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The Mormon Battalion

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Abstract: A historical essay about the calling and experiences of the Mormon Battalion during and following the Mexican-American War, including a roll of officers, enlisted men, and family members that accompanied the battalion.

the first settlement of this valley. There was but little variety of food and the allowance was very scanty; the people dwelt in tents, and a good covered wagon as a bed room was a luxury that very many did not have; yet good health and vigor were almost universal.

“Teams and wagons were sent back in charge of Elder Jedediah M. Grant to assist President Willard Richards and Amasa M. Lyman’s company. The first of the last-named company arrived in Salt Lake Valley October 10th, and President Richards and company on the 19th.

“The First Presidency of the Church were gladly welcomed by the people who were residents of the valley. They rejoiced in the wonderful care and preserving mercies of the Lord which had been over them from the time they left Illinois. The Lord had blessed them in the wilderness; he had fed them, delivered them from the many dangers to which they were exposed and led

them to a safe and healthy retreat, far distant from their former persecutors. The spirit of peace brooded over the land, and having been harassed and annoyed by mobs, they could appreciate the security which they now enjoyed.

About one thousand wagons arrived in the Valley in 1848 with immigrating Saints, and during the few following years large companies continued to arrive. In 1852 the last remnant of the exiles from Nauvoo, who wished to come to the Valley, agreeable to counsel, and others who since the drivings had arrived on the frontiers from different parts of the world, came on to the new headquarters of the Church in the Mountains. Kaneshville (now Council Bluffs), where Orson Hyde had been publishing the *Frontier Guardian*, and where quite a number of Saints from Nauvoo, had been temporarily located since the summer of 1846, was vacated by the Saints in 1852

THE MORMON BATTALION.

In the summer of 1846, while the Saints were journeying westward, away from the borders of civilization, in search of a new home where they might live free and unmolested from mob violence, a call was made upon them by the Federal government to furnish 500 young men to march to California and take part in the war with Mexico. June 26, 1846, Captain James Allen, of the U. S. army arrived at Mount Pisgah, Iowa, where a number of the Saints had located temporarily, and presented in a meeting of the leading men of the place, the following circular to the “Mormons:”

“I have come among you, instructed by Colonel S. W. Kearny of the U. S. army, now commanding the army of the West, to visit the Mormon camp and accept the services, for twelve months, of four or five companies of the Mormon men who may be willing to serve their country for the period in our present war with Mexico. This force to unite with the army of the West at Santa Fe and be marched thence to California, where they will be discharged.

“They will receive pay and rations and other allowances such as other volunteers or regular soldiers receive, from the day they shall be mustered into the service, and will be entitled to all the comforts and benefits of regular soldiers of the army, and when discharged as contemplated, at California, they will be given, gratis, their arms and accoutrements, with which they will be fully equipped at Fort Leavenworth. Thus is offered to the Mormon people now, this

year, an opportunity of sending a portion of their young and intelligent men to the ultimate destination of their whole people, and entirely at the expense of the United States, and this advance party can thus pave the way, and look out the land for their brethren to come after them.

"The pay of a private volunteer is seven dollars per month, and the allowance for clothing is the cost price of clothing of a regular soldier.

"Those of the Mormons who are desirous of serving their country, on the conditions here enumerated, are requested to meet me without delay at their principal camp, at the Council Bluffs, whither I am now going to consult with their principal men, and to receive and organize the force contemplated to be raised.

"I will receive all healthy, able men of from eighteen to forty-five years of age.

"J. ALLEN, Capt. 1st Dragoons.

"Camp of the Mormons, at Mount Pisgah, 130 miles east of Council Bluffs.

"June 26, 1846.

"Note.—I hope to complete the organization of this battalion within six days after reaching Council Bluffs, or within nine days from this time."

After due deliberation the brethren at Pisgah advised Captain Allen to visit the authorities of the Church at Council Bluffs, and gave him a letter of introduction to Elder Wm. Clayton, the clerk of the camp. He reached Council Bluffs on the 30th, and immediately placed himself in communication with President Young and his brethren. On the 1st of July he met with them, and presented to them for perusal, the following instructions from his commanding officer:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE WEST,
"Fort Leavenworth, June 19, 1846.

"Sir.—It is understood that there is a large body of Mormons, who are desirous of emigrating to California for the purpose of settling in that country, and I have therefore direct that you will proceed to their camps and endeavor to raise from amongst them four or five companies of volunteers to join me in my expedition to that country; each company to consist of any number between seventy-three and one hundred and nine. The officers of the companies will be

a captain, first lieutenant and second lieutenant, who will be elected by the privates and subject to your approval, and the captains then to appoint the non-commissioned officers, also subject to your approval. The companies, upon being thus organized, will be mustered by you into the service of the U. S., and from that day will commence to receive the pay, rations, and other allowances given to other infantry volunteers, each according to his rank. You will upon mustering into service the fourth company be considered as having the rank, pay and emoluments of a lieutenant colonel of infantry, and are authorized to appoint an adjutant, sergeant major and quarter-master sergeant for the battalion.

"The companies after being organized will be marched to this post, where they will be armed and prepared for the field, after which they will, under your command, follow on my trail in the direction of Santa Fe, and where you will receive further orders from me.

"You will, upon organizing the companies, require provisions, wagons, horses, mules, etc.; you must purchase everything which is necessary and give the necessary drafts upon the quarter-master and commissary departments at this post, which drafts will be paid upon presentation.

"You will have the Mormons distinctly to understand, that I wish to take them as volunteers for twelve months, that they will be marched to California, receiving pay and allowances during the above time, and at its expiration they will be discharged, and allowed to retain, as their private property, the guns and accoutrements to be furnished to them at this post.

"Each company will be allowed four women as laundresses, who will travel with the company, receiving rations, and the other allowances given to the laundresses of our army.

"With the foregoing conditions, which are hereby pledged to the Mormons and which will be faithfully kept by me and other officers in behalf of the government of the United States, I cannot doubt but that you will, in a few days, be able to raise five hundred young and efficient men for this expedition.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"S. W. KEARNY, Col. of 1st Dragoons.

"CAPTAIN JAMES ALLEN,

"1st Reg. Dragoons, Fort Leavenworth."

As soon as the object of Captain Allen's visit was known to President Young and the council, they sent an

invitation to the brethren within the camp to assemble. At the meeting, President Young introduced Captain Allen to the people, who addressed them, stating the object for which he had been sent. He attributed the call to the benevolence of James K. Polk, President of the United States; said that he wanted five hundred of the Latter-day Saints, and spoke of it as though it were a favor, for there were hundreds of thousands of volunteers in the States, he said, ready to enlist if called upon. He had his orders from Colonel Kearny, and a circular which he had issued at Mount Pisgah, and explained them. Captain Allen did not inform the people—for the reason, probably, that he knew nothing about it—what the design was in case the battalion was not raised. The secret history of the transaction is, as President Young was afterwards informed on the best of authority, that Thomas H. Benton, United States senator, from the State of Missouri, got a pledge from President Polk, that if the “Mormons” did not raise the battalion of five hundred he might have the privilege of raising volunteers in the upper counties of Missouri, to fall upon them and use them up.

Captain Allen in all his dealings with the people deported himself as a gentleman and gained the good will of the leading men of the camp, as well as of all the volunteers.

The assembly was addressed, after Captain Allen had finished, by President Young. He asked the people to make a distinction between this action of the general government, in calling upon them for volunteers, and their former oppressions in Missouri and Illinois. The people had

so recently suffered from mobocracy in being driven from their homes, and stripped of their possessions, and compelled to flee into the wilderness, without having any remonstrance made in their behalf by the authorities of the government, that they naturally felt it to be a hard request to make of them, while their families were in the midst of the wilderness and homeless wanderers, to enlist as soldiers and fight with Mexico. If the plan were a benevolent one they failed to perceive where the benevolence came in. It required all the influence of President Young and his brethren to raise the battalion of men, for it seemed to present itself as another act of persecution, to call upon them to leave their families under such circumstances in the midst of an unknown country.

Elder Heber C. Kimball motioned at this meeting that a battalion of five hundred men be raised, in conformity with the requisition of the government. This was seconded by Elder Willard Richards, and carried unanimously.

After the meeting, President Young walked out as recruiting sergeant, with Willard Richards as clerk. A number of names were given as volunteers. There not being men enough in the camp at Council Bluffs to fill the requirements, a council was held, and it was voted that President Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball should go to Mount Pisgah to raise volunteers. They started on the 3rd of July, and were accompanied by Elder Willard Richards and several brethren on horseback. They met numbers of the people traveling towards the Bluffs, to whom they explained the object

of their journey, and with whom they held meetings as opportunity offered. They also met among others Elder Jesse C. Little, who had been acting as President in the New England and Middle States. He had visited Washington and had learned from President Polk of the intentions of the government to raise a battalion of men, and he had immediately started for the camp by way of Nauvoo. He had been very active in his labors in the East, and had done all in his power to create a sympathy in behalf of the people.

On the 6th, Presidents Young, Kimball and Richards reached Mount Pisgah. From this point they sent epistles to Garden Grove and to Nauvoo, informing the Saints of the move that was being made to raise a battalion of five hundred; and calling for them to send forward all the men they could spare to strengthen the camp. From Garden Grove they called for volunteers for the battalion. At Mount Pisgah they held a meeting, at which they set forth the object of their visit and the anxiety they had to raise the number of men which the government required. They remained at Pisgah until the evening of the 9th, at which time they started back for the camp at the Bluffs, which they reached on the 12th.

During their absence the work of raising volunteers had been pressed, but the necessary number had not been raised. Upon their return this business was vigorously pushed forward, strong appeals being made to those of suitable age to enlist. President Young told the people that if they wanted the privilege of going where they could worship God according to the dictates of their own

consciences, the battalion must be raised; it was right to raise it, and the blessings they were looking forward to could only be obtained by sacrifice; surrounding circumstances must be cast from their minds, they must let them go. They might as well consider themselves in good circumstances as in had ones; he knew that every man was well supplied, for he was as well acquainted with the situation of every man in camp as he was with himself. Though there were no more men than were actually needed to take care of the families and teams, and to perform the necessary amount of travel, yet the battalion must be formed. He said: "We have lived near so many old settlers who would always say 'get out,' that we should be thankful for the privilege of going to settle a new country. You are going to march to California; suppose that country ultimately comes under the government of the United States, which ought to be the case, we would be the old settlers and could say 'get out.' Suppose we refuse to raise a battalion, what will we do? We told you some time ago we would fit you out for the purpose, and now we are ready to do so with Captain Allen as agent for the United States to help us." At this meeting it was voted unanimously that President Young and the council nominate the officers for the several companies.

On the 14th, volunteers from Mount Pisgah arrived. The battalion was called, and strict instructions were given it as to how its members should behave on their expedition. President Young wished them to prove the best soldiers in the United States service. He instructed the captains to be fathers

to their companies, and to manage their offices by the power and influence of the Priesthood, then they would have power to preserve their lives and the lives of their companies and to escape difficulties. Said he, "a private soldier is as honorable as an officer if he behaves as well; no one is distinguished as being better flesh and blood than another." They should keep neat and clean; teach chastity, gentility and civility, and swearing must not be allowed. They were to insult no man; have no contentious conversation with Missourians, Mexicans, or any class of people; were not to preach only where people desired to hear, and then wise men were to do the preaching. They were not to impose their principles upon any people; were to take their Bibles and Books of Mormon, and if they had any playing cards they were to burn them. The officers were to regulate dances, but they were not to dance with the world. They were not to trespass on the rights of others, and if they should engage with the enemy and be successful, they were to treat prisoners with the greatest civility and never to take life if it could be avoided. President Young told the brethren of the Battalion that they would have no fighting to do. He said that the Battalion would probably be disbanded about eight hundred miles from the place where the Church would locate. He suggested that the members tarry there and go to work; "but," said he, "the next Temple will be built in the Rocky Mountains; in the Great Basin is the place to build Temples, and it shall be the stronghold of the Saints against mobs."

It was somewhat difficult to raise

men of the necessary age—between 18 and 45—to complete the five hundred, but by strenuous exertions they were at last enlisted and on July 16, 1846, four companies of over four hundred men all told, and part of the fifth, were mustered into service at Council Bluffs. The pay and rations of the men dated from this day. A few days later the fifth company was filled. Following are the names of officers and men, also families, which accompanied the command—so far as obtained by Daniel Tyler, author of "A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion:"

COMPANY A.

Officers.

Jefferson Hunt, captain.
 Geo. W. Oman, 1st lieutenant.
 Lorenzo Clark, 2nd lieutenant.
 Wm. W. Willis, 3rd lieutenant.
 James Ferguson, sergeant major.
 Phineas R. Wright, 1st sergeant.
 Ebenezer Brown, 2nd sergeant.
 Reddick N. Allred, 3rd sergeant.
 Alexander McCord, 4th sergeant.
 Gilbert Hunt, 1st corporal.
 Lafayette N. Frost, 2nd corporal.
 Thomas Weir, 3rd corporal.
 Wm. S. Muir, 4th corporal.
 Elisha Everett, musician.
 Joseph W. Richards, musician.

Privates.

