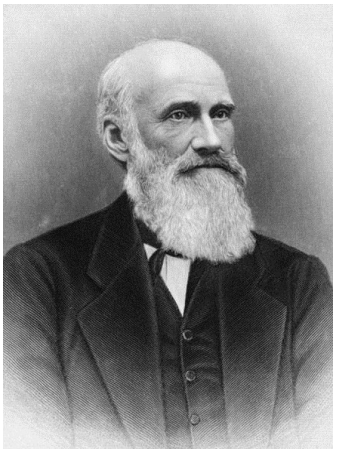
With a public face of welcoming the new governor, Daniel H. Wells, a counselor to President Young and acting as the general of the Nauvoo Legion, informed Governor Cumming that "the people had passed resolutions not to accept any U. S. officials while a hostile army menaced us." General Wells reported that the new governor did not respond nor react at all.[24]

Wagons with families and goods continued to move south.[25] Governor Cumming watched the procession of hundreds of families and thousands of animals moving south and remarked that he was sorry to see the people leaving their homes.[26]

Colonel Kane informed Brigham Young that Alfred Cumming was very close to forbidding Utah residents from moving south. Brigham Young quipped back that the new governor's concern was that there would soon be no one left to serve on a jury to convict the Church leaders. Not long afterward, President Young received word that the new governor wanted President Young's office to use as his own. President Young sent word back that his office was part of his home. [27]

At this time Governor Cumming stated his opinion of three Church leaders:

> Gov. Young was a man of lamb-like disposition and possessed a superior brain, a mind capable of grasping anything. President Kimball was a fierce, brace, unflinching, unchangeable man and more to be dreaded than any of the others; fine determined temperament and a very fine man, and if any of them needed hanging it would be him.

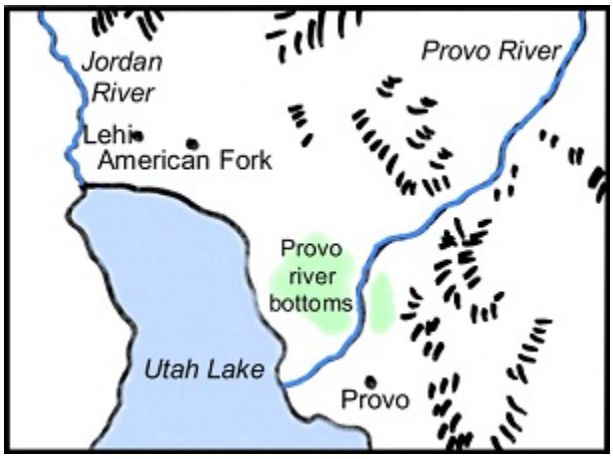


William Hooper served as secretary of Utah Territory.

George A. Smith possessed an unaccountable memory, would make an excellent historian and a number one politician, if he had a chance. They were three exceedingly fine, intellectual men and he had been deceived in what he had heard of them; he liked them.[28]

Shortly after this, the governor toured the public properties and holdings in Salt Lake City, such as the Utah Library, court records, and the papers kept by William Hooper, the secretary of the territory. Government documents were stored in a safe which had obviously just been moved to a barn. The governor asked Brother Hooper "why he had the safe in such an out-of-the-way place." William replied, "We are going to burn the city shortly and did not want to burn any U. S. property."[29]

Wagons, people and cattle continued to move south. One observer in American Fork stated that the roads were "lined with them."He continued, "They seemed to pass through the fort all night." Seventeen teams and wagons were sent from Cedar City to aid the movement of the people from the northern counties to Utah County,[30] and additional teams from Provo were sent to Salt Lake City to help with the resettlement.



Evacuees from the northern counties spent the summer of 1858 in the Provo river bottoms and surrounding areas.

