

The History and Journal of Jesse Wentworth Crosby

Life and travels of Jesse W. Crosby, son of Joshua and Hannah Crosby. Born November 25, 1820, in the town of Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, British America.

When between one and two years of age, my parents,¹ with my two brothers, John and Obed, and my three sisters, Hannah, Eliza and Fanny² emigrated to Chautauqua county, New York State, then a new country bordered on the State of Pennsylvania on the west, and Lake Erie on the north, situated in Lat. '42. '30 north.

In the midst of these wilds, and accustomed to the toils and hardships of a new country I spent the days of my boyhood.

As for religious teachings and ceremonies I knew but little, having a mind free and untrampled by the idolatries of the 19th century, I was accustomed to think for myself, yet my parents were of a religious turn of mind, and I was taught especially by my mother, whose tender care was always over me, for good, from the earliest period of my recollection to practice virtue and lead an upright and honest life; to speak the truth and deal justly with all men. In connection with this, I was also taught to pray, to believe in and worship God as the Maker and Preserver of all things; and as I increased in years faith and spiritual strength increased within me, till I learned to call upon the Lord in faith, who heard and

¹ Joshua Crosby (1783-1877) and Hannah Corning Cann Crosby (1784-1839). Both were born in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. Hannah died in Nauvoo, Illinois. Joshua died in St. George, Utah.

² In order of age, Jesse's brothers and sisters were: Hannah Cann Crosby Mumford (1808-1883), Eliza Crosby Terrill (1810-1891), John Knowles Crosby (1812-1898), Obed Crosby (1815-1839), and Frances Crosby Brown (1817-1895). Frances was known to the family as Fanny. Eliza may have been short for Elizabeth.

answered my prayers, visibly and sensibly, at various times, and my whole soul was filled with love and gratitude toward God the Father of the Spirits of all men.

By this time I had arrived at the 16th year of my age [1836], and I began to see and feel the necessity of joining some people, and belonging to some church. I, as it were, awoke from the sleep, looked around me and beheld the state of the religious world, and meditated upon it for the first time in my life. Said I to my self, Which of all the churches is the Church of the Living God who has heard and answered my prayers? Let me see and hear for myself. I attended churches of different persuasions with a prayerful heart, but there was an aching void still. I retired day after day to the woods and there, where no human eye could behold, I poured out my prayers and supplications to Almighty God that he would send some kind messenger, called and ordained of Him to guide my footsteps in the path of truth.

In answer to repeated supplications, I received the assurance that calmed my mind and gave me to understand that the truth in its fulness should be unfolded to me. None of the excitements of the day moved me. My feelings were known to God and to Him alone, for I told them to no one on earth.

The time passed on till the summer of 1838; I was now in my 18th year when two Elders³ of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints came into my father's neighborhood. I went to hear them preach, what was my astonishment when I hear the speaker declare, "That God had sent them by special revelation, and that a dispensation of the Gospel was now revealed from God to man, by the instrumentality of Holy Angels, and by the voice of God to man; to be preached as

³ Benjamin Brown who lived in the neighboring community of Pomphret had joined the Church in 1835. He reports that by late 1836 most of the Pomphret members had emigrated to Kirtland, Ohio. He wrote that he was directed by the spirit to preach in Portland. He began preaching in the Portland school house late in 1837 or early 1838. If he had a missionary companion, as Jesse reports, his identity is unknown. See: Benjamin Brown, "Testimonies for the Truth," in *Gems For the Young Folks* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1881), 64-65

a witness to all nations, and kindreds, and people, and then should be the end of the wicked.”

I paused, I considered, I thought upon the prayers and desires I had poured out to God, and of the visions of my mind, and as the speaker proceeded, the Spirit of God fastened the truth upon my heart, and though many mocked and cried out, “Delusion,” I felt within me that the message was true, that it was from the great Jehovah, and that it would penetrate the darkest corners of the earth; that no power could stand against it. In this joyful news I beheld an answer to my prayer, and that the words of inspiration had saluted my ears which brought peace and joy, I straightway obeyed the message, and realized its power.⁴

Many others followed the example, and a branch of the Church was organized. The Holy Ghost was poured out insomuch that many were healed of their infirmities, and prophesied, some saw visions, others spoke in different languages by the gift and power of God as on the day of Pentecost.⁵ The language or dialect of various tribes of the American Indians was spoken, and that, too, by persons who had never spoken with an Indian in their lives. I will own, that though I believed, I was astonished, but will add that I have since traveled among various

⁴ Jesse was baptized on 24 June 1838. He was the first member of his family to join the Church. During July of 1838, his mother, sister (Hannah), and brother (Obed) also joined the Latter-day Saints. His sister Frances joined in December of 1838, and his brother John was baptized in February of 1839. His father, Joshua, remained outside the Church for another two decades.