1 Allen, Rufus C.	22 Casper, Wm. W.
2 Allred, James R.	23 Calkins, James
3 Allred, James T. S.	24 Calkins, Sylvanus
4 Allred, Reuben W.	25 Calkins, Edwin R.
5 Allen, Albern	26 Coleman, Geo.
6 Brown, John	27 Clark, Joseph
7 Butterfield, J. K.	28 Clark, Riley G.
8 Bailey, James	29 Decker, Zech. B.
9 Brunson, Clinton D.	30 Dobson, Joseph
10 Brass, Benjamin	31 Dodson, Eli
11 Blanchard, M. S.	32 Earl, James C.
12 Beckstead, G. S.	33 Eghert, Robert C.
13 Beckstead, Orin M.	34 Fairbanks, Henry
14 Bickmore, Gilbert	35 Frederick, David
15 Brown, Wm. W.	36 Glines, James
16 Bevan, James	37 Garner, David
17 Briant, John S.	38 Gordon, Gilman
18 Curtis, Josiah	39 Goodwin, Andrew
19 Cox, Henderson	40 Hulett, Schuyler
20 Chase, Hiram B.	41 Holden, Elijah E.
21 Calkins, Alva C.	42 Hampton, James

43 Hawkins, Benj.	67 Steele, Geo. E.
44 Hickenlooper W. F.	68 Steele, Isaiah C.
45 Hunt, Martial	69 Sessions, Richard
46 Hewett, Eli B.	70 Shepherd, L.
47 Hudson, Wilford	71 Swartout, Hamilton
48 Hoyt, Timothy S.	72 Sexton, George
49 Hoyt, Henry P.	73 Sessions, John
50 Ivie, Richard A.	74 Sessions, Wm. B.
51 Jackson, Chas. A.	75 Taylor, Joseph
52 Johnson, Henry	76 Thompson, John
53 Kelley, Wm.	77 Vrandenburg, A.
54 Kelley, Nicholas	78 Weaver, Miles
55 Kibley, James	79 Wriston, John P.
56 Lemon, James W.	80 Wriston, Isaac N.
57 Lake, Barnabas	81 Weaver, Franklin
58 Moss, David	82 Wilson, Alfred G.
59 Maxwell, Maxie	83 Wheeler, Merrill W.
60 Mayfield, Benj. F.	84 White, Samuel S.
61 Naile, Conrad	85 Webb, Chas. Y.
62 Oyler, Melcher	86 Winn, Dennis
63 Packard, Henry	87 Woodworth, L.
64 Persons, Ebenezer	88 White, Joseph
65 Roe, Cariatat C.	89 Willey, Jeremiah
66 Ritter, John	

COMPANY B.

Officers.

Jesse D. Hunter, captain.
 Elam Luddington, 1st lieutenant.
 Ruel Barrus, 2nd lieutenant.
 Philemon C. Merrill, 3d lieutenant.
 Wm. Coray, 1st orderly sergeant.
 Wm. Hyde, 2nd orderly sergeant.
 Albert Smith, 3rd orderly sergeant.
 David P. Rainey, 1st corporal.
 Thomas Dunn, 2nd corporal.
 John D. Chase, 3rd corporal.
 Wm. Hunter, musician.
 Geo. W. Taggart, musician.

Privates.

1 Allen, George	21 Church, Haden W.
2 Allen, Elijah	22 Camp, J. G.
3 Alexander, H. M.	23 Carter, P. J.
4 Allen, Frankln	24 Curtis, Dorr P.
5 Bush, Richard	25 Carter, R.
6 Bird, Wm.	26 Dayton, Wm. J.
7 Bingham, Thos.	27 Dutcher, Thos. P.
8 Bingham, Erastus	28 Dalton, Henry S.
9 Billings, Orson	29 Dunham, Albert
10 Bigler, Henry W.	30 Evans, Israel
11 Boley, Samuel	31 Evans, Wm.
12 Borrowman, John	32 Eastman, M. N.
13 Brackenberry, B. B.	33 Freeman, Elijah N.
14 Brown, Francis	34 Follett, Wm. A.
15 Bliss, Robert S.	35 Fife, Peter
16 Bybee, John	36 Green, Ephraim
17 Clark, Geo. S.	37 Garner, Wm. A.
18 Colton, Phillander	38 Garner, Phillip
19 Cheney, Zacheus	39 Hawk, Nathan
20 Callahan, Thos. W.	40 Huntsman, Isalah

41 Hoffhelms, Jacob	66 Park, James, 1st
42 Hanks, Ephraim R.	67 Park, James, 2nd
43 Hawk, Wm.	68 Richards, Peter F.
44 Hinckley, Arza E.	69 Rogers, Samuel H.
45 Hunter, Edward	70 Study, David
46 Haskell, Geo.,	71 Smith, Azariah
47 Harris, Silas	72 Stevens, Lyman
48 Jones, David H.,	73 Stoddard, Rufus
49 Keyser, Guy M.,	74 Simmons, Wm. A.
50 King, John M.,	75 Sly, James C.
51 Kirk, Thos.	76 Steers, Andrew J.
52 Lawson, John	77 Stillman, Dexter
53 Morris, Thos.	78 Workman, A. J.
54 McCarty, Nelson	79 Walker, Wm.
55 Mount, Hiram B.,	80 Willis, Ira
56 Martin, Jesse B.	81 Workman, O. G.
57 Murdock, John R.	82 Willis, W. S. S.
58 Murdock, Price	83 Watts, John
59 Myers, Samuel	84 Whitney, F. T.
60 Miles, Samuel	85 Wright, Chas.
61 Noler, Christian	86 Wilcox, Edward
62 Owens, Robert	87 Wilcox, Henry
63 Pearson, Ephraim	88 Wheeler, John L.
64 Persons, Harmon D.	89 Winters, Jacob
65 Prouse, Wm.	90 Zabriskie, Jerome

COMPANY C.

Officers.

James Brown, captain.
 Geo. W. Rosccrans, 1st lieutenant.
 Samuel Thompson, 2nd lieutenant.
 Robert Clift (promoted from orderly sergeant to 3rd lieutenant).
 Orson B. Adams, 1st sergeant.
 Elijah Elmer, 2nd sergeant.
 Joel J. Terrill, 3rd sergeant.
 David Wilkin, 4th sergeant.
 Jabez Nowlin, 1st corporal.
 Alexander Brown, 2nd corporal.
 Edward Martin, 3rd corporal.
 Daniel Tyler, 4th corporal.
 Richard D. Sprague, musician.
 Russell G. Brownell, musician.

Privates.

1 Adair, Wesley	18 Calvert, John
2 Boyle, Henry G.	19 Catlin, Geo. W.
3 Burt, Wm.	20 Donald, Neal
4 Barney, Walter	21 Dunn, James
5 Babcock, Lorenzo	22 Dalton, Harry
6 Brown, Jesse J.	23 Dalton, Edward
7 Bailey, Addison	24 Durphy, Francillo
8 Bailey, Jefferson	25 Dodge, Aug. E.
9 Beckstead, Wm. E.	26 Forbush, Lorin
10 Brimhall, John	27 Fellows, Hiram W.
11 Blackburn, Abner	28 Fife, John
12 Bybee, Henry G.	29 Fifield, Levi
13 Clift, James	30 Gould, John C.
14 Covil, John Q. A.	31 Gould, Samuel
15 Condit, Jephtha	32 Gibson, Thomas
16 Carpenter, Isaac	33 Green, John
17 Carpenter, Wm. H.	34 Hatch, Meltllah

35 Hatch, Orin	62 Peck, Thorlt	24 Douglass, Ralph	57 Rollins, John
36 Holt, Wm.	63 Peck, Isaac	25 Douglass, James	58 Rawson, Daniel B.
37 Harmon, Ebenezer	64 Pulsipher, David	26 Fletcher, Philander	59 Roberts, Benj.
38 Harmon, Lorenzo F.	65 Persons, Judson A.	27 Frazier, Thos.	60 Runyan, Levi
39 Holdaway, Shadrach	66 Richie, Benj.	28 Fatoute, Ezra	61 Rowe, Wm.
40 Hendrickson, Jas.	67 Rust, Wm. W.	29 Forsgreen, John E.	62 Richmond, Wm.
41 Hancock, Chas.	68 Richmond, Benj.	30 Finlay, Thos.	63 Robinson, Wm.
42 Hancock, Geo. W.	69 Reynolds, Wm.	31 Gilbert, John	64 Raymond, A. P.
43 Ivie, Thos. C.	70 Riser, John J.	32 Gifford, Wm. W.	65 Smith, John G.
44 Johnston, Wm. J.	71 Smith, Milton	33 Gribble, Wm.	66 Stephens, Alex.
45 Johnston, Jesse W.	72 Smith, Richard	34 Hoagland, Lucas	67 Spencer, Wm. W.
46 Johnson, Jarvis	73 Shupe, James	35 Henry, Daniel	68 Stewart, Benj.
47 Layton, Christopher	74 Shupe, Andrew J.	36 Hirons, James	69 Stewart, James
48 Larson, Thurston	75 Shipley, Joseph	37 Huntington, Dimick B.	70 Stewart, Robt. B.
49 Landers, Ebenezer	76 Squires, Wm.	38 Hendricks, Wm. D.	71 Sargent, Abel M.
50 Lewis, Samuel	77 Shumway, Aurora	39 Holmes, Jonathan	72 Savage, Levi
51 Myler, James	78 Thompson, J. L.	40 Higgins, Alfred	73 Stillman, Clark
52 McCullough, L. H.	79 Thomas, Nathan T.	41 Hunsaker, Abraham	74 Swarthout, Nathan
53 Morey, Harley	80 Thomas, Elijah	42 Hayward, Thos.	75 Sharp, Albert
54 Maggard, Benj.	81 Tuttle, Elanson	43 Jacobs, Sanford	76 Sharp, Norman
55 Mowrey, John T.	82 Truman, Jacob M.	44 Kenney, Loren E.	77 Shelton, Sebert C.
56 Mead, Orlando F.	83 Tindell, Solomon	45 Lamb, Lisbon	78 Sanderson, H. W.
57 More, Calvin W.	84 Wade, Edward W.	46 Laughlin, David S.	79 Steele John,
58 Olmstead, Hiram	85 Wade, Moses	47 Maxwell, Wm.	80 Thompson, Henry
59 Perkins, David	86 Wood, Wm.	48 Meeseck, Peter J.	81 Thompson, Miles
60 Perkins, John	87 White, John J.	49 Mecham, E. D.	82 Tanner, Myron
61 Pickup, Geo.	88 Wilcox, Matthew	50 Merrill, Ferdinand	83 Twitchel, Anciel
	89 Welsh, Madison	51 McArthur, Henry	84 Tubbs, Wm. R.
	90 Wheeler, Henry	52 Oakley, James	85 Treat, Thomas
		53 Owen, James	86 Tippetts, John H.
		54 Peck, Edwin M.	87 Walker, Edwin
		55 Perrin, Chas.	88 Woodward, Francis
		56 Pettegrew, Jas. P.	89 Whiting, Almon
			90 Whiting, Edmund

COMPANY D.

Officers.

Nelson Higgins, captain.
 Geo. P. Dykes, 1st lieutenant.
 Sylvester Hulett, 2nd lieutenant.
 Cyrus C. Canfield, 3rd lieutenant.
 Nathaniel V. Jones, 1st sergeant.
 Thomas Williams, 2nd sergeant.
 Luther T. Tuttle, 3rd sergeant.
 Alpheus P. Haws, 4th sergeant.
 Arnold Stephens, 1st corporal.
 John Buchanan, 2nd corporal.
 Wm. Coon, 3rd corporal.
 Lewis Lane, 4th corporal.
 Willard Smith, musician.
 Henry W. Jackson, musician.

Privates.

1 Abbott, Joshua	12 Compton, Allen
2 Averett, Jeduthan	13 Cole, James B.
3 Brown, James, 1st	14 Casto, Wm.
4 Brown, James S.	15 Casto, James
5 Bingham, Erastus	16 Curtis, Foster
6 Badlam, Samuel	17 Clawson, John R.
7 Button, Montgomery	18 Cox, Amos
	19 Collings, Roht. H.
8 Brizzee, Henry W.	20 Chase, Abner
9 Boyd, Geo. W.	21 Davis, Sterling
10 Boyd, Wm.	22 Davis, Eleazer
11 Barger, Wm. W.	23 Davis, James

COMPANY E.

Officers:

Daniel C. Davis, captain.
 James Pace, 1st lieutenant.
 Andrew Lytle, 2nd lieutenant.
 Samuel L. Gully, 3rd lieutenant.
 Samuel L. Brown, 1st sergeant.
 Richard Brazier, 2nd sergeant.
 Ebenezer Hanks, 3rd sergeant.
 Daniel Browett, 4th sergeant.
 James A. Scott, corporal.
 Levi W. Hancock, musician.
 Jesse Earl, musician.

Privates.

1 Allen, John	10 Campbell, Jonathan
2 Allen, Geo.	
3 Binley, John Wesley	11 Cazier, James
	12 Cazier, John
4 Beers, Wm.	13 Clark, Samuel
5 Brown, Daniel	14 Clark, Albert
6 Bulkley, Newman	15 Chapin, Samuel
7 Bunker, Edward	16 Cox, John
8 Caldwell, Matthew	17 Cummings, Geo.
9 Campbell, Samuel	18 Day, Abraham

19 Dyke, Simon	51 Park, Wm. A.
20 Dennett, Daniel Q.	52 Pettegrew, David
21 Earl, Jacob	53 Pixton, Robert
22 Ewell, Wm.	54 Phelps, Alva
23 Ewell, Martin F.	55 Porter, Sanford
24 Earl, Justice C.	55 Pugmire, Jonathan, jun.
25 Findlay, John	57 Rollins —
26 Follett, Wm. T.	58 Richardson, Thos.
27 Glazier, Luther W.	59 Richards, L.
28 Harmon, Oliver N.	60 Roberts, L.
29 Harris, Robert	61 Sanders, Richard T.
30 Harrison, Isaac	62 Scott, Leonard M.
31 Hart, James S.	63 Scott, James R.
32 Harrison, Israel	64 Skein, Joseph
33 Hess, John W.	65 Spidle, John
34 Hickmott, John	66 Slater, Richard
35 Hopkins, Chas.	67 Snyder, John
36 Hoskins, Henry	68 Smith, Lot
37 Howell, T. C. D.	69 Smith, David
38 Howell, Wm.	70 Smith, Elisha
39 Jacobs, Bailey	71 Smith, John
40 Judd, Hiram	72 St. John, Stephen M.
41 Judd, Zadock K.	73 Stevens, Rosw e
42 Jimmerson, Chas.	74 Standage, Henry
43 Knapp, Albert	75 Strong, Wm.
44 Kelley, Geo.	76 Tanner, Albert
45 Karren, Thos.	77 West, Benj.
46 Lance, Wm.	78 Wilson, Geo.
47 McLelland, Wm. E.	79 Woolsey, Thos.
48 Miller, Daniel M.	80 Williams, James V.
49 McBride, Haslem	81 Whitworth, Wm.
50 Miller, Miles	

The following names of young men and boys, who served as servants to officers in the Mormon Battalion, were sent in to Daniel Tyler for publication in his history of the Battalion. He says they were mostly too young to be received as soldiers, but that they are entitled to much praise for their youthful patriotism and bravery. There were probably others whose names were not given:

Zemira Palmer, servant to Col. James Allen until his death; to Dr. George B. Sanderson from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe, thence to Lieut. Lorenzo Clark until the corps was discharged.