Toward the end of April, President Young traveled again to Provo and toured the area. He visited the camps of the various wards, which had traveled south and then camped together. Some were in the river bottoms; others were near Utah Lake. Many had made temporary homes of sage brush and willows.[31] Others lived in their wagon beds with the wheels removed. A few had canvas tents. Some had built dugouts.[32]

Near the end of the month, on Sunday, April 25th, the First Presidency and four apostles met with Governor Cumming in the Salt Lake Tabernacle with the members of the Church who had not yet evacuated. Governor Cumming spoke to the congregation. The events of the meeting were summarized by John V. Long and George D. Watt, who wrote:

> Gov. Alfred Cumming said he had been appointed by the president, with the consent of the Senate, to be the governor of this territory. It was true there was a large body of armed men on the frontier, but they were not sent to destroy the Mormons, but. . .to enforce the law. . . .He and the officers had nothing to do with our social and religious views; we had the right to serve God in any way we pleased. Did not expect his would be a path of roses. . . Requested the brethren, if they saw him go a little astray, not to treat him harshly, but to counsel with him as a friend. . . .He had it in his mind to visit the southern settlements to make himself known to the people. . . He desired to be sustained by the women.

The governor invited questions, which were asked and then often answered by the congregation itself:

> Question: Shall we have the hireling foisted upon us by the point of bayonet?
>
> Answer from the congregation: No!
>
> Question: Governor Cumming comes as a stranger; Shall we give up those who have led us for years?
>
> Answer from the congregation: No!
>
> Question: What law have we broken?
>
> Answer from the congregation: None!
>
> Question: Whose rights have we trampled on?
>
> Answer from the congregation: None!
>
> Question: Who has refused to pay for their homesteads?
>
> Answer from the congregation: None!

A person from the congregation "referred to the adverse circumstances under which we had built up" the city. He mentioned the course which "the administration had always pursued towards" LDS Church members. He then stated:

> We cannot receive Governor Cumming unless he will use his influence to have that army withdrawn and present us in a favorable light to this nation.

At this point, Elder John Taylor spoke, telling the governor that he wouldn't have had to spend the winter on the frontier if he had come without an army. Elder Taylor remarked that the army had fired upon the Nauvoo Legion but the Legion had never fired upon the troops. "Had it not been for the mercy of Governor Young," Elder Taylor stated, "the army would have been sleeping the sleep of death."

In the afternoon meetings, instructions were given to bishops as to when their wards must leave and advised how to handle their cattle. President Young then spoke, saying that "he did not think [the saints] were prepared to meet the blow." He felt "the Lord would avert it for a time." He urged the members of the Church to purify themselves. President Kimball told the congregation he was leaving soon for Provo and advised them to do the same, "But not to tear their breeches." He advised the men to be careful, to remove their windows and board up their homes.[33]

Word reached President Young that the army at Fort Bridger was preparing to march into the valley, possibly arriving in a few weeks.[34] At the same time, the apple, peach and plum trees in

the valley bloomed.[35]

During Governor Cumming's next visit with Brigham Young, he asked again if there was any way to stop the people from leaving their homes. President Young said that the only way to stop the evacuation was for the military troops to withdraw from the territory. He said:

> Ninety-nine out of every hundred of this people would rather live out their lives in the mountains than endure the oppression the Federal government was now heaping upon them.

Alfred Cumming's reply was that he would show to Brigham Young the favorable reports he was sending to the government. Brigham concluded, "Then you might as well join us [in the mountains]." The governor stated that he was not quite ready to do that.[36]

In early May, the new governor traveled to Springville to visit with Indian agents. On his return to Salt Lake City the next week, he passed eight hundred wagons moving south, which depressed him.[37]

A sympathetic editorial was published in the New York Tribune on May 8th, addressing the evacuation of Utah's northern towns. The author detailed the cities and their populations, pointing out Ogden with a population of over five thousand. He named Kaysville and Farmington, with over a thousand inhabitants each. He described Salt Lake City, "which is supposed to contain about a third part of the entire population of the Territory, or from fifteen to eighteen thousand people." He went on to say:

> All these settlements, built up in the course of ten or eleven years by the untiring industry of the Mormons, are now in the progress of abandonment, and decreed, on the advancement of the troops into the valley, to total destruction. . . . The driving of the Mormons from their homes, by military terror, will hardly contribute much to the honour of the country, or to the posthumous reputation of Mr. Buchanan's presidency."[38]