⁵ Lorenzo Brown recorded a similar description of these branch meetings:

“During this summer and the ensuing winter, the meetings of the Saints were held in our house nearly every week. . . .

“Our meetings we good. We were blessed spiritually with the gift of tongues, through which, and the interpretation, we learned many things. There were several hymns given, one of which was given through myself and interpreted by Sister Esther Crowely, who had gift the most perfect of any person I ever knew.” Lorenzo Brown, “Journal of Lorenzo Brown, 1823-1900,” Brigham Young University Library, typescript of the original, 2 vols., 1:4.

The speaking of tongues described here seems to be the phenomenon known as glossolalia. Glossolalia is defined as unintelligible ecstatic speech. There are some indications that glossolalia can be learned and is a conditioned response. See: Dan Vogel and Scott C. Dunn, “‘The Tongue of Angels’: Glossolalia among Mormonism’s Founders,” in *Journal of Mormon History* 19, no. 2 (Fall 1993):1-34.

tribes of Indians in the Central⁶ and uncultivated parts of America and have recognized not only the language, but the gesture and very manner in which it was spoken.

One may inquire why it was that the spirit of God dictated these individuals to speak in the language of these wandering outcasts. Oh! here is the mystery that the world hath not seen. These are a remnant of Israel, the descendants of Joseph, and heirs to the promises made to their fathers; See Book of Mormon. But I must return to the Thread of my narrative. It was now the Autumn of 1838. I determined to go west to join the body of the Church then located in western Missouri. The doctrine of the “gathering” was strongly grounded in my mind, and I set to work with my might to prepare for the journey; in this I was prospered, for means, almost miraculously came into my hands. The spring drew near and the time of our departure approached when, one day as I with my brother and brother-in-law⁷ was working in the forest, the wind being high, a branch from a high tree some six inches in diameter fell, and struck one end upon the ground, the other upon my head which struck me lifeless to the earth. I was taken up for dead and conveyed to my father's dwelling. The family doctor was sent for, but my mother and others of my friends being firm in the faith of the Gospel, sent a messenger for the Elders of the Church, living some six miles distant. The doctor came first, examined my wounds and said in the hearing of witnesses, “that my case was a doubtful one, and that without medical aid I could not recover.” But my mother begged him to let me alone, and said “That when the Elders came I should come to myself and live, and not die.” The doctor accordingly left, not a little surprised and with all offended. The Elders came, anointed me with oil and laid their hands upon me in the name of

⁶ Jesse here means the central United States (great plains and great basin), not the countries of Central America.

⁷ Edward T. Mumford, husband of Jesse's oldest sister, Hannah.

the Lord and prayed. When my reason returned, I recognized the inmates of the room, and in being asked if I knew any one? I replied “that I knew them all.” This was the first that I had seemed to understand or know since the accident. I found that I had been severely injured and that I was extremely weak, but the whole affair seemed like a dream. However, I was able in about three weeks to follow my former avocation and driving teams.⁸ The time passed—it was now April, and all things being ready, we set about for Missouri—one thousand miles distant (1000) traveling by land with horse teams and lodging in our wagons; but before leaving our neighbors called often and remonstrated with us for taking, as they thought, such a random journey. One said, “have you read the News? Why the Missourians and the Mormons are at war, they are killing and destroying, and will you persist in going, and running into danger and death?” We replied, “We have warned you by

⁸ Benjamin Brown, Testimonies for the Truth, 68-69. Brown records this incident as follows:

He had been engaged with his brother, and brother-in-law, in felling trees in a wood, in an adjoining township. These three had felled some trees, and as they were standing very thick, one had, in falling, struck another, and broken off one of its limbs, which hung suspended by the other branches. It is a very common thing in forest country to see dry detached limbs hanging in this way for months, and sometimes years, without falling. This one was about ten or eleven feet long, and as thick as a man's thigh, and very high up the tree. Some of these trees grow from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet high, and seventy feet above the ground before a single branch is found. Not apprehending danger, Jesse was working without his hat, just under this branch. Suddenly, a movement caused by the wind shook the tree, and the loose branch fell from a height of at least sixty feet, striking him on the crown of his head, crushing him to the earth. The violence of the blow broke in a portion of his skull, forming a hollow about as large as the palm of a man's hand. His neck and shoulders were also much injured. Altogether, a more deplorable object I never saw in my life.