Wm. Byron Pace, servant to Lieut. James Pace.

Wm. D. Pace, servant to Lieut. Andrew Lytle.

N. D. Higgins, servant to Captain Nelson Higgins.

Chas. Edwin Colton, servant to Adjutant P. C. Merrill.

James Mowrey, servant to Lieuts. George

W. Rosecrans, Samuel Thompson and Robt. Clift.

Elisha Smith, servant to Captain Daniel C. Davis.

Following is a list of families who accompanied the Battalion:

Mrs. Celia Hunt, wife of senior Captain Jefferson Hunt; sons: Hyrum, John, Joseph, Parley; daughters: Jane, Harriet, Mary; second wife, Matilda; in the family, Peter Nease, Ellen Nease, John Bosco and wife, Jane.

Mrs. Lydia Hunter, wife of Captain Jesse D. Hunter, of Company B, died at San Diego, left an infant and perhaps other children.

Mrs. Mary Brown, wife of Captain James Brown, of Company C.; son: David Black, and some children by first wife.

Mrs. Captain Nelson Higgins, of Company D; sons: Alpheus, Don Carlos; daughters: Druzilla, Almira (married John Chase at Pueblo), and one child born at Pueblo.

Mrs. Susan Davis, wife of Captain Daniel C. Davis, of Company E; son: Daniel C. Davis, jun.

Mrs. Fanny Maria Huntington, wife of Dimick B. Huntington; sons: Clark Allen, Lot; daughters: Martha, Zina, Betsy Prescinda (born at Pueblo).

Mrs. Malinda Kelley, wife of Milton Kelley; daughter: Malinda Catherine (born at Pueblo, now wife of Benj. L. Alexander).

Mrs. Elizabeth Shelton, wife of Sergeant Sebert C. Shelton; sons: Jackson Mayfield, John Mayfield; daughters: Sarah Mayfield, Caroline Shelton, Maria Shelton.

Mrs. Eunice Brown, wife of James P. Brown; sons: Robert, Newman, John (born while traveling between Pueblo and Salt Lake Valley); daughters: Sarah Jane and Mary Ann.

Mrs. Norman Sharp; daughter, born at Pueblo.

Miss Caroline Sargent.

Mrs. Montgomery Button; sons: James, Jutson, Charles; daughter: Louisa.

Mrs. Albina Williams, wife of Thomas S. Williams; son: Ephraim; daughters: Caroline, Phebe (the latter born at Pueblo).

Mrs. Jane Hanks, wife of Sergeant Ebenezer Hanks.

Mrs. Phebe Brown, wife of Sergeant Ebenezer Brown.

Mrs. Sophia Tubbs, wife of William Tubbs.

Mrs. Catherine Steele, wife of John Steele; daughter: Mary; also young Elizabeth (born twelve days after arriving in Salt Lake Valley).

Mrs. Susan Adams, wife of Sergeant Orson B. Adams.

Mrs. Mary Ann Hiron, wife of James Hiron.

Mrs. Emeline Hess, wife of John Hess.

Mrs. Rebecca Smith, wife of Elisha Smith.

Mrs. Isabella Wilkin, wife of David Wilkin.

Mrs. Eliza Allred, wife of J. T. S. Allred.

Mrs. Elzada Allred, wife of Reuben Allred.

Mrs. Sarah Shupe, wife of Andrew Jackson Shupe.

Mrs. Melissa Coray, wife of Sergeant Coray.

Mrs. Ruth Abbott.

Mrs. Harriet Brown, wife of Daniel Brown.

Mrs. Sarah Kelley, wife of Nicholas Kelley; son: Parley.

Mrs. Agnes Brown, wife of Sergeant Edward L. Brown.

Mrs. Caroline Sessions, wife of John Sessions.

There may have been a few others, not reported, as all were collected from memory.

July 20, 1846, the four companies first organized took up their line of march for Fort Leavenworth. Previous to starting the men of each company subscribed liberally of their wages to be sent back for the support of their families and to aid in gathering the poor from Nauvoo. That day they traveled about four miles, and continuing the journey they arrived at Fort Leavenworth on the 1st of August, having been joined by the 5th company on the road. They had also buried one of their comrades, Samuel Boley, who died on July 23rd.

At Leavenworth the men drew their arms, which consisted of U. S. flint-lock muskets, with a few caplock yaugers for sharpshooting and hunting purposes. The usual accoutrements were also drawn, as well as camp equipage and provisions, the want of which had been seriously felt on the way from Council Bluffs.

On the 5th the soldiers drew \$42 each, as clothing money for the year.

Most of the money was sent back by Elder Parley P. Pratt and others for the support of the families of the soldiers, and for the gathering of the poor from Nauvoo. There was also a donation to aid Elders Parley P. Pratt, Orson Hyde and John Taylor, of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles, in pursuing their mission to England, and to assist Elder J. C. Little to go upon his mission to the Eastern States. The paymaster was much surprised to see every man able to sign his own name to the pay roll, as only about one in three of the Missouri volunteers, who drew their pay previously, could put his signature to that document.

The members of the Mormon Battalion, too, were not only more intelligent than their fellows, but they were more submissive and obedient to their commanding officers. Colonel Allen was heard to say, in conversation with a prominent officer of the garrison, that he "had not been under the necessity of giving the word of command the second time. The men, though unacquainted with military tactics, were willing to obey orders."

Aug. 8th, Elders Orson Hyde, John Taylor and J. C. Little took leave of the Battalion at Fort Leavenworth and proceeded on their missions.

The first Sunday spent by the Battalion at Fort Leavenworth was observed by holding religious service. Elder George P. Dykes preached a kind of military and Gospel sermon, which was his usual style on such occasions.

The weather at this time was extremely warm, the thermometer indicating 101° in the shade and 135° in the sun. Some of those who had

taken sick on the road were much improved, but a number of new cases of sickness from ague and fever were developed while in garrison.

On the 12th and 13th of August three companies of the Battalion took up their line of march from Fort Leavenworth, and on the 14th the other two companies started. On the 15th the advance companies crossed Kaw River in flat boats. At Spring Creek Companies D and E caught up with the other companies, after which the whole command continued the march toward Santa Fe.

On the 23rd Captain Allen, the commander of the Battalion, died at Fort Leavenworth. His demise was a source of much regret to the brethren, who had become much attached to him, he being a kind hearted officer and a gentleman. The command now devolved upon Capt. Jefferson Hunt, as the ranking officer; but notwithstanding this Lieutenant A. J. Smith shortly afterward assumed command, contrary to the wishes of most of the brethren.

Sept. 11, 1846, the Battalion reached the Arkansas River, and then followed that stream for about one hundred miles. On Sept. 16th, Captain Higgins, with a guard of ten men, was detailed to take a number of the families, that accompanied the Battalion, to Pueblo, a Mexican town located further up the Arkansas River, to winter. Many of the brethren were dissatisfied with this move, as they objected to being divided, but under the circumstances they had to submit, and Captain Higgins marched with his detachment to Pueblo. According to the best information obtainable at the

present time the names of the soldiers, who marched to Pueblo, in care of Captain Higgins were as follows:

Gilbert Hunt,	Norman Sharp,
Dimick B. Huntington,	James Brown,
Montgomery Button,	Harley Morey,
John H. Tippetts,	Thomas Woolsey,
Milton Kelley,	S. C. Shelton.
Nicholas Kelley,	

These men, together with the families, left the main command at the last crossing of the Arkansas River, Sept. 16, 1846, and arrived in due course of time at Pueblo. On the journey thither Norman Sharp died.

While *en route* from the Arkansas River to Santa Fe, the brethren in the main company of the Battalion suffered great hardships; they were reduced to two-thirds rations and through drinking brackish water many were attacked with summer complaint. Some of the feeble ones also suffered severely from cold and rain while on guard at night, as they preferred to bear their portion of camp duties as long as they possibly could do so, rather than make their condition known and have to take the drugs and abuse of Doctor Geo. P. Sanderson (of Platte County, Mo), the regular appointed surgeon of the Battalion, who proscribed medicine that poisoned the brethren and caused them extreme suffering.

On the 2nd of October Red River was reached, and on the following day the command was divided into two divisions, the strongest and most able-bodied men pushing ahead to Santa Fe, where they arrived Oct. 9th. The second division reached that city on the 12th.

Immediately after the arrival of the Battalion at Santa Fe, Lieutenant Colonel P. St. George Cooke, who was there awaiting their arrival, as-

sumed command, having been appointed to do so by Colonel S. F. Kearney, who had left Santa Fe for California some time previous. Oct. 15, 1846, Colouel Cooke instructed Captain James Brown to take command of the men who were reported by the assistant surgeon as incapable from sickness and debility of undertaking the journey to California, and march with them to the Arkansas River, there to winter. Nearly all the laundresses accompanying the Battalion were ordered to accompany the sick detachment to Pueblo, as it was feared they would be an incumbrance to the expedition on the further march to California. The following is a list of the officers and men who marched with Captain Brown to Pueblo to winter ;

COMPANY A.

Allred, James T. S.	Jackson, Chas. A.
Allred, Reuben	Lake, Barnabas
Blanchard, Marvin S.	Oyler, Melcher
Calkins, James W.	Roe, Cariatat C.
Garner, David	Richards, Jos. W.,
Glines, James H.	musician,
Hulett, Schuyler	Sessions, John
Holden, Elijah E.	Wriston, John P.

COMPANY B.

Allen, Franklin	Persons, Harmon D.
Bingham, Erastus	Stevens, Lyman
Bird, Wm.	Stillman, Dexter
Chase, John D., cor- poral,	Walker, Wm.
Garner Philip	Wright, Chas.
Ludington, Elam, 1st lieutenant,	

COMPANY C.

Adams, Orson B., 1st sergeant,	Larson, Thurston
Brown, Alexander, 2nd corporal,	Nowlin, Jabez
Brown, Jesse J.	Perkins, David
Beckstead, Wm. E.	Perkins, John
Carpenter, Wm. H.	Persons, Judson A.
Carpenter, Isaac	Smith, Richard
Calvert, John	Smith, Milton
Durphy, Francillo	Shupe, Andrew J.
Gould, Samuel	Shupe, James
Gould, John C.	Terrill, Joel J.
Johnson, Jarvis	Tindell, Solomon
	Wilkin, David

COMPANY D.

Abbott, Joshua	Roberts, Benjamin
Averett, Jeduthan	Rowe, Wm.
Casto, Wm.	Steele, John
Chase, Abner	Stephens, Arnold,
Davis, James	1st corporal,
Douglass, Ralph	Sargent, Abel M.
Gifford, Wm. W.	Sanderson, Henry W.
Gribble, Wm.	Sharp, Albert
Hirons, James	Stillman, Clark
Kenney, Lorin E.	Smith, John G.
Lamb, Lisbon	Tanner, Myron
Laughlin, David S.	Whiting, Almon
Meeseck, Peter J.	Whiting, Edmund
Oakley, James	

COMPANY E.

Clark, Samuel	Jacobs, Bailey
Cummings, Geo.	Karren, Thos.
Glazier, Luther W.	Miller, Daniel M.
Hanks, Ebenezer, 3rd sergeant,	Park, Wm. A.
Hess, John W.	Pugmire, Jonathan, jr.
Hopkins, Chas.	Stevens, Roswell

Captain Brown marched from Santa Fe Oct. 18, 1846, and arrived at Pueblo Nov. 17th following. A place for building winter quarters was selected near the quarters of Captain Higgins' detachment which had arrived at Pueblo some time previous. A company of Saints from Mississippi who had stopped there to winter were encamped near by. "The greeting which occurred between comrades and old friends, husbands and wives, parents and children, when the two detachments met, was quite touching. A thrill of joy ran through the camp which none but those living martyrs can fully comprehend."

It was immediately agreed that 18 rooms, each 14 feet square, should be erected for the winter quarters, and the men who were able to chop were dispatched to the woods to procure timbers for the houses, with the understanding that the first rooms finished should be allotted to the sick. The work of erecting the houses was pushed with all possible rapidity, but before they were finished suffi-

ciently to shelter the sick from the piercing winds and cold mountain storms, some had already succumbed. Among the number was Joseph Wm. Richards, a very estimable young man, who died Nov. 21, 1846.

Oct. 19, 1846, John D. Lee and Howard Egan started from Santa Fe with the checks of the brethren, for Council Bluffs, being accompanied by Lieutenant Samuel L. Gullett and Roswell Stevens. On the same day the command broke camp at Santa Fe and started on the long journey of 1,100 miles across a trackless desert to the Pacific Ocean. After leaving Santa Fe many of the soldiers contracted severe colds, from which they suffered severely. On the 2nd of November a number of teams gave out, and several wagons were sent back to Santa Fe empty. During the month of November the soldiers also suffered severely from scarcity of food.

Nov. 10, 1846, Lieutenant W. W. Willis was ordered to return to Santa Fe with all the sick—fifty-six men—and they accordingly started back with one wagon, 4 yoke of poor oxen and rations sufficient to last the men only five days. to go a journey of 300 miles. The parting of these men with their comrades was very affecting. They had become endeared to each other by the ties of the Gospel and the association of the journey, and the chances were strong against their ever meeting again.

Lieutenant W. W. Willis, writing from memory of the incidents of this sick detachment, says:

“Our loading for the one wagon consisted of the clothing, blankets, cooking utensils, tents and tent poles, muskets, equipage and provisions, and all invalids who were unable to walk. With some difficulty I obtained

a spade or two and a shovel, but was provided with no medicines or other necessaries for the sick except the mutton before referred to, and only five days' rations, to travel near three hundred miles.