By mid-May all the northern settlements had been emptied of their populations, and Salt Lake City was "nearly vacated." Six-hundred wagons passed daily through the city as the evacuation concluded. Preparations were underway to prepare all cities north of the Point of the Mountain for burning. Windows were being removed from all the buildings in Salt Lake City in an effort to preserve that valuable commodity should the saints return.[39]

A Peace Commission Sent by President Buchanan Reaches Utah



John Hoagland was captured by the U. S. Army in June, 1858.

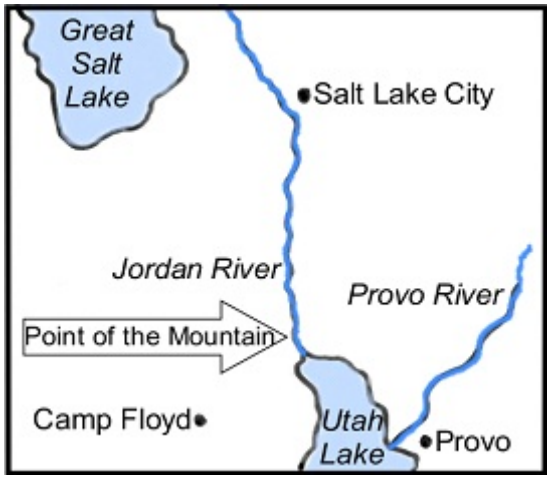
In June, a peace commission and members of the military, accompanied by Governor Cumming, met with Brigham Young and other Church leaders in Provo. President Buchanan had issued a proclamation outlining his grievances against the Mormons, but he offered a pardon if they would allow the army to enter the valley peacefully. Members of the peace commission discussed the possibility of the army passing through Salt Lake City "without molestation or burning," as they traveled to their new winter quarters which



The council house in Salt Lake City stood on the southwest corner of South Temple Street and Main Street.

at that time were of undetermined location. During these peace talks, word reached President Young that John Hoagland, George Q. Cannon's brother-in-law, had been taken prisoner by the army.[40]

The following day Church leaders and the peace commission members spoke at the Council House in Salt Lake City. President Kimball addressed those present, presenting the government's case against the Mormons as he saw it through his eyes. With humor and levity President Kimball explained why he was willing to "accept the pardon." He objected to the forty-two lies included with the pardon, but accepting it was better than throwing "ourselves against the advancing columns of the army." Even if the Mormons prevailed, more soldiers would come, he concluded.



In exchange for a full pardon, Brigham Young allowed the U. S. Army to march through Salt Lake City and built a winter quarters at Camp Floyd.

To the members of the commission he said:

> Walk in, gentlemen, fulfil your orders and don't interfere with our gardens, fields and pastures, and I want it perfectly understood that the first man that ravishes or seduces a wife or daughter of mine, I fully intend to blow out his brains. Hundreds with this army came for that very purpose.[41]

Two weeks later, at the end of June, the army entered Salt Lake City, which they passed through on their way to Camp Floyd, forty-five miles south, directly west of Utah Lake. A few trusted guards of Brigham Young watched from an upper room of his home:

> [The] army in death-like silence [marched] through the deserted streets of the dead city, a few of the officers with uncovered heads, as if attending a funeral.[42]

The troops totaled fifteen hundred men.[43] They entered the city from Emigration Canyon on the east, and then traveled along what is now Fourth South, passing Brigham Young's home on South Temple. With banners flying and drums beating, they continued west, crossing a bridge across the Jordan River, where they camped for the night. They began settling into their new destination by the end of the month.[44] The army called their siege batteries, possibly twelve cannon, "The Twelve Apostles."[45]

Northern Utah Families Return to Their Homes

Once the word had been given that families could return to their homes,[46] the trek north began in earnest, with many traveling at night to avoid the summer heat.[47] On one day, troops passing through the Narrows by the Point of the Mountain stalled the northern emigration for several hours. A gap in their ranks allowed the returning wagons to move in, halting the troops. One officer asked a wagon master to stop so his troops could continue. The driver held up two revolvers and said, "I have helped to make this road, and I'll travel it."