He was carried home by his friends, most of whom were members of the Church, and his father, who was not a member, procured a doctor, who pronounced Jesse's case desperate, unless, on removing the broken part of the skull, it should be found that the skin of the brain was still entire, when, by using a silver plate over the exposed portion, a chance might still exist of his life. The doctor proceeded to cut into Jesse's head for that purpose, but was stopped by his mother who strongly objected to this experiment, and sent for me to administer to him. I was then eight miles off, and at the time of my arrival he had not spoken, nor scarcely indicated any signs of life. Going into the room where he lay, I found it filled with the neighbors, who were mostly enemies of the Church. Sneers and jeers of "Here comes the Mormon, we'll soon see whether he can heal now," saluted my ears on all sides.

From a sign which I had received while on my way, I knew he would recover, and being minded, on account of the reason given in the previous remarks, that such characters should not be privileged to behold a manifestation of the power of God, I, like Peter of old, cleared the house of all but Jesse's relatives, and administered to him in the name of the Lord. Jesse then recovered sufficiently to speak, after which he fell into a peaceful sleep, and, before morning, was altogether better. In less than four days, from the time of receiving this terrible accident, from which there seemed no human probability that he could recover, or, if he did, only to survive the loss of reason, he was again at work in the woods, hauling timber, the wound being entirely healed up. Since then, he, as an elder of this Church, has been on missions to various parts of the world, including England, and has lately fulfilled a mission to Nova Scotia. The above case of healing occurred in the winter.

words, we now warn you by light. If danger or death gets in our way, we intend by the help of God to face the same like men of God, and show all men by example that we have embraced no fiction but an eternal reality, and when the secrets of all hearts are revealed; then, if not till then, you shall know that we are not deceived.”

April 15, 1839. We are now under way,⁹ our wagons were so arranged with boxes, some 12 feet in length, and with projections over the wheels as to make them commodious eating and sleeping rooms. In this manner we moved on, and at the rate of about 25 miles per day, meeting reports constantly, that the Mormons were driven, broken up, and destroyed, and that if we persisted in going to the seat of war, we should meet with the same fate. But nothing could daunt our courage; our course was onward, and we at length arrived at Kirtland, Ohio,¹⁰ the first place of gathering for the Saints as pointed out by revelation from God to be a stronghold for five years.¹¹ Here stood a fine stone building with these words neatly engraved in front:

“HOUSE OF THE LORD.”

⁹ It is interesting that Jesse does not name his traveling companions for the move west, nor does he comment about leaving members of the family behind. I believe that the members of the Crosby family who traveled west at this time were John, Obed, Jesse, Frances and their mother, Hannah. They left three members of the family behind. The father, Joshua, had not joined the Church and remained in New York. The oldest sister, Hannah, traveled later with her husband Edward Mumford. It does not appear that Eliza ever joined the Church or came west.

¹⁰ Kirtland, Ohio was a principal gathering place for the Saints from early 1831 until the Spring of 1838. Only a small branch of active Saints remained in 1839 as the Pomphret Branch passed through. It has been estimated that the LDS population in Kirtland dropped from 2,000 in 1838 to 100 in 1839. Milton V. Backman, Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830-1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 139-40, 368-69.

¹¹ In a revelation dated 11 September 1831 the Lord proclaimed that He would retain a strong hand in Kirtland for five years. This revelation seems to have been given as a reassurance that the Church would have the opportunity to build the temple. Doctrine and Covenants 64:21-22. Hereafter cited as D&C.

built by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day-Saints.¹² It was now unoccupied, together with most of the private dwellings of the town. The Saints had previously left for the same locality to which we were journeying. We entered the Temple, and beheld the fixtures, the curtains, the seats, etc., with astonishment, being so different from anything we had before seen and being, as we believed, built by revelation and commandment of God. Here the Saints though few in number and poor, in the infancy of the Church, surrounded with opposition, nevertheless, rich in faith and in knowledge of God, united their efforts, some toiling for a whole year together, without pay and with scanty food until this fine edifice was completed, being the first in the 19th century, and at the time the only building on the face of the earth built by revelation from heaven. Our hearts were filled with gratitude to God, that we thus highly favored to live in the day when the voice of the Lord was again heard out of the heavens, and with bosoms burning with the intelligence of God, we still prosecuted our journey westward in order to join the Presidency and main body of the Church with whom the oracles of God had been entrusted.¹³ We now came into the prairie country. The first we entered was in extent, about 16 miles wide by 100 miles in length; we drove through a fine forest for several miles and then at once came into the mighty “fields of the woods,” a vast plain, stretching out before us as far as the eye could reach. Not a tree, not a shrub met our eye; no abrupt hills or rock, naught but a rich and luxuriant growth

¹² The revelation commanding the Saints to build a temple in Kirtland was received 27 December 1832 (D&C 88:119). Work on the temple began in the summer of 1833. It was dedicated 27 March 1836. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1976) 2:410-28. Hereafter cited as HC.