“Thus armed and equipped, we commenced our lonesome march, retracing our steps to Santa Fe. We marched the same day about two miles and were visited by Captain Hunt and others at night, who spoke words of comfort to us, and blessed us, administering the Church ordinance to the sick, and bidding us God speed. They left us the next day.

“We resumed our march, camping in the evening near some springs. One yoke of our oxen got mired in the mud. We took off the yoke when one got out. The other we undertook to pull out with a rope and unfortunately broke his neck. Our team was now too weak for our load. In the night Brother John Green died, and we buried him by the side of Brother James Hampton.

“What to do for a team we did not know. This was a dark time, and many were the earnest petitions that went up to our God and Father for Divine aid.

“The next morning we found with our oxen a pair of splendid young steers, which was really cheering to us. We looked upon it as one of the providences of our Father in heaven. Thus provided for, we pursued our march. We traveled two days without further accident.

“During the night of the 25th of November Elijah Freeman was taken very ill. We hauled him next day in our wagon and could distinctly hear his groans to the head of our little column. We lay by next day for his benefit. It was very cold and snowy. Next day we resumed our march, but were forced to stop the wagon for our afflicted comrade to die. After his death we resumed our march until the usual time of camping, when we buried the corpse. Richard Carter also died the same night and we buried him by the side of Brother Freeman. Their graves are four miles south of Secora, on the Rio Grande.

“We continued our march to Albuquerque, where we presented our orders for assistance to Captain Burgwin, of Kearney's brigade. He gave me \$5 cash, and the privilege of exchanging our heavy wagon for a lighter one. I had fuel and everything to buy, and spent \$66.00 of my own private money before reaching Santa Fe, which was, as near as I can recollect, about the 25th of November.

“On my arrival at that place, General

Price, commander of the post, ordered me to Pueblo, on the Arkansas River. He also ordered Quarter-master McKissock to furnish us with the necessary provisions, mules, etc. I obtained from the quarter-master ten mules and pack-saddles, ropes and other fixtures necessary for packing. With this outfit we had to perform a journey of about three hundred miles, over the mountains, and in the winter.

"Packing was new business to us, and at first we were quite awkward. This was about the 5th of December. The first day we marched about ten miles. Here we gave Brother Brazier, who was too sick to travel, a mule, and left Thomas Burns to wait upon him and follow, when he got able, to a Mr. Turley's, where I designed leaving those who were unable to cross the mountains.

"The next day we traveled about twenty miles and camped on a beautiful stream of water where we had to leave one broke-down mule. The day after, we marched about fifteen miles, and camped in a Spanish town. Here Alva Calkins, at his own request, remained to await the arrival of Brothers Brazier and Burns. About ten inches of snow fell that day, and the next day it snowed until about noon, after which we marched ten or twelve miles and hired quarters of a Spaniard. Here the men bought bread, onions, pork, etc., from their own private means. Brother George Coleman was seized with an unnatural appetite, and ate to excess. In the night we were all awakened by his groans. Dr. Rust gave him a little tincture of lobelia, the only medicine in camp, which gave him partial relief.

"Continuing our journey, we traveled within about ten miles of Turley's, Brother Coleman riding on a mule with the aid of two men to help him on and off. The next morning we started early for Mr. Turley's to make arrangements for the sick. I left my saddle mule for the sick man, with strict instructions to have him brought to that place. On my arrival I made the necessary arrangements, and about noon the company arrived, but to my surprise and regret without Brother Coleman. They said he refused to come. Mr. Turley, on hearing me express my regret and dissatisfaction at his being left, proffered to send his team and carriage to go back next day and bring him in, which offer I accepted, and agreed to pay him for his trouble. I left quite a number of sick with Mr. Turley, paying him out of my own private funds for their rations and quarters, and then traveled about ten miles

At night, strong fears were entertained that the snow was so deep we could not cross the mountains and some resolved not to attempt it, accusing me of rashness. I called the company together and stated the fact to them that I was unauthorized to draw rations except for the journey and other necessaries unless for the sick, and that I was expending my own private money. I also stated that I should carry out my instructions and march to Pueblo to winter, if I had to go alone. I then called for a show of right hands of all who would accompany me. All voted but one, and he fell in afterwards and begged pardon for his opposition.

"We continued our march from day to day, traveling through snow from two to four feet deep, with continued cold, piercing wind. The third day, about noon, we reached the summit of the mountain. Before reaching the top, however, I had to detail a rear guard of the most able-bodied men, to aid and encourage those who began to lag, and felt unable to proceed further, whilst with others I marched at the head of the column to break the road through enormous snow banks. It was with the greatest exertion that we succeeded, and some were severely frost-bitten. When we got through the banks, to our inexpressible joy, we saw the valley of the Arkansas below, where the ground was bare. The drooping spirits of the men revived, and they soon descended to the plain below, where they were comparatively comfortable. From here the command had good weather and pleasant traveling to Pueblo, their destination for the remainder of the winter.

"We arrived on the 24th of December, and found the detachments of Captains Brown and Higgins as well as could be expected, and enjoying themselves with some comfortable quarters."

Lieutenant Willis got Gilbert Hunt, son of Captain Jefferson Hunt, who had accompanied the families to Pueblo, to go back to Mr. Turley's and bring up the sick he had left there. They started on the 27th, and the same day the lieutenant started for Bent's Fort, a distance of 75 miles. He arrived on the 2nd and was very kindly received by Captain Enos, commander of the post and acting quartermaster, who

furnished sixty days rations for the company and transportation to Pueblo with ox teams. On Lieutenant Willis' return, the detachment went to work, preparing their quarters, each mess to build a log cabin.

About the middle of January, 1847, Gilbert Hunt and company returned with all the sick except Geo. Coleman. Mr. Turley forwarded the lieutenant a letter by Corporal Hunt, to the effect that he sent his carriage as agreed upon, but on arriving at the place where Brother Coleman was left, he was not there. The Spaniard reported that after the company had left, in spite of entreaties to the contrary, Brother Coleman followed on after the company, and it was supposed, after traveling a short distance, he expired, as he was afterwards found dead by the road-side not far distant.

The following is a list of Lieutenant Willis' sick detachment:

COMPANY A.

Bevan, James	Hewett, Eli B.
Calkins, Alva C.	Maxwell, Maxie
Curtis, Josiah	Wriston, Isaac N.
Earl, James C.	Woodworth, Lysander
Frederick, David	

COMPANY B.

Bybee, John	Clark, Geo. S.
Bingham, Thos.	Eastman, Marcus N.
Camp, James G.	Hinckley, Arza E.
Church, Haden W.	

COMPANY C.

Blackburn, Abner	Rust, Wm. W.
Brimhall, John	Richmond, Benj.
Babcock, Lorenzo	Shiple, Joseph
Burt, Wm.	Squires, Wm., corporal,
Dalton, Edward	
Dalton, Harry	Thomas, Nathan T.
Dunn, James	Welsh, Madison.
Johnston, Jesse W.	

COMPANY D.

Badlam, Samuel	Mecham, Erastus D.
Compton, Allen	Stewart, James
Higgins, Alfred	Stewart, Benjamin
Hoagland, Lucas	Tubbs, Wm. R.
Hayward, Thomas	Tippetts, John H.

COMPANY E.

Brazier, Richard,	McLelland, Wm. E.
sergeant,	Richardson, Thos.
Burns, Thos. R.	Skein, Joseph
Brown, Daniel,	Wilson, Geo.
Cazier, John	Woolsey, Thos.
Cazier, James	

Most of the houses built at Pueblo by the detachments of Captains Brown and Higgins were so far completed as to be occupied Dec. 5, 1846. Though only rude cabins, they found them much better than tents to live in. The valley in which they were located was well adapted for winter quarters. What snow fell soon melted, and there was good grazing for their animals. True, they had occasional wind storms, when the dust would be blown through the crevices of their houses, covering their food and everything else, but though unpleasant and annoying, this was so slight an evil, compared with what they had previously suffered from, that they felt to bear it without complaining.

The men, and families too, were tolerably well supplied with food, so that none need suffer from hunger. An occasional hunting expedition would result in securing a supply of venison, which furnished a very acceptable change of diet. Most of the sick were also very much improved since getting rid of the drugs of the inhuman doctor. A few cases of sickness, however, still lingered on.

Oct. 21, 1846, Mrs. Fanny Huntington, wife of Dimick B. Huntington, gave birth to a child which died Nov. 9, 1846. On the same day the twin son of Captain Jefferson Hunt, by his wife Celia, died. Both the little innocents were buried in one grave.

"On the 15th of January, 1847," writes Elder Daniel Tyler, "nine

wagons, loaded with sixty days' rations, for the command, arrived from Bent's Fort, and the convalescent soldiers and their families were thereby enabled to experience the contrast between short food and hard labor and full rations and no labor.

"On the 19th, John Perkins, a fine young man, died, after a lingering illness, and was buried the following day.

"About this time the command commenced the practice of squad drills, in which the men became very proficient.

"Owing to rumors being freely circulated to the effect that the Mexicans and Indians intended to attack Pueblo, preparations for defence were made, and Captain Brown also called upon the old settlers for assistance, which they promised to render. The people of Bent's Fort were also alarmed, lest the enemy might make a sudden raid upon them. Communication with Santa Fe had been cut off.

"On the 5th of February another death occurred, that of Brother James A. Scott, a promising young man, after a short but severe illness, from winter fever and liver complaint. He was buried with the honors of war.

"On the evening of the 28th, Corporal Arnold Stevens died, and was buried the next day, with military honors; and on the 10th of April M. S. Blanchard also departed this life, after a lingering illness. The great number of deaths that occurred among that portion of the Battalion who wintered at Pueblo were doubtless due, mainly, to diseases contracted through the exposure and hardships of the journey and the

murderous drugging which they had received from Dr. Sanderson, though the unhealthfulness of Pueblo may partly account for them, as some claim. As many of the Missouri volunteers, who were also stationed at Pueblo for the winter, died, it is probable that climatic influences may have been one cause.

"Captain Brown, having returned from Santa Fe on the 9th, with only a part of the pay due the men, set out again for that post on the 1st of May, for the purpose of trying to obtain the balance. * * *

"As spring advanced the hunters were quite successful in killing the Rocky Mountain or black-tailed deer, which abounded in the mountains in that region. They do not differ materially from other deer, except that they are larger and darker in winter than those found east of the Rocky Mountains. When fat, their meat has a fine flavor and is preferable to the more eastern species. In fact, this rule holds good with most mountain game, and even domestic animals.

"May 18, 1847, Captains Brown and Higgins and others, returned from Santa Fe with the soldiers' money and orders to march to California.

"The wagons were loaded, and the command took up the line of march and crossed the Arkansas River on the 24th of May, at noon. * * *

"On the 29th travel was resumed towards California by way of Fort Laramie, on the Platte River. The south fork of the river was reached on the 3rd of June, and from that time the course of travel lay down that stream, which was crossed two days later (June 5th), and

owing to the great depth of the water, the wagon boxes had to be raised and blocks of wood put under them to keep the loading dry.

"On the afternoon of June 11th, while on Pole Creek, to the great joy of the detachments, they were met by Elder Amasa M. Lyman of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles, who was accompanied by Brothers Thomas Woolsey, Roswell Stevens and John H. Tippetts, from Winter Quarters, bringing letters from the families and friends of the soldiers, as well as counsel from President Brigham Young; also news of the travels and probable destination of the Church. * * *

"We will now explain how John H. Tippetts and Thomas Woolsey, two members of the detachments that wintered at Pueblo, happened to be at Winter Quarters when Elder Amasa M. Lyman left there, as it had been stated that they accompanied him to meet the detachments, and yet no mention was previously made of their having left the Battalion:

"Dec. 23, 1846, these fearless soldiers left Pueblo, on the head waters of the Arkansas River, alone and without a guide, to take money to their families and friends, whom they had not heard from since John D. Lee and Howard Egan overtook the Battalion as previously noted.

"The second day they passed Pike's Peak. When they awoke in the morning they found themselves ensconced under about six inches of snow. The fourth night they camped on Cherry Creek, near where Denver City now stands. On arriving at the South Fork of the Platte River, they followed down it, passing an old deserted Indian village. A se-

vere east wind arose, which forced them to take shelter under the bank of the river during the night, where they slept on the ice. Brother Tippetts avers that the weather was so cold that six inches of the tail of one of the mules was frozen. Another day's travel took them to where they could get wood. Here they remained for three days, owing to the severity of the weather. They killed a buffalo, which gave them a supply of meat. After one day's travel from this point, one of the men went for water and was driven back by a buffalo sentinel. They followed the river down to Grand Island, where some Pawnee Indians took them prisoners and detained them one day and night.

"They crossed the river below the island on the ice, then continued eastward to the Elk Horn River. Here they packed sand in their blankets to keep the mules from slipping on the ice, which was rather thin and weak, but they succeeded in crossing in safety.

"The same day they were stopped by a band of Omaha Indians. Among them was a white man. Brother Tippetts asked him if he could speak English. He answered 'Yes.' Then he exclaimed, 'For God's sake, tell us where we are!' They found themselves within sixteen miles of Winter Quarters, where they arrived at dark, Feb. 15, 1847, at the house of President Brigham Young, where a picnic party was gathered. Being invited, they freely partook of the supper, which was to them a great treat, as they had been three days without food. Brother Tippetts had previously dreamed of partaking of just such a feast. They were out fifty-two days, traveling like Abra-

ham, not knowing whither they went.

"After the meeting with Brother Lyman and the friends who accompanied him, the journey was resumed, and on the 13th of June, while resting, during the afternoon, the detachment was addressed by Apostle Amasa M. Lyman, who imparted such instructions as he had received from President Young and the quorum of the Twelve, for the Battalion, prominently among which was an exhortation to live as Saints and followers of Jesus Christ, and forsake all of their sins and evil deeds.

"It was then supposed the detachment would have to march to California to be discharged.