A wagon belonging to a family heading north overturned. When a passing soldier mocked the incident, his commanding officer insisted that the soldier assist the family.[48] By mid-August, most of the residents had returned to their homes.[49]

John Taylor described the prevailing attitude:

> The people . . .realize that the hand of God has been over them and that he is moving everything for their benefit, that he has brought us through a trying ordeal unscathed, and proving to us that truth, integrity, honesty, virtue and the fear of God cannot be gainsaid, nor overthrown by all the combined powers of earth and hell. The Lord has been with us and is with us, and all is well.[50]

William Walton Burton had been ill, having been caught in the rain one night with no shelter while hunting for lost cattle on the southern ranges. He was sick for almost four weeks, including during the family's journey through Salt Lake City. After their return, William, Rachel and Isabella moved to their own home in Kaysville to harvest the crops before returning to Millcreek for the winter.

William wrote that he was still weak. At the end of a day of harvesting, he spied a large rabbit. Rachel, several months into her second pregnancy, watched the rabbit while William retrieved his pistol, which he described as being "about a foot long" and which had been made at a gun shop in Salt Lake City. Side by side, William and Rachel stalked the rabbit, successfully shooting it, with the shot lodging in the bone, not the meat. The flesh of the rabbit lasted them a week, with William recovering quickly after that.[51]

The young couple spent the winter of 1858-1859 with Joseph and Hannah, who still had four younger children at home. In the spring, William and Rachel moved to "Aunt Smith's farm," where William helped his wife's cousin John Smith work that property for a year.[52] Rachel's second daughter, Hannah, was born in Millcreek in early 1859, either in Mary Smith's small adobe home, or in Hannah's home nearby.

George Q. Cannon Called to Replace Parley P. Pratt in the Quorum of Twelve

Late in the summer of 1858, the First Presidency and apostles met to discuss the vacancy created when Parley P. Pratt was murdered the previous year. They agreed upon the name of thirty-two-year-old George Q. Cannon, at that time serving a mission and acting as the Church agent in the east. Elder Cannon, notified by mail, was informed of his new calling and was also told that his

appointment had not been announced.[53]

He was sustained in a public meeting during the April Conference of 1860.[54] Surely Joseph Fielding felt tremendous pleasure to know that the thirteen-year-old boy to whom he and John Taylor had taught the gospel near the Liverpool docks twenty years earlier was now an apostle.

1859: Joseph Fielding Revisits His Journal

Joseph Fielding, approaching his sixty-second birthday, opened his journal in 1859 after a two-year hiatus. He commented on the Utah War, but also on *The Valley Tan*, a newspaper operated by Kirk Anderson which had been named after the local whiskey.[55] The intended audience of the newspaper was Camp Floyd, which at its peak had a population of seven thousand. The army greatly added to the economy, purchasing food and supplies from the local farmers and vendors.[56] Joseph Fielding approved of the new governor, Alfred Cumming:

> 1859, Jan. 23 Since I wrote last, much has occurred, and great Interest has been produced among us as a People. Our Civil Officers are all Gentiles, sent here by the Government, and lest we should object to them, an Army is placed within a day's journey of Salt Lake City, but the Officer in command seems to be a Man of some honour, and has perfect command of his Men. Some unprincipled Men in the city have tried hard to make us trouble by any means they could make use of, trying to vex our Police to provoke them to unlawful Acts, that they might bring them into trouble. A News Paper Editor, Kirk Anderson, appears to have come here, being patronized by some Officials, on purpose to provoke a quarrel. The first Article in the first number was an impudent but ignorant Piece against Polygamy. In fact he has tryed every way to raise a quarrel, but he could not succeed. Our People have let him alone, so he had gained only Shame and Disgrace. The District Court has also spared no Pains to get Bills against some few Men as versus the U.S., but have not succeeded. A. Cumming, the Governor, takes a straight forward course. It seems that the Lord has so directed things that we have one at the head of the Civil, and one at the head of the Military Department that have some regard for the Rights of Men, and the Constitution.
>
> The Army has brought into our Territory a vast Amount of Money, not less than three Million Dollars and have built an extensive Camp and called it Camp Floyd. It is built of Pine Lumber which they purchased of our People, and thus by selling them Lumber, Hay, Wheat, Butter, etc., making Adobies, building, supplying Wood, etc., a great Amount of Money has been circulated among us; but some of our Brethren have not lived their Religion among them, but have been a disgrace. Some few have complained that they have been very much restricted by Brigham Young. In short, it seems that many have lost the Spirit of the Kingdom. That which might have been good, to them is become a great Evil. Whiskey is very common; here are many Distilleries. Drunkenness is quite common; many of our young Men have been overcome by it. I think the manufacturing of this Article is a mean way of getting a Living, but it seems there must be a forbidden Tree in our Midst to prove our Fidelity.[57]

Word reached Brigham Young that "nearly every other family in American Fork was brewing

beer and selling it to the Army." On the other hand, the members of the Church in Tooele, thirty miles to the north, were not trading much with the army.[58]

Hundreds of thousands of dollars were earned by members of the Church in sales to Camp Floyd. William Clayton commented on the situation:

> The great Buchanan Utah Expedition, costing the Government millions, and accomplishing nothing, except making many of the Saints comparatively rich, and improving the circumstances of most of the people of Utah.[59]

It appears that as a result of preparations made before the move south, the tabernacle, perhaps with its windows removed and possibly filled with dry brush for burning, was not fit for services.[60] Few Sabbath meetings were held that fall, but the major reason being that Church leaders didn't want government authorities to look for reasons to accuse LDS members of wrongdoing.[61] The October General conference was held, but President Brigham Young and his counselor, Heber C. Kimball, were too ill to attend. President Daniel H. Wells "exhorted" the members of the Church to "be faithful and not forget their God." He also said:

> There is no sin in selling grain to the army, but the sin is in disposing of it for less than it is worth, and depriving the poor of obtaining sufficient for their wants; the bishops should see to this. No censure should be passed upon the brethren for going to work and getting means, so long as they take care of themselves, live their religion and pay their tithing; the bishops should look to that.[62]

By the end of the year, it appeared that the harvest of 1859 would be sufficient to last until the spring harvest. In a letter from John Taylor to his nephew George Q. Cannon, who was still in the east, he wrote:

> The hay swath was materially injured by the great influx of flocks and herds from the north, while the wheat, corn and other crops were tolerably good. In the north, the wheat was light, with scarcely any corn, oats, barley or vegetables. Their hay crops, however, were good, and the pasturage never better. Cattle are doing tolerably well, and it is supposed that if the winter is no more severe than it has been, that they will come out well in the Spring, and notwithstanding the heavy drains upon us by new comers for flour and wheat, that we have a sufficiency of those articles to last until next harvest.[63]

Chapter 39 Endnotes Pages 582-593:

1.Life of John Taylor, page 295.

2.Journal History, 10 January 1858, images 58-59.

3.Journal History, 20 February 1858, image 105.

4.Journal History, 23 February 1858, images 109-110. The Deseret News reprinted this article from the New York Tribune. The article was lengthy, with Mr. Bell discussing how honorable President Young was. Mr. Bell traveled to California before returning to the east, and described the thousands of Church members heading to Utah from San Bernardino and San Francisco, even some whom the Church thought they had lost to apostasy were returning as they

remembered the indignities suffered in Missouri and Illinois. I read Journal History for weeks as I worked on this biography. Mr. Bell is certainly sympathetic to the Church, but his statement that an express arrived every day from the mountains is backed up by frequent notes in the records and was not an exaggeration. It appears that President Young actually knew every movement of the army.

5.The article appeared on the 23rd of February. Information about the elders' voyage was included in the Journal History under the date of 25 March 1858, images 158-160. At some points the elders traveled on the same steamships as baggage intended for the army.