¹³ D&C 124:126. Based on this statement and others, it seems that one of the principles that attracted Jesse to the LDS Church was the concept of continuing revelation. For example: Jesse clearly admired Joseph Smith. In contrast, he does not mention The Book of Mormon, church organization or ordinances.

This passage also marks the first of many passages where Jesse recites the events of Church history. While “History and Journal” can be fascinating, there are times when it serves more as an editorial on the history of the Church than as a personal record of Jesse’s life. These passages do help establish a time frame for much of Jesse’s history, but there is little personal reflection on the part of the writer.

of grass and flowers of almost every hue, which presented themselves on every hand. Men, women, and children might be seen running in every direction to gather themselves a nosegay. We passed on through these beauties of nature until we arrived near the center of the prairie when we met with some trouble in crossing a stream of water here. Night overtook us, and we pitched our tents on the opposite bank of the water. We here made our horses secure by tying them with long rein-attached picket lines driven in the ground, and spent the night in the midst of this wonderful garden of nature. Before going to bed, a wild deer came near the camp and seemed to look anxious, as though he would like to know what strangers had invaded his territory and had taken possession of his pleasure ground. But the crack of two or three rifles at the same moment gave him to understand that he was in imminent danger and he immediately took his departure. We separated, everyone to his tent or wagon and were soon in the embraces of sleep. The stillness of night universally prevailed until towards morning when we were a little disturbed by the howling of some wolves that came near.

The morning came, and the sun arose with its usual brilliancy. When our camp duties were done, breakfast over, and the usual devotions passed, we were again underway, continuing our course westward with the intention of crossing the Mississippi at Quincy City; but upon arriving within 200 or 300 miles of that place, we met several of our brethren, traveling east on missions, and that they were authorized to counsel all Saints traveling west to direct their course to Commerce,

situated on the east bank of the Mississippi, 250 miles north of St. Louis, where the Saints had commenced a settlement and purchased a large tract of land, etc.¹⁴

After the dreadful persecutions through which they had just passed, called the “Missouri” persecution, wherein 11,000 persons had been driven from their homes which they had purchased with their own money, and compelled to leave a Republican state, robbed of their all, while many were martyred and many others died of exposure having been compelled to leave their homes in the dead of winter—all this for Christ's sake and the gospel's. We accordingly turned our course two or three points and arrived in Commerce¹⁵ June 6th, 1839. Here, instead of meeting the Saints in comfortable circumstances as we had expected to find them in Missouri, they were, as many as had been able to get through, living in tents and wagons for want of houses, some 400 miles from the place whence they had been driven, many in straitened¹⁶ circumstances, some sick and overcome with hardships and fatigue, I walked about the place. The sight was beautiful, though uncultivated and for the most part, covered with timber, brush and grapevines. I

¹⁴ Lorenzo Brown, Journal, 1:6. Like Jesse, Lorenzo Brown seemed to enjoy the journey west. In his journal, he lists those members of the branch who were traveling together: “Our company was composed of my father with two teams, Grandfather Mumford and Charles with one, Enoch Crowel in one drawn by a single horse and John and Jesse Crosby, who joined us two days after, with a three-horse team. We were altogether fifteen in number. Had a first-rate time on our journey, laying still on Sundays and attending prayers both morning and evening. One Sunday, while in the state of Ohio, there was a violent storm of rain. The next morning we had gone but a little way when we were stopped by a stream swollen high by the rain. Whilst consulting, one of our number spoke in tongues, which being interpreted, that if we attempted to cross some of us would drown. This we afterward proved true. We stayed there all day. The brethren killed game, the sisters cooked. A pile of rails hard by made a very good table, and we had an excellent dinner. Each one contributing something. T'was a fine family and was enjoyed by all present.”