"On the night of the 16th, the command camped within one mile of Fort Laramie, about 540 miles west of Council Bluffs, where they were mustered into service eleven months before.

"President Young, with a company of pioneers, making their way westward, had passed Laramie twelve days previous, and with a view to overtaking them, the command made an early start on the morning of the 17th and followed up their trail.

"The road was bad, almost impassable in places, so that travel was necessarily slow and tedious; but they gradually gained on the Pioneers, whose journeyings they occasionally learned of by finding a post set up at a camping place, with writing on it, showing when the Pioneers had passed there.

"On arriving at the ferry on the Platte, the command learned that the Pioneers were one day's travel in advance. Finding a blacksmith working at this point, a halt was made for one day, in order to get animals

shod. Many emigrants on their way to Oregon or California were crossing the ferry, and among them many of the old enemies of the Saints, the Missouri mobocrats. All the way from this point to where the pioneer trail branched off from the Oregon route, many emigrants were seen making their way to the western coast by the northern route."

Nothing of importance occurred during the remainder of the journey to Salt Lake Valley. The command failed to overtake President Young's pioneer company, except 11 men who pushed on ahead of their comrades and came up with the Pioneers at Green River, July 4, 1847. The rest of Captain Brown's detachment arrived in the valley July 29, 1847, a few days after the Pioneer had entered the valley. Here they were formally disbanded, without having to proceed on to California as had been expected.

The members of the main body of the Battalion, in proceeding on their journey from the point where Lieutenant Willis' detachment left them in November, 1847, were reduced to such straits for food that to stay their hunger they cut up raw hide in fine pieces and made soup of it. The poor work oxen that were used to draw the wagons, when so reduced in flesh that they presented the spectacle of walking skeletons, and were forced to give up from sheer exhaustion, were utilized in the only way they could be then—they were killed and distributed among the starving men, who ate every particle of them that could be eaten with an avidity and relish difficult to be imagined by any person who has not experienced what those men then did—starvation. When unable to find other

food to subsist upon, some of them actually plucked the wool from the sheepskins that were under their pack-saddles, and then roasted the hides and ate them. They had to cross deserts in their march, traveling at times all day long and even then camping at night without finding water with which to quench their thirst. The guides who accompanied them were unacquainted with the country through which they passed, never having traveled the route before. They had branched off from the road and were trying to find a new and shorter route to California than that leading through the settlements of Sonora, much further to the south. Colonel Cooke, the officer in command, told his men that he had seen hard service as a private soldier, and endured forced marches with his knapsack on his back, but his suffering would not compare with that of the men under his command. The endurance of every man was put to the test, and quite a number of them were forced to succumb, as their swollen tongues and parched lips attested their extreme thirst, or their worn out constitutions failed to furnish the strength to proceed further.

The country through which the Battalion passed in the early part of December abounded with wild cattle. It was estimated that about four thousand of them were seen in one day. Many of these were killed to furnish the Battalion with beef, and of that kind of food the men had a surfeit, for they had beef and that alone to subsist upon. There seemed to be comparatively few cows in the herds they saw, and it was presumed that they had been killed off by the Indians. The wild

bulls were disposed to show fight, especially when wounded, and some little trouble and excitement was caused in the ranks by these animals bounding into the midst of the men in their mad fury and goring and trampling upon everything in their way. Two men were severely injured, one mule gored to death and some others were knocked down and hurt. These bulls were very hard to kill, and would charge upon the men in furious desperation after having half a dozen bullets shot into them, unless one happened to penetrate the heart. While traveling down the river San Pedro, where thickets of muskeet and other brush were very abundant, the attacks of these wild animals became so frequent that it was found necessary for the safety of the men, to travel with their muskets ready loaded and fire a volley at the animals on their first approach.

The guides, who were sent on in advance of the Battalion, returned one evening and reported that their most direct route was through the old garrison town of Tucson, about two days' travel in advance of them, but that they would likely find difficulty in passing through it, as there was a strong force of Mexican soldiers there, who could easily raise volunteers among the citizens to assist them in offering a resistance, and that they intended to prevent the Battalion from entering their town. Also that one of their number, Doctor Foster, had been detained at Tucson as a spy.

Colonel Cooke was not the man to be daunted, nor turned a hundred miles out of his way by a Mexican garrison, and he accordingly drilled his men, inspected their fire-arms,

dealt out to them an extra supply of ammunition, and issued to them the following order:

“HEADQUARTERS, Mormon Battalion,
Camp on the San Pedro,
December 13, 1846.

“Thus far on our course to California we have followed the guides furnished us by the general. These guides now point to Tucson, a garrison town, as our road, and assert that any other course is 100 miles out of the way and over a trackless wilderness of mountains, rivers and hills. We will march then to Tucson. We came not to make war on Sonora, and less still to destroy an important outpost of defense against Indians. But we will take the straight road before us and overcome all resistance, but shall I remind you that the American soldier ever shows justice and kindness to the unarmed and unresisting? The property of individuals you will hold sacred: the people of Sonora are not our enemies.

“By order of LIEUT. COL. COOKE.

“P. C. MERRILL, Adjutant.”

The Battalion then resumed their march toward Tucson. On the way they met three Spanish soldiers bringing a message from the governor of Fort Tucson to Colonel Cooke, informing him that he must pass around the town, otherwise he would have to fight. These soldiers were taken prisoners by order of the colonel, to be held as hostages for the safety of Dr. Foster, who was detained by the Mexicans. He then sent two guides to Fort Tucson and informed the governor of what he had done and that he did not intend to alter his course, but should pass through the town peaceably. That night a number of Spaniards from Tucson arrived at the Battalion camp bringing with them Doctor Foster and the two guides last sent there, when, of course, they redeemed the Spanish prisoners who were held as hostages. The following morning the command marched to Tucson, where they met with no opposition, for the soldiers and a great many of

the citizens had been so overcome with fear on hearing of the approach of the Battalion that they had fled and taken with them their two cannons and what valuable property they could get away with, and left the town and the rest of the inhabitants to the mercy of their supposed enemies. The citizens who remained treated the command in the best possible style, and exchanged coarse flour, meal, beans, tobacco, quinces, etc., for old clothes and such things as the men had to dispose of. A large quantity of wheat belonging to the Spanish government was found stored in the town, out of which the colonel ordered the mules to be fed, and that sufficient of it be taken along with them to feed the mules a distance of ninety miles; but though he took this liberty with the government property, he strictly charged his men to hold sacred private property as they passed through the town.

After leaving Tucson, the Battalion had an extensive desert to cross which again put to the test the endurance of the men. For a distance of 75 miles they traveled without water for their mules and but a very little for a few of the men; and that little such as they could suck or lap up out of mud holes in some marshy places they found. Colonel Cooke, the officer in command, though very strict with his men and rigid in the enforcement of discipline, could not refrain from expressing the pride he naturally felt at the willingness of his men to brave danger, endure hardships and obey his orders. After getting across the desert he remarked that he never would have ventured upon it if he had known its situation and what a task it would be to cross it. He congratulated his men on

their success in getting through and said that he did not believe any other class of men could have accomplished what they had done without showing signs of mutiny. On reaching the Gila River they met hundreds of Pima Indians who greeted them warmly, traded them provisions and gave them the privilege of traveling through their villages. These Indians were peaceably disposed, contented, stalwart fellows, and superior in every respect to those the Battalion had previously encountered on their journey. They spent their time principally in tilling the soil and manufacturing clothing, in which branches they displayed considerable skill. The Mexicans, on learning of the approach of the Battalion, had tried to induce these Indians to unite with them in offering a resistance, promising them if they would do so that they should have all the spoil to be obtained in a fight. This the Pima chief flatly refused to do, saying that his tribe had never shed the blood of white men and he did not wish them to. At the Gila River the Battalion intersected General Kearney's trail, which up to this time had been considerably north of their route. Colonel Cooke also obtained from the chief of the Pimas a quantity of store goods and some mules that he had been entrusted with by General Kearney to keep until the Battalion arrived. In this vicinity also they met three pilots sent back by General Kearney to meet and conduct the Battalion by the nearest route to the ocean. These pilots informed the colonel that he had made the trip to the Gila River in one month's less time than General Kearney expected.

By this time the soldiers were

greatly worn down by their heavy marching and the scarcity of provisions. The rations were reduced to the lowest possible point. Their clothes were almost gone, their shoes were worn out and many were compelled to make mocassins out of raw hide. These mocassins, when dry, were as hard as sheet iron, and cut the feet of the wearers. Some of the men went barefoot, but the country over which they marched was full of various kinds of the cactus and other thorny plants, and they suffered great annoyance and pain from them. These difficulties, however, were not the worst the men had to contend with. There were two or three officers who seemed to forget their obligations as Latter-day Saints, and who, because they happened to have a little brief authority, acted towards their brethren in a tyrannical and unfeeling manner. The men would probably have resented this treatment by acts of violence had they not been restrained by the prudent counsels of Brothers Levi W. Hancock and David Pettegrew. These brethren from their age and experience were looked upon as fathers by the young men, and they were able, by their influence, to do a great amount of good.

The remainder of the trip to the Pacific coast was exceedingly hard on both men and animals. Most of the distance was over deserts where the sand was very deep and neither water nor grass to be found, but the same cheerfulness and determination on the part of the men, which had previously characterized the Battalion, bore them up to the end of the journey, which they reached very opportunely, just in time to prevent by their presence the Mexicans from

making an intended effort to regain possession of California. It was on the 27th of January, 1847, that the Battalion passed Mission San Luis Rey, pleasantly situated on an elevated piece of land, and ascended a hill when the calm, unruffled bosom of the Pacific Ocean burst upon their view.

Many of the brethren then beheld an ocean for the first time in their lives. The columns halted to give the opportunity of gazing upon the scene. Every eye was turned towards its placid surface, every heart beat with unuttered pleasure, every soul was full of thankfulness, but every tongue was silent, for all felt too full to give vent to any expression. They had marched many a long day, and had wearily trudged from the Missouri River, enduring many privations and hardships to reach this point, and though weary, ragged and many barefoot, they could still enjoy the scene. The surrounding hills were covered with wild oats and grass nearly a foot high, growing as luxuriantly as grass was seen at midsummer in the States where the members of the Battalion had formerly lived. The breeze from the ocean, as it winged its way up that fertile valley, was very sweet and refreshing to the tired men. The abundance of fat beef, which was now served out as rations to the Battalion, was exceedingly good to them, reduced as they were for want of food.

They continued their march, and on Jan. 29, 1847, they reached San Diego Mission, close to the port of that name, where they took up their quarters. Here the commander of the Battalion issued the following order:

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“HEADQUARTERS, Mission of San Diego
January 30, 1847.

“Lieutenant Colonel commanding congratulates the Battalion on its safe arrival on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, and the conclusion of its march of over two thousand miles. History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry; nine-tenths of it through a wilderness, where nothing but savages and wild beasts are found, or deserts where, for want of water, there is no living creature. There, with almost hopeless labor, we have dug deep wells, which the future traveler will enjoy. Without a guide who had traversed them, we have ventured into trackless prairies, where water was not found for several marches. With crowbar and pick-ax in hand we have worked our way over mountains, which seemed to defy aught save the wild goat, and hewed a passage through a chasm of living rock, more narrow than our wagons. To bring these first wagons to the Pacific, we have preserved the strength of the mules by herding them over large tracts, which you have laboriously guarded without loss.

“The garrison of four Presidios of Sonora, concentrated within the walls of Tucson, gave us no pause: we drove them out with their artillery; but our intercourse with the citizens was unmarked by a single act of injustice. Thus marching, half naked and half fed, and living upon wild animals, we have discovered and made a road of great value to our country.

“Arrived at the first settlement of California, after a single day’s rest, you cheerfully turned off from the route to this point of promised repose, to enter upon a campaign, and meet, as we believed, the approach of the enemy; and this, too, without even salt to season your sole subsistence of fresh meat.

“Lieutenants A. J. Smith and George Stoneman, of the 1st Dragoons, have shared and given valuable aid in all these labors.

“Thus, volunteers, you have exhibited some high and essential qualities of veterans. But much remains undone. Soon you will turn your strict attention to the drill, to system and order, to forms also, which are all necessary to the soldier.

“By order of Lieut. Col. P. ST. GEO. COOKE,
(Signed) P. C. MERRILL, Adjutant.”

Feb. 15, 1847, Company B of the Battalion was ordered to take charge of the fort at San Diego, which it did, separating from the other com-

panies. This company remained three months at San Diego, during which time they built several houses, dug fifteen or twenty wells, made picket fences, etc. Some of the men also built and burned a large brick kiln, which was said to be the first in California. With those bricks a court house and school house were built in San Diego by the men of the company. These were the first houses built of burnt brick at that place. When they were completed the citizens made a feast, and a great parade was made over them. Besides these works, the men did much carpenter work for the people, and the course they pursued secured them many friends, and when they moved from there, they did so amid general regret. Notwithstanding the country was full of cattle, and wheat was abundant in some places, provisions were but scantily furnished to the men and considerable dissatisfaction was felt in consequence.

March 19, 1847, the Battalion, with the exception of an officer and 34 men, who remained for the defense and protection of the post of San Luis Rey, marched to the town of Los Angeles. As they could not get quarters in the town they encamped outside.

On the 6th of April, the officer and men, who had been left at San Luis Rey, joined the main body.

Among the duties assigned to the Battalion, while at Los Angeles, were the guarding of the Cajon Pass of the Sierra Nevada mountains, 45 miles east of Los Angeles, to prevent the passage of hostile Indians, who frequently made raids on the adjacent ranches for the purpose of driving off stock; also the erection of a fort on a small eminence which

commanded the town. General Kearney visited the camp and inspected the Battalion. He expressed himself as being much gratified with the appearance of the men and praised their conduct. A feeling of jealousy was entertained by many of the men belonging to other commands against the Battalion, because of the favor and encomiums bestowed upon them by the officers. Colonel Fremont's men were credited with having very hostile feelings towards the Battalion, and with having threatened to attack them. Fremont was rebellious and would not submit to Kearney, and the latter depended upon the Battalion, it was said, to aid him in case of an open quarrel with Fremont.