6.Journal History, 12 March 1858, images 134-136, a typed transcript of the article which appeared in the New York Herald. The returning missionaries sailed on the *Empire*, and crossed the plains in two companies, arriving after the war was over. Included in the lists of passengers and overland travelers were Miles Romney and Isaac Higbee.

7.Overland Trail Database.

8.Journal History, 24 February 1858, image 111. Other Hawaiian missionaries had arrived in the fall. Joseph F. Smith's account of his mission and return are on images 110-113. Elder Smith visited with the family of his uncle Don Carlos Smith in California, but they would not return to Utah. He drove a wagon over the mountains for George Crismon. Joseph's account in the Journal History clearly states that he arrived on the 24th of February.

9.Journal History, 22 October 1857, image 67. "Elders Silas Smith, Edward Partridge, Sixtus E. Johnson, Ward E. Pack, William E. King, Smith B. Thurston and Joseph Smith arrived in San Francisco from the Sandwich Islands, on the 22d of October. They were all in good health, and were preparing to prosecute their journey, at as early a date as possible, to their homes from which they have been absent since the spring of '54."

10.Life of Joseph F. Smith, page 195.

11.Great Basin Kingdom, page 178.

12.Journal History, 21 March 1858, image 146.

13.Journal History, 25 March 1858, image 153. Additional Journal History entries showed news reports that the army was moving west; for two examples see 27 March 1858, image 163; 29 March 1858, image 168. Caching the temple blocks was mentioned again on 30 March 1858, image 169.

14.Journal History, 28 March, images 165-167.

15.Journal History, 1 April 1858, image 173; 5 April 1858, image 180. Three hundred families were estimated to have left.

16.Journal History, 4 April 1858, image 179. From the Missouri Republican, "The newspaper force will be by no means small. The London Times has a correspondent already on the way, in the person of a Mr. Rutherford, a Scotchman, who has started [and was] provided with every necessary of a camp life, a la Crimea. Mr. Filmore, a young man of New York City, goes out as an additional correspondent for the New York Herald, and a young man named Benjamin T. Hutchins, employed by the officers of the Sixth Infantry to act as their secretary is to be a corresponded of the New York Post."

17.Paper on the lives of James McKnight and Mary Ann Fielding McKnight, by Awilda McKnight Kunkel. The author wrote that her mother told "how they were told if the enemies tried to enter their homes, to have everything ready to set fire to them rather than let them take possession."

18.Life of Joseph F. Smith, page 196.

19.Journal History, 15 April 1858, images 203-204.

20.Journal History, 8 April 1858, image 187; 15 April 1858, image 201.

21.Journal History, 15 April 1858, image 201.

22.Journal History, 13 April 1858, image 197. Governor Cumming did not spend the winter near Fort Bridger, but with another military camp farther north in the Bear River Valley. This explains why his entry into Salt Lake City was from the north and not the east.

23.Journal History, 15 April 1858, image 204.

24.Journal History, 16 April 1858, image 206.

25.Journal History, 10 April 1858, image 190; 11 April 1858, image 193, "The saints were coming from Ogden very fast; about 200 families will be in on Tuesday."

26.Journal History 12 April 1858, image 194.

27.Journal History, 14 April 1858, image 198.

28.Journal History, 15 April 1858, image 202. This information appears to have come from Thomas Kane.

29.Journal History, 19 April 1858, image 208.

30.Journal History, 21 April 1858, image 213; 30 April 1858, image 250. "About 24 teams go every week from Provo to the City to assist in moving public property, families, etc., etc."

31.Journal History, 23 April 1858, image 216.

32.Journal History 28 June 1858, images 452-466, from an article published in the New York Herald.

33.Journal History, 25 April 1858, images 220-224. "Meeting was held in the G.S.L.C. Tabernacle. The following brethren were present: Of the First Presidency: Heber C. Kimball and Daniel H. Wells of the Twelve; John Taylor, Ezra T. Benson, Wilford Woodruff and Erastus Snow; Also Gov. Alfred Cumming and Col. Thos. L. Kane were present." While not included in this list, Brigham Young was one of the speakers.