One night the Battalion was aroused from slumber and ordered to load and prepare to resist the attack of an enemy. The attack was expected from Fremont's men; but it proved to be a false alarm.

Three men were detailed from each company of the Battalion to serve as an escort to General Kearney in traveling from California to Fort Leavenworth. Among them were N. V. Jones and John W. Bingley. General Kearney left Los Angeles May 13, 1847, accompanied by Colonel Cooke and three men of the escort chosen to proceed by water to Monterey. The other nine men of the escort, under Lieutenant Stoneman, journeyed over land to Monterey, where they arrived on the 25th, before the general who did not arrive until the 27th. The next day (May 28th) the detachment drew 75 days' rations, and on the 31st took up its line of march for the Sacramento Valley.

On the 20th and 21st of June they

crossed the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Before reaching the Truckee River, they found a small lake about one mile wide and three miles long. In the vicinity of this lake were several cabins built by that portion of Captain Hastings' company, which was snowed in the previous fall. Their numbers were estimated at about eighty souls, who all perished except about thirty.

The general ordered a halt and detailed five men to bury the dead that were lying upon the ground. One of the men was said to have lived four months on human flesh and brains. Their bodies were mangled in a horrible manner. This place is known as Cannibal Camp. Colonel Fremont passed the general and party at this place. It was the first time the party had seen him since leaving Sutter's Fort. After they had buried the bones of the dead, which had been sawed and broken to pieces for the purpose of obtaining the marrow, they set fire to the cabin and left the horrible place.

From that point the party traveled seven miles further, and encamped within one mile of another cabin, where more dead bodies were found. The general did not, however, order them buried.

Continuing the journey by way of the Humboldt River, the company arrived at Fort Hall July 15th. From there they traveled eastward over mountains and plains to Fort Leavenworth, where they arrived some time in August, 1847. The brethren of the escort, after receiving their discharge, proceeded immediately to join their families near Kaneshville (now Council Bluffs), Iowa.

June 29, 1847, about three hun-

dred men of the Battalion were under arms in the public square at Los Angeles, and Colonel Stevenson tried to induce them, or at least one company, to re-enlist. He promised them that they should have the election of their own major and other officers, and that they should be discharged with one year's pay the ensuing February, at any place they wished in California. He also said that a detachment should be sent to meet their families to carry what means they wished to send to them. Some of the officers were very much in favor of the men re-enlisting, and recommended this course to them; but several of the non-commissioned officers and men were opposed to re-enlistment, and their views prevailed.

On the 16th of July, all of the Battalion in Los Angeles were mustered out of service (the time of their enlistment having expired) by Captain Smith, of the 1st Dragoons. They had served the full time of their service faithfully, and had experienced the truth of the predictions made to them by President Young when they enlisted. He had promised them that if they would be faithful to their God, they would not be required to fight. The fighting would be before and behind them; but they would not have to take part in it. These words had been literally fulfilled. They had done their duty as required by their commanding officers, had been brought face to face almost with the enemy, but had been spared the necessity of shedding blood or of running the risk of having their own blood shed.

On the 20th of July, most of the members of the Battalion who did not re-enlist organized, preparatory

to returning to their homes and families, as a traveling camp and appointed Lieutenants Andrew Lytle and James Pace of Company E captains of hundreds, and Sergeants William Hyde, Daniel Tyler and Reddick N. Allred, captains of fifties. Elisha Everett was also appointed captain of ten pioneers. On the 21st the brethren advanced, scarcely knowing whither they went, only they had been told that by traveling northward, mainly under the base of the mountains, Sutter's Fort, on the Sacramento River, might be reached in about 600 miles, while the seashore route would be 700 miles. Captain Allred's fifty took up the line of march on the 23rd, and, after traveling 38 miles, arrived at Francisco's Ranch the following day. Here this company remained a few days until the arrival of the other companies on the 27th. Continuing the journey from the ranch above mentioned, they traveled northward until they reached the Sacramento River on the 20th of August. On the 24th they came to a settlement of white people. Daniel Tyler writes:

"We were almost overjoyed to see a colony of Americans, the first we had seen since leaving Fort Leavenworth, about a year previous. But the best of all was the news brought by a man named Smith, who said he had accompanied Samuel Brannan to meet the Church, and who informed us that the Saints were settling in the Great Salt Lake Valley, and that 500 wagons were on the way thither. This was our first intelligence of the movements of the Church since the news brought by Lieutenant Pace and Brothers Lee and Egan, at the Arkansas crossing. One must have our previous sad experience to appreciate our feelings on this occasion.

"The following day, we rested and held meeting in the evening, as we had frequently done since our discharge. Some having but a poor fit-out, wished to remain here

and labor until spring, wages being good and labor in demand; besides, a settlement of the New York Saints was within a few miles. President Levi W. Hancock made some appropriate remarks on the union that had been and was among us, and thought that a few might remain and labor until spring and all would be right. He then asked the company if, in case any felt to remain, they should have our prayers and blessings. All voted in the affirmative. Good remarks were also made by others on the same subject. A few remained. Wages were said to be from \$25 to \$60 per month, and hands hard to get at any price, as there were so few in the country.

"On the 26th, we traveled 20 miles and encamped on American Fork, two miles from Sutter's Fort. Here the animals that had become tender-footed were shod, at a cost of \$1 per shoe. We also purchased our outfit of unbolted flour at \$8 per hundred. * * *

"On the 27th, the pioneers and about thirty others advanced, while the bulk of the company remained to get horses shod. The advance made about eighteen miles, from which point our course changed from northward to eastward.

"On the 28th, we arrived at Captain Johnson's mill, on Bear Creek. This man had Indians laboring for him, who were entirely naked. I noticed one large man, probably six feet in height, come and stand by the door, an unabashed picture of nature unadorned. He was apparently waiting for the young woman of the house—the captain's wife—to give him something to eat. Captain Johnson passed in and out of the house while the savage stood by the door, without taking any exceptions to his nude appearance, from which we inferred that he was used to seeing the Indians in such a condition. Indeed, we were informed that those he hired, went without clothing, and the Indian we saw there was probably one of his employes.

"Captain Johnson was said to have been one of Fremont's Battalion, and his young wife was one of the survivors of the ill-fated company who had been snowed in at the foot of the Sierras. * * * Her mother, Mrs. Murray, who was a Latter-day Saint, was among the number who perished in that horrible scene of death. The circumstances under which she became a member of that company were explained to us by her daughter, Mrs. Johnson.

"The lady being a widow, with several children dependent upon her for support, while residing in Nauvoo, heard of a chance

of obtaining employment at Warsaw, an anti-Mormon town, 20 miles lower down the Mississippi. Thinking to better her condition, she, accordingly, removed to Warsaw, and spent the winter of 1845-46 there. In the spring of the latter year, a party about emigrating to Oregon or California offered to furnish passage for herself and children on the condition that she would cook and do the washing for the party. Understanding California to be the final destination of the Saints, and thinking this a good opportunity to emigrate without being a burden to the Church, she accepted the proposition; but, alas! the example of Sister Murray, although her motives were good, is an illustration of the truism, 'that it is better to suffer affliction with the people of God' and trust in Him for deliverance, than to mingle with the sinful 'for a season,' and be lured by human prospects of a better result!

"The company crossed the plains during the summer of 1846, under the guidance of Captain Hastings. They passed through Salt Lake Valley, around the south end of the lake, and proceeded on westward. Lacking that union which has characterized companies of Saints, while traveling, they split up into factions, each party determined to take its own course. The few who remained with the persevering captain, pushed through to California, while the others were caught in the snows of the Sierra Nevada Mountains.

"The party Mrs. Murray was with was next in rear of that of the captain, and, of course, nearest the source of relief. After their food was exhausted, in fact, after several had succumbed to death through hunger, and others were subsisting upon their flesh, a few of them, one of whom was Mrs. Murray's eldest daughter (afterwards Mrs. Johnson), in desperation, resolved to make an attempt to cross the mountains and obtain relief. Fitting themselves out with snow shoes, they started, and, after proceeding some distance, they met Captain Hastings and a party from the Sacramento Valley, coming with provisions to relieve them. On reaching the camp of the starving emigrants, the relief party found Mrs. Murray dead and others perfectly ravenous from starvation. Children were actually crying for the flesh of their parents while it was being cooked. There was good reason to suspect that Sister Murray had been foully dealt with, as she was in good health when her daughter left her, and could scarcely have perished from hunger during the brief period of her absence.

"Leaving Captain Johnson's mill, we proceeded on, following the trail of General Kearney. On arriving at Bear Creek, in Bear Valley, we found three wagons and a blacksmith's forge, which had been abandoned by the emigrants who were snowed in the previous winter. We rested there one day, to recruit our animals, the feed being good, and found plenty of huckleberries, which were a fine treat.

"During the 3rd of September, we passed other wagons at the place where General Kearney's party had buried the remains of the famished emigrants, and at night reached the place where the rear wagons of the unfortunate Hastings company were blocked by the snow, and were horrified at the sight which met our view—a skull covered with hair lying here, a mangled arm or leg yonder, with the bones broken as one would break a beef shank to obtain the marrow from it; a whole body in another place, covered with a blanket, and portions of other bodies scattered around in different directions. It had not only been the scene of intense human suffering, but also of some of the most fiendish acts that man made desperate by hunger could conceive.

"It seemed that on reaching that point on their journey, the unfortunate emigrants were divided into several different parties. Some lagged behind because there was work required to make a road for their wagons, and they were determined not to do it themselves; others were in favor of stopping to recruit their animals, all of which were turned out to grass when the storm came, and scattered and buried them up. In this terrible dilemma their provisions were soon exhausted, and they began to subsist upon the bodies of their dead relatives. Those who had no deceased relatives, borrowed flesh from those who had, to be refunded when they or some of their relatives should die. In some cases, children are said to have eaten their dead parents, and *vice versa*. Some were supposed to have been murdered as we would butcher an ox.

"When relief came, one man had a trunk packed full of human flesh and two buckets full of human blood, stored carefully away. When questioned about the blood, he professed to have extracted it from the veins of two women after they were dead, but the seemingly well-founded opinion was that there had been foul play. Some were caught in the act of eating human flesh for a lunch, as a matter of choice, while they were passing over the mountains with the relief party, after they had obtained plenty of other food. And when their pockets

were examined, they were found to contain chunks of human flesh, which were taken from them and thrown away. One man had even acquired such a mania for that kind of food, that after he had been in Sacramento Valley some months, where food was plentiful, he admitted to having a longing for another such a meal, and expressed to a stout, comely lady a desire for a roast from her body. This cannibal, whose name might be given were it not for shame's sake, was, when we passed through Sacramento Valley, being watched for by the lady's husband, who swore he would shoot him on sight.

"Leaving the tragic scene on the morning of Sept. 6th, we resumed our journey, and in a short time met Samuel Brannan returning from his trip to meet the Saints. We learned from him that the Pioneers had reached Salt Lake Valley in safety, but his description of the valley and its facilities was anything but encouraging. Among other things, Brother Brannan said the Saints could not possibly subsist in the Great Salt Lake Valley, as, according to the testimony of mountaineers, it froze there every month in the year, and the ground was too dry to sprout seeds without irrigation, and if irrigated with the cold mountain streams, the seeds planted would be chilled and prevented from growing, or, if they did grow, they would be sickly and fail to mature. He considered it no place for an agricultural people, and expressed his confidence that the Saints would emigrate to California the next spring. On being asked if he had given his views to President Brigham Young, he answered that he had. On further inquiry as to how his views were received, he said, in substance, that the President laughed and made some rather insignificant remarks; 'but,' said Brannan, 'when he has fairly tried it, he will find that I was right and he was wrong, and will come to California.'

"He thought all except those whose families were known to be at Salt Lake had better turn back and labor until spring, when in all probability the Church would come to them; or, if not, they could take means to their families. We camped over night with Brannan, and after he had left us the following morning, Captain James Brown, of the Pueblo detachment, which arrived in Salt Lake Valley on the 29th of July, came up with a small party. He brought a goodly number of letters from the families of the soldiers; also an epistle from the Twelve Apostles, advising those who had not means of subsistence to remain in California and

labor, and bring their earnings with them in the spring.

"Henry W. Bigler received a letter from Elder George A. Smith, of the Apostles, stating among other things, that President Brigham Young, with 143 Pioneers, arrived in Salt Lake Valley on the 24th day of July. It also mentioned the arrival of the Pueblo detachment of the Battalion, and stated that some were very busy putting in garden and field crops, while others were making adobes to build a temporary fort as a safeguard against Indians. The letter also stated that President Young and the Pioneers would return to Council Bluffs, and Father John Smith, Patriarch, would preside until the Twelve returned the next season.

"From the last-named encampment, many, probably over half of the company, returned in accordance with the instructions from the Twelve, to spend the winter in California. We were also overtaken there by a portion of the company left at Sutter's Fort, and a few others who had remained behind our party to travel slowly with Brother Henry Hoyt, who was sick. Brother Hoyt had gradually failed since our separation, and finally died on the 3rd of September, 1847. * * *

"Few incidents of importance occurred during the journey to Salt Lake Valley, where we arrived Oct. 16, 1847, and were overjoyed to meet so many of our friends and relatives. We found them living in a fort consisting of a row of buildings running at right angles around a ten acre block. The rooms all opened into the enclosure, and had small windows or port holes looking outward, for purposes of defense and ventilation. The entrance to the enclosure was through a large gate in the centre of the east side or row of buildings running north and south. The gate was locked at night. The site of that first structure, which is in the Sixth Ward of Salt Lake City, is known still as 'the old fort.' The walls, however, have long since been removed; hence the temporary fortification now exists only in name.

"Many of the men, on arriving in the Valley, were extremely destitute of clothing, but their necessities were somewhat relieved by some of the influential brethren taking up a collection among the families of the settlers of such articles of wearing apparel as they could spare for the benefit of the 'Battalion boys.' Nothing that was donated seemed to come amiss; anything that would cover the nakedness of the men or help to keep them warm was acceptable.

True, the men presented rather a motley, and, in some instances, almost a ludicrous appearance, on account of the disparity in the color and fit of their several garments, but comfort with them was the first consideration, and they were thankful to get anything that would tend to that object. President John Taylor and Presiding Bishop Edward Hunter were foremost among those who made the collection of clothing for the destitute soldiers.

"Different members of our company brought various kinds of garden and fruit seeds, as well as grain, from California, which were found very useful in this inland valley. * * *

"Lieutenant James Pace introduced the club-head wheat. The author, and perhaps some others, the California pea, now so general and prolific as the field pea of Utah. The detached soldiers who wintered at Pueblo, near the headwaters of the Arkansas River, brought the variety of wheat known as the *taos*, common in our Territory. * * *

"A few of the members of the Battalion found their families in Salt Lake Valley on our arrival there, and, of course, had no further to go; some others were so worn down with fatigue and sickness that they were unable to proceed eastward at that time, and still others preferred to remain in the valley until the following spring and endeavor to prepare a home for their families. Thirty-two out of the number, however, were eager to meet their wives and children, and therefore did not hesitate about continuing their journey another thousand miles, even at that late season of the year. We expected to obtain flour in the valley for the remainder of the journey, but found that the people, as a rule, had not enough to subsist upon until they could harvest a crop. We were informed, however, that plenty of flour could be obtained at Fort Bridger, only 115 miles distant, so, relying upon that prospect, we left the valley in good spirits on Oct. 18, 1847, and started eastward.

"We arrived at Fort Bridger during a rather severe show storm, the first of the season, and, to our chagrin, learned that the stock of flour which had been kept there for sale had all been bought up by emigrants to California and Oregon. Bridger informed us that he had not even reserved any for those located at the post, and they were then living solely upon meat. He thought, however, we could get all we wanted at Laramie, upon reasonable terms.

"On leaving Salt Lake Valley, we had

about ten pounds of flour to the man, hence we were not entirely without when we reached Bridger. We purchased a little beef there to serve us until we could find game, and pushed on. We killed two buffalo bulls before reaching Laramie, and jerked the best of the meat. We had an occasional cake until we reached the upper crossing of the Platte, 100 miles above the fort. There we baked our last cake, on the 4th of November, having made our ten pounds of flour, each, last sixteen days. Of course, during that time we had eaten considerable buffalo and other beef, and occasionally had some small game, including one elk killed by Wm. Maxwell.

"It was, probably, about the 10th of November when we reached Fort Laramie. There, as at Fort Bridger, we were again disappointed about getting flour, the only bread-stuff purchased being one pound of crackers by Captain Andrew Lytle, for which he paid twenty-five cents. We obtained a very little dried buffalo beef of good quality. The post trader advised us not to kill any buffalo when we reached their range, as it would offend the Indians. He considered it would be a safer and better plan to employ the Indians, should we meet any, to kill some buffalo for us.

"Those who had a little money purchased what meat they could afford and divided with the company. Twelve miles below Laramie we found an Indian trader on the south side of the Platte River. A few of the men crossed over and purchased 100 pounds of flour, which cost only \$25. There being but about three pounds to the man, it was decided to use it only for making gravy, or for thickening soup, as we had still about 500 miles of our journey to travel.

"When about sixty or seventy miles below the fort, our meat was exhausted. We were now among a few scattering buffalo, but as we had been informed that it would be dangerous for us to kill any of them, we were in somewhat of a dilemma what course to pursue to obtain food. However, we decided that He who owned the cattle 'upon a thousand hills' had a claim on these, and being His offspring, we would venture to take one. Besides, there had been no Indians in sight for several days, and, last but not least, we might as well die in battle as of hunger, as in the former case our sufferings would be of shorter duration.

"The hunters succeeded in killing one bull and a calf. While skinning the former we saw a smoke and discovered Indians on the south side of the river, opposite to

where we were. We consulted as to the best course to pursue. Some thought we had better go on and leave our booty, but Captain R. N. Allred suggested, very properly, that with our worn-down animals, this would be useless, as in case they were in for fighting, they could soon overtake us; hence, we decided to stand our ground. We dressed our beef and reached camp on the river, from the foot-hills some time after dark. We were not molested. * * *

'About 150 miles below Laramie, we awoke one morning to find ourselves under about twelve inches of snow. From this point to Winter Quarters, about 350 miles, we had to travel and break the trail through snow from one to two feet in depth.

"Just before and after crossing the Loup Fork, we lost a few animals, supposed to have been stolen by Pawnee Indians. Near the crossing of the river, the head of a donkey was found, which Adjutant P. C. Merrill's company had killed some time before for beef. It was supposed to have belonged to Sergeant D. P. Rainey. Captain Allred took an ax and opened the skull, and he and his messmates had a fine supper made of the brains.

"Near the same point Corporal Martin Ewell opened the head of a mule killed by Captain James Pace's company only the day before, with the same result.

"The day we reached the Loup Fork, we divided and ate the last of our food, which in the main consisted of rawhide 'saddlebags' we had used from California to pack our provisions in. This was during a cold storm which lasted several days. Our next food was one of Captain Lytle's young mules, which had given out and was unable to travel. This was the first domestic animal our little company had killed since our beef cattle in California, although we had several times looked with a wistful eye upon a small female canine belonging to Joseph Thorne, who, with his wife and one or two children, in a light wagon, had accompanied us from Fort Bridger. Friend Joseph, however, removed the temptation by trading her to the Pawnee Indians for a small piece of dried buffalo meat. Of this family pet, they doubtless made a rare treat, their greatest feasts being composed mainly of dog meat.

"Owing to floating ice, we were unable to cross the Loup Fork for five days, in which time we traveled a few miles down the river and found Captain Pace's company just in time to save them from the danger of being robbed by Pawnee Indians who came over in considerable numbers. Th

remnants of the two companies afterwards remained together.

"In hopes of procuring some corn from an Indian farm on the opposite side of the river from us, a few of the men ventured to ford the stream, but the corn had been gathered and twice gleaned from the field by other travelers, so that all they could find were a few scattering, rotten ears. Captain Pace and William Maxwell also visited an Indian camp some distance away, to try to purchase food, but failed to get any, as the Indians had none to spare. They, however, stayed all night with them and obtained a good supper and breakfast and were otherwise treated kindly.

"The cold became so intense that the river froze entirely over, and on the morning of the sixth day of our stay upon its banks, we commenced to cross upon the ice. The ice bent and cracked, and holes were soon broken in it, but we persevered until everything was over, the last article being Brother Thorne's wagon. The weather began to moderate when the sun appeared above the horizon, and the ice had become so rotten before we finished crossing that the last few trips were extremely dangerous. But a short time had elapsed after we had gained the other shore before the ice broke away and the river was again covered with floating fragments.

"A kind providence had made the congealed water bridge for our special benefit, and removed it as soon as it had filled its mission. From the killing of Captain Lytle's mule until we reached Winter Quarters, probably ten day's travel, we subsisted upon mule meat alone, without salt. On arriving at Elk Horn River, thirty miles from Winter Quarters, we found a ferryboat with ropes stretched across, ready to step into and pull over, which of course we did.

"It was understood that this boat was built by the Pioneers, and was first used by them. It afterwards served the companies who followed on their trail; was then used by the Pioneers and Lieutenant Merrill's company on their return; and last, but not least, by us, for whom it had been last left. We crossed Dec. 17, 1847.

"The next morning, we arose early and took up the line of march, and the foremost men arrived in Winter Quarters about sundown, while the rear came in a little after dark. Thus it will be perceived that we were just two months in making the journey from Salt Lake to the Missouri River. * * * Some of the company found their families in the town of Winter Quarters

while others were across the Missouri River at or near Kaneshville, now Council Bluffs, Pottawattamie County, Iowa. The reader can more easily imagine our joy and that of our families and friends than it can be described.

"The kindness of friends, brethren and sisters, on our arrival at Winter Quarters, now Florence, Nebraska, is deserving of special mention. All the soldiers, although in some instances they were highly respectable, were unavoidably dirty and ragged; yet they found only warm-hearted, sympathetic brethren, sisters and friends among the people, from President Young and the Twelve Apostles to the least child who knew what the words 'Mormon Battalion' meant. They had been taught to know that the valiant corps had been offered like Isaac, a living sacrifice for the Church as well as the nation."

A company made up from the discharged Battalion in California re-enlisted in July, 1847, for six months and elected Captain Daniel C. Davis, formerly captain of Company E, to command them. The object of their enlistment was to garrison the port of San Diego. They were mustered into service at Ciudad de Los Angeles, Cal., July 20, 1847, and were known as the "Mormon Volunteers." Following are their names:

Officers.

Daniel C. Davis, captain.
Cyrus C. Canfield, 1st lieutenant.
Ruel Barrus, 2nd lieutenant.
Robert Clift, 3rd lieutenant.
Samuel L. Brown, 1st sergeant.
Samuel Myers, 2nd sergeant.
Benjamin F. Mayfield, 3rd sergeant.
Henry Packard, 4th sergeant.
Thoril Peck, 1st corporal.
Isaac Harrison, 2nd corporal.
Hiram B. Mount, 3rd corporal.
Edwin Walker, 4th corporal.
Richard D. Sprague, musician.
Henry W. Jackson, musician.

Privates.

Boyle, Henry G.	Brown, Wm. W.
Bailey, Addlson	Beckstead, Gordon S.
Bailey, Jefferson	Brizzee, Henry W.
Beckstead, Orin M.	Bryant, John S.
Bowing, Henry	Callahan, Thomas W.
Brass, Benjamin	Calkins, Edwin R.

Carter, Philo J.	Naile, Conrad
Clark, Riley O.	Noler, Christian
Clawson, John R.	Peck, Isaac
Clift, James	Peck, Edwin M.
Condit, Jephth	Park, James
Covil, John Q. A.	Ritter, John
Donald, Neal	Riser, John J.
Dayton, William J.	Runyan, Levi
Dutcher, Thos. P.	Richards, Peter F.
Earl, Jacob	Sexton, Geo. S.
Earl, Jesse	Shumway, Aurora
Evans, Wm.	Smith, Willard G.
Fatoute, Ezra	Smlth, Lot
Fellows, Hiram W.	Steele, Geo.
Fletcher, Philander	Steele, Isaiah
Hart, James S.	Steers, Andrew
Harmon, Ebenezer	Thompson, Miles
Harmon, Lorenzo F.	Watts, John
Harmon, Oliver N.	West, Benjamin
Hickenlooper, Wm.	Wheeler, John L.
Kibley, James W.	Wheeler, Henry
Lemmon, James	Williams, James V.
Lance, Wm.	Winters, Jacob
Maggard, Benj.	Workman, Andrew J.
Morris, Thos.	Workman, Oliver G.
Mowrey, James	Young, Nathan
McBride, Haslem	Zabriskie, Jerome
Mowrey, John T.	

This company had very little military duty to perform, hence, by virtue of agreement with the military commander, made before enlistment, the most of the men, when off duty, turned their attention to common and mechanical labor, and by this means San Diego again began to awake from her slumbers and deadness to life and thrift.

Sept. 8, 1847, Sergeant L. N. Frost died; and on the 5th of November following Neal Donald also passed away.

The time for which this company of "Mormon Volunteers" enlisted, expired on Jan. 20, 1848, but they were not mustered out for almost two months after that. In the meantime they were very busily employed when not on duty. One of the men, Brother Henry G. Boyle, writing of their labors, says:

"I think I whitewashed all San Diego. We did their blacksmithing, put up a bakery, made and repaired carts, and, in fine

did all we could to benefit ourselves as well as the citizens. We never had any trouble with Californians or Indians, nor they with us. The citizens became so attached to us that before our term of service expired, they got up a petition to the governor of California to use his influence to keep us in the service. The petition was signed by every citizen in the town. The governor tried hard to keep us in the service another year. Failing in that, he tried us for six months longer."

This latter offer was declined, and other volunteers took their place. The social evil spread among the soldiers under the new regime, and their condition is reported as having been simply horrible. Brother Boyle sums up the matter by saying that "civilization was fully established."

On the 14th of March, 1848, the company's time of enlistment having overrun nearly two months, it was disbanded at San Diego. These veterans drew their pay the day following, and, on the 21st, a company of 25 men, with H. G. Boyle as captain, started for Salt Lake Valley.

On the 31st they arrived at Williams' ranche, and fitted out for the journey by the southern route. Those who did not join the home-bound company mostly went up the coast to the mines, towns and farms, and some of them died in that land; others returned the year following, while some still remain in California.

On the 12th of April, the little company having obtained a proper outfit, again took up the line of march. O. P. Rockwell and James Shaw, who had traveled the route the previous winter, were chosen pilots by and for the company. They started with only one wagon and 135 mules. Of course they were packers. They arrived at Salt Lake City, June 5, 1848. Theirs was the

first wagon that ever traveled the southern route, which is the only feasible route from Salt Lake City, to travel by wagons in the winter season, to Southern California.

Most of the soldiers who returned to California from the Truckee River in September, 1847, found employment with Captain John A. Sutter. This man being desirous of building a flouring mill, some six miles from the fort, and a saw-mill about forty-five miles away, proposed to hire all the men, about forty in number, either by the job or month, at their option, to dig the races. Twelve and a half cents per yard, and provisions found, was finally agreed upon, the men to do their own cooking. Their animals were also to be herded with the Captain's, free of charge.

Captain Sutter advanced one half of the prospective cost in gentle work oxen. A portion of the men obtained plows, picks, spades, shovels and scrapers and moved up to the designated point for the saw-mill, while the balance went to dig the race for the grist-mill. The former commenced labor about the 17th, clearing \$1.50 each the first day. They subsequently earned more. The frame of the flouring mill, a short distance from the present site of Sacramento City, was raised the latter part of December, 1847, and the saw-mill probably a little later. To the credit of "Mormon" labor, be it remembered, is California indebted for the erection of these mills. Much credit is due Captain Sutter and his partner, Mr. Marshall, for starting these enterprises and their gentlemanly bearing towards the discharged soldiers. Daniel Tyler writes:

"On or about Jan. 24, 1848, the water was turned into the race above the saw-mill. The race was found good, but the water, in leaving the flume and reaching the head of the tail race, having considerable fall, washed a hole near the base of the building. Being turned off, Superintendent Marshall went below to ascertain what effect the wash was likely to have. While thus examining, his eyes caught sight of yellow shining metal, which he picked up, not knowing what it was, but believed it to be gold. A subsequent assay proved his conjecture to be correct. The nuggets were in value from 25 cents to \$5 each.