34.Journal History, 24 April 1858, image 218.

35.Journal History, 29 April 1858, image 249.

36.Journal History, 30 April 1858, image 250.

37.Journal History, 5 May 1858, image 162; 6 May 1858, image 263. Penciled in at the end of this article was the word, "Amen."

38.Journal History, 8 May 1858, image 266.

39.Journal History, 11 May 1858, images 276-277. Letter from George A. Smith to Thomas B. H. Stenhouse, who reported to the presidency over all the branches in the eastern United States. 30 May 1858, image 306.

40.Journal History, 11 June 1858, 333-337.

41. Journal History, 12 June 1858, 338-344. There were many sad and difficult reports of the soldiers in the army abusing Native American women during the winter.

42.The account of Joseph R. Young, Journal History, under the date of 25 February 1858, although the internal date is in May. Image 119.

43.Journal History, 26 June 1858, image 447.

44.Journal History, 2 July 1858, images 6-7. The army entered the valley on June 26th. It was reported that the soldiers bathed in the Jordan River, "which every man of them needed." The entry of the army took all day long. "It was night before the last of the army and its appurtenances got through the city. All encamped beyond Jordan."

45.Journal History, 9 July 1858, image 20.

46.Journal History, 30 June 1858, image 468; 2 July 1858, image 7. "Pres. Brigham Young said that all who wished to return to their homes in G. S. L. City were at liberty to do so." Other research I have done on other family lines indicates that the residents of the northern counties were already en route before President Young gave the all clear signal. His concern was that he did not want troops heading south to Camp Floyd interfering with the migration north, but that happened anyway.

47.Journal History, 1 July 1858, image 4.

48.Journal History, 6 July 1858, image 14; 9 July 1858, image 21.

49.Journal History, 6 August 1858, image 93, letter from Brigham Young to Thomas Kane.

50.Journal History, 12 January 1859, image 43, letter from John Taylor to George Q. Cannon.

51.Little Willie, Autobiography of William Walton Burton.

52.Sketch of the Life of Rachel Fielding Burton, 1914.

53.George Q. Cannon, Britton, pages 101-103.

54.Still on his mission in the east, George was not ordained to his new position until 25 August 1860. Britton, page 104.

55.Utah History To Go: http://historytogo.utah.gov/salt_lake_tribune/history_matters/061500.html. The *Valley Tan* was mentioned in Journal History, 10 December 1858, image 350, for just one example. Another is 24 December 1858, images 382-390, in a letter to George Q. Cannon, who was serving a mission as the Church agent in the east. The context was that local Gentile judges were using slander from the newspaper to persecute Church members.

56.Camp Floyd State Park Museum, http://stateparks.utah.gov/parks/camp-floyd/discover/

57.Joseph Fielding Diary, page 154.

58.Journal History, 12 August 1858, image 122.

59.Great Basin Kingdom, pages 198-199.

60.Journal History, 6 October 1858, image 223. "Expected that as soon as the Tabernacle could be put in repair, it would be open for preaching on Sundays." 14 November 1858, image 306, a conference was held that Sunday. The first presidency, George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff were the speakers, and "the conference was adjourned until the 5th of April, 1859."

61.Journal History, 12 January 1859, image 37. In a letter from John Taylor to George Q. Cannon, he said, "We have not had many public meetings since the arrival of the troops, for as in the gracious clemency of the President, we had been pardoned of all our actual conspiracies, seditions, rebellions and treasons, if we did not speak, proclaim

or declaim, it would be very difficult to convict us even of constructive treason, besides, we thought that if the Saints do not know enough to live their religion without preaching to, they could have an opportunity of embracing that of our pseudo friends.

62.Journal History, 15 August 1858, image 125. “It was a warm day in G. S. L. City. This city feels still and lonesome in the absence of meetings being held on the Sabbath.” Journal History, 6 October 1858, image 215.

63.Journal History, 12 January 1859, images 36-37.