"It is detracting nothing from Captain Sutter or his partner, Mr. Marshall, to say that although the latter was the 'lucky man' in making the first discovery of gold, the uncovering of the precious metal was the result of the labor of a portion of the members of the Mormon Battalion, hence it may very properly be said that 'Mormon' labor opened up and developed one of the greatest resources of our nation's wealth. * * *

"The intelligence of the discovery of gold was shortly after confidentially conveyed to Wilford Hudson, W. S. S. Willis and Ephraim Green, who subsequently came to the mill and learned the foregoing facts.

"They examined the rock at the bottom of the wash and found a few additional specimens. After stopping and resting a few days, they returned to the flouring mill, thence to an island in the Sacramento River, subsequently known as 'Mormon Island.' On that island or sand-bar was found gold in paying quantities, but, strange to say, only a little company of nine persons out of about forty could be persuaded that it was a reality, although the dust was exhibited and the fact stated that men were digging and washing from twenty to thirty dollars of pure gold nuggets and dust per day. This order of things, however, lasted only a few weeks, until its opposite was realized. The secret was made public and such fabulous reports were circulated that 'In the settlements along the coast and on the rivers, lawyers closed their offices, doctors forsook their patients, schools were dismissed, farmers allowed their grain to fall to the ground uncared for, and almost everybody of every description came in every conceivable way and manner, in one grand, wild rush to the 'gold diggings;' on horses, mules, with wheelbarrows, with packs on their own backs, and some with nothing but the dirty rags they stood up in, and in a few weeks, the mountain wilderness was turned into busy mining camps, and the whole face

of the country seemed to change as if by magic.' * * *

"According to previous arrangements, a company of eight persons started May 1, 1848, Sergeant David Browett being elected captain, to pioneer, if possible, a wagon road over the Sierra Nevada Mountains eastward, the Truckee route being impracticable at that season of the year. This company consisted of David Browett, captain, Ira J. Willis, J. C. Sly, (known as Captain Sly), Israel Evans, Jacob M. Truman, Daniel Allen, J. R. Allred, Henderson Cox and Robert Pixton.

"Three days' travel brought this company to Iron Hill, where they found the snow so deep they could travel no further.

"Brothers Willis, Sly and Evans ascended to the summit of a mountain. Seeing nothing but snow-capped mountains in advance of them, it was decided not to abandon but to postpone the enterprise until a later period. So far as they could judge, a wagon road would at least be possible and perhaps a success. One day's travel in descending took them back from winter's cold, snowy regions to a warm, spring atmosphere, where flowers bloomed and vegetation was far advanced.

"The balance of May and the month of June were spent in digging gold, buying wagons and a full outfit for a wagon train, and making a rendezvous in Pleasant Valley a beautiful place, about fifty miles east of Sutter's Fort.

"About the 24th of June, Captain Browett, Daniel Allen and Henderson Cox desired to cross the mountains on a second exploring tour, but their friends, or at least a portion of them, thought the undertaking risky, owing to the wild Indians. They, however, being fearless and anxious to be moving, decided to brave all dangers and make the effort. They started, and the sequel will show that the fears of their friends were but too well founded.

"By the 2nd of July, the company were again on the march; two days' travel from Pleasant Valley, brought them to Sly's Park, a small valley or mountain dell, thus named for Captain James C. Sly, who first discovered it. Here the company made a halt. Ten men, on the 4th, took up the line of march to pioneer the way over the summit of the mountains. Four days' travel over rough and rugged mountains took them across, and they found themselves safely landed at the head of Carson Valley, Nevada. As they returned to their comrades, they spent six days endeavoring to find a more practicable route, but failed.

"On the 16th of July, the company again broke camp, and the next day arrived at Leek Springs. Here, in the absence of Captain Browett, the company again organized, with Jonathan Holmes, President, and Lieutenant Samuel Thompson, captain.

"The company numbered about 37 individuals, all told, with 16 wagons and two small Russian cannon, which they had purchased before leaving Sutter's, one a four, the other a six-pounder. The cost of these guns was \$400.

"This little band, like most of the Battalion, had great confidence in Divine interposition in their behalf, believing that a kind Providence would second their efforts to return to their families and friends. * * *

"In addition to the outfit already named, they subsequently obtained about one hundred and fifty head of horses and mules, with about the same number of horned stock, consisting of work oxen, cows and calves. This camp was kept one day after the return of the explorers, to work the road which they had pioneered. They had no guide, nor, so far as known, had the foot of white man ever trod upon the ground over which they were then constructing, what subsequently proved to be a great national highway for the overland travel.

"Some four or five miles took them to what they named Tragedy Springs. After turning out their stock and gathering around the spring to quench their thirst, some one picked up a blood-stained arrow, and after a little search other bloody arrows were also found, and near the spring the remains of a camp fire, and a place where two men had slept together and one alone. Blood on rocks was also discovered, and a leather purse with gold dust in it was picked up and recognized as having belonged to Brother Daniel Allen. The worst fears of the company: that the three missing pioneers had been murdered, were soon confirmed. A short distance from the spring was found a place about eight feet square, where the earth had lately been removed, and upon digging therein they found the dead bodies of their beloved Brothers, Browett, Allen and Cox, who left them twenty days previously. These brethren had been surprised and killed by Indians. Their bodies were stripped naked, terribly mutilated and all buried in one shallow grave.

"The company buried them again, and built over their grave a large pile of rock, in a square form, as a monument to mark their last resting place, and shield them from the wolves. They also cut upon a large pine tree near by their names, ages,

manner of death, etc. Hence the name of the springs.

"After the darkness of night had gathered around them, and they were sadly conversing by the camp-fire, Indians or wild animals came within smelling or hearing distance of their stock, which became so frightened that they rushed to within a few rods of the camp-fire, forming a circle around it, with their eyes shining like balls of fire in the darkness. As quick as possible, a cannon was loaded and fired. The belching forth of fire in the darkness, accompanied by the terrific report, echoing many times across the little valley, so terrified their animals that they scattered in every direction, and it was not until late the second day that all were recovered, some having been overtaken at a distance of twenty-five miles on their back track. If, as was thought, Indians were in the vicinity, intending to make raid upon the camp, the report of the cannon so frightened them that they fled, as nothing was seen of them. The Digger Indians, at that time, were almost entirely unacquainted with the use of fire arms, and the effect upon them, of the roaring of a cannon, in the stillness of the night, may easily be imagined.

"While some were hunting the stock, others were working the road, and the balance removing camp to Rock Springs, only about four miles from the place where the men were murdered.

"At Rock Springs the company halted two or three days, and with the entire force were only able to work the road for a distance of three miles to another opening, after which the camp marched only five miles, which took them over the highest mountains, though not over the main dividing ridge.

"This was about the 1st of August, and yet, strange to tell, those prairie farmers of the Middle and Western States, with their wagons, had to be hauled over various banks of 'the beautiful snow,' in some places from ten to fifteen feet deep. On this short day's march, two wagons were upset and two broken, the spokes in the hind wheel of one being all broken. New spokes were, however, soon made from a dry pine tree near at hand, which did such good service that the wheel required no further repairs until the company reached Salt Lake Valley.

"Other work was required upon the road, and then a journey of about five miles brought the company near to the summit of the dividing ridge of the Sierra Nevada Mountains.

"The next morning, the wagons were lightened by the heaviest freight being

packed upon mules over the ridge and down the steep descent of the mountain. They camped near the eastern base, giving the place the name of Hope Valley; the spirits of the explorers who first discovered it reviving when they arrived in sight of it.

"The next day's travel took them to the lower end of the valley. Before they could advance further, four days more were spent in working the road. They then traveled five miles down the canyon to the head of Carson Valley. Here, like the Puritan fathers upon landing at Plymouth Rock, they tendered thanks to God who had delivered them, not from the dangers of the sea, but the far more dreaded merciless savages, the ferocious wild beasts that abounded in that region, and from being dashed to pieces while traveling over and around the steep precipices of the everlasting snow-capped mountains. They had no idea of the magnitude of the work they had performed, nor did it once enter their minds that in less than twelve months many thousands of their fellow-countrymen would gladly avail themselves of this road to reach a land they had so cheerfully and recently left.

"They traveled down the Carson River a few days, but not feeling satisfied to go further in that direction, they halted, and Israel Evans, with a few others, went on another exploring tour. They sighted a grove of cottonwood trees several miles northward. They returned to camp, and the next day, after toiling hard as they had done several previous days, through sage brush and sand, the grove was reached. On arriving, they were almost overjoyed to find themselves in the emigrant road, near the lower crossing of the Truckee River. They now knew where they were and about the distance they had to travel, and governed themselves accordingly. They soon met a few trains of California emigrants, who, on learning that they were fresh from a new Eldorado, were anxious to learn what the prospects were.

"One of the men began to explain, and, taking his purse from his pocket, poured into his hand perhaps an ounce of gold dust and began stirring it with his finger. One aged man of probably over three score years and ten, who had listened with intense interest while his expressive eyes fairly glistened, could remain silent no longer; he sprang to his feet, threw his old wool hat upon the ground, and jumped upon it with both feet, then kicked it high in the air, and exclaimed, 'Glory, hallalujah, thank God, I shall die a rich man yet!' Many very in-

teresting and somewhat similar scenes occurred as the tidings were communicated to other trains, this company having brought over the snow-capped Sierra Nevada Mountains the first news of the discovery of gold in California.

"When this enterprising little company reached Goose Creek mountains, instead of following the old emigrant road *via* Fort Hall, on Snake River, some two hundred miles more or less out of their way, they struck across the country, by what is now known as the Deep Creek route, crossing the Malad and Bear Rivers a few miles above their junction. They arrived in Salt Lake Valley about the 1st of October, 1848, feeling happy and thankful that they had exchanged the land of gold for wives, children and friends—the home of the Latter-day Saints.

"In all of the travels of the Battalion, making in the round trip about five thousand miles, often in close proximity to far superior forces of the enemy, as well as passing through several strong nations of wild and ferocious Indians, there was 'no fighting except with wild beasts.' Taking into consideration their many hardships and privations, there were but few deaths, and it may be safely stated that no portion of the veterans of the Mexican war, of the same number, did more effectual service, or accomplished as much in the way of filling the coffers of the nation's wealth as did the Mormon Battalion.

"To the members of the Mormon Battalion, who remained in California after their discharge, to seek work, is also due considerable credit for improvements made and enterprises established in San Francisco and the surrounding region. Zachens Cheney and James Bailey, of the Battalion, were the first persons to make brick in San Francisco. They commenced the kiln in April, after which Brother Cheney went to the mines, and Brother Bailey burned the bricks—50,000, in June, 1848. Some tiles had previously been burned, and possibly some bricks may have been imported as ballast, but none had ever been made there."

Volumes could be written concerning the many-sided experience and personal adventures of the several members of the Mormon Battalion, although some of the chief incidents are briefly narrated in Daniel Tyler's work previously mentioned. The names of these brave

men, who, responding to the call of their country, left their families and friends in the wilderness in destitute circumstances, and accomplished one of the most formidable marches ever performed by infantry, will be held in honorable remembrance among the Saints; and with future genera-

tions their services, sufferings and patience will call forth the greatest admiration, their example will be held up for imitation, and their posterity will be proud of having ancestors who were members of the Mormon Battalion.

THE PIONEERS OF 1847.

April 5, 1847, Heber C. Kimball moved six of his teams, which he had equipped and prepared to form part of the pioneer company, out of Winter Quarters, and, after traveling six miles in a westerly direction, they camped in a convenient place, thus forming a kind of nucleus for the gathering place for the Saints.

On the 6th the general conference of the Church was held at Winter Quarters, and on the 7th President Brigham Young started for the West and joined the Pioneer camp, which was then located about ten miles west of Winter Quarters. From that point the Pioneers then continued the journey to Elkhorn River, where the news was received that Elder Parley P. Pratt had arrived at Winter Quarters from England. Consequently President Young and the brethren of the Twelve who were with him returned to that place to hold a council with Elder Pratt. The brethren met in Dr. W. Richards' office.

On the 9th of April, the Twelve again started on their journey westward, and on Sunday, the 11th, joined the Pioneers at Elkhorn, which stream was crossed by means of a raft that had been constructed previously. But before making the final start, President Young and the Twelve once more returned to Win-

ter Quarters to greet Elder John Taylor, who had just arrived from Europe, bringing with him over \$2,000 in gold for the Church.

Leaving Winter Quarters a third time on April 14th, the Apostles joined the Pioneer camp in the evening of the 15th, at a point 12 miles west of the Elkhorn, and about 47 miles from Winter Quarters. The following day (Friday, April 16, 1847) the people in the camp were called together and organized. Two captains of hundreds (Stephen Markham and A. P. Rockwood) were appointed, and also 5 captains of fifties, namely, Addison Everett, Tarlton Lewis, James Case, John Pack and Shadrach Roundy. The following named brethren were appointed captains of tens: Wilford Woodruff, Ezra T. Benson, Phineas H. Young, Luke S. Johnson, Stephen H. Goddard, Charles Shumway, James Case, Seth Taft, Howard Egan, Appleton M. Harmon, John S. Higbee, Norton Jacobs, John Brown and Joseph Matthews.

The following is a complete list of the members of the Pioneer company:

First Ten.

Wilford Woodruff,	John S. Fowler,
Jacob D. Burnham,	Orson Pratt,
Joseph Egbert,	John M. Freeman,
Marcus B. Thorpe,	Geo. A. Smith,
Geo. Wardle.	