¹⁵ Commerce was little more than a tent city when the Pomphret Branch arrived. The land was low, swampy and heavily overgrown. It was also infested with mosquitoes and considered to be an unhealthy location. Joseph Smith described it as follows:

“ . . . there was one stone house, three frame houses, and two block houses, which constituted the whole city of Commerce. . . . the place was literally a wilderness. The land was mostly covered with trees and bushes, and much of it so wet that it was with the utmost difficulty a footman could get through, and totally impossible for teams. Commerce was so unhealthful, very few could live there; but believing that it might become a beautiful place by the blessing of heaven to the Saints, and no more eligible place presenting itself, I considered it wisdom to make an attempt to build up a city.” HC 3:375.

¹⁶ In this context, straitened means to be in distress, privation or deficiency.

concluded to stop and share with the people of the Lord, while some of the company chose rather to go where they could fare better. I procured a lot and commenced to build a house for myself, mother and sister, who had journeyed with me, a short distance back from the Mississippi and near the residence of Joseph Smith.¹⁷ Here in the midst of these wilds with but little earthly substance, I toiled and assisted in opening some of the first streets in that part of the city, with my own hands by cutting down the timber and underbrush which was so interwoven with grapevines that it was difficult to get one free to fall until several were cut off. However, the brush and encumbrances soon melted away before the persevering hand of industry and Houses sprung into being on every hand. At length we were checked a little, for the sickly season came on and many, very many, felt its withering influence. The place had been known years before to be very sickly and our enemies had been known to say that we would die, all of us, if we attempted to settle there. Such was not the case but yet many who on account of their great exposure were easily overcome and fell victims to the destroyer, amongst whom were my Mother, and Brother,¹⁸ and for months together there were not well ones enough to administer to the sick. I, myself, was taken sick in July and was laid up until late in September, and the house which I commenced was not finished for the season. By and by the scene changed more favorably. As the winter approached,

¹⁷ Although the location of the Crosby lot in Nauvoo is unknown, Jesse's description would indicate that they were situated in the south-west portion of the city. It is also very likely that Jesse did not maintain a single residence in Nauvoo. He intended this first home to shelter his mother and sister, Frances, but after his mother's death in July these plans seemed to change. Jesse himself became ill later in the summer and was unable to complete the home. When he may have finished it, or how much he improved it is pure conjecture. Until he returned to labor on the temple in 1845, Jesse spent more time outside Nauvoo on missions than he did living in the city.

¹⁸ Lorenzo Brown described the death of Hannah Crosby: "Some died, among whom was Sister Crosby, who came in with our company and was highly respected, dearly beloved and sincerely mourned by all her acquaintance. After an illness of about one week, she departed this life July 8, 1839, being the first one of the Saints that laid her down her body in Nauvoo, then called Commerce." Lorenzo Brown, *Journal*, 1:7. Jesse's brother Obed also died from illness on September 9. According to Lorenzo Brown, Obed was the fourth member of their Pomphret Branch to die since their arrival in Nauvoo.

the sickness disappeared, and plans were laid for draining some parts of the land which lay low, etc.

In the spring of 1840, our strength was greatly augmented by the arrival of Saints from various parts and the city, for so it had become, grew apace. Large tracts of land were purchased on both sides of the great Father of Waters and settlements commenced round about, while companies of Saints were arriving from various parts.

During this season, a delegation was sent to Washington to the then president of the United States, Mr. Van Buren; Joseph Smith and several other brethren comprised the delegation. They presented in legal form, (affidavits) an impartial statement of all the enormities that had been perpetrated against the Latter-day Saints. After a hearing, which was difficult to obtain, the president replied: “Gentlemen, your cause is just; you have been deprived of your lawful rights as American citizens, but it is an individual State affair, and does not come under the supervision of the General Government.”¹⁹ Thus our petition went unheeded and though property was destroyed in the amount of millions and hundreds of lives sacrificed, yet no remuneration has been made to this day; yet the petitions which were presented from time to time answered the requirement of the revelation which says: “Petition at the feet of the judges; if they heed you not, petition at the feet of the Governor; if he heed you not, petition at the feet of the President, and if he heed you not, I will come out of my hiding place and vex the nations.” (The word of the Lord to Joseph)²⁰

But to return, during the summer of 1840, a charter was obtained and Nauvoo became an incorporated city and began to answer to its name—Fair—

¹⁹ HC 4:40, 80.

²⁰ D&C 123

Beautiful—and a site was selected for a Temple, and the 19th of October [1840] was pitched upon to commence the work by opening a quarry. I was present to assist. Joseph the Prophet was also there and assisted, in company with some 200 or 300 brethren in opening a beautiful quarry of lime rock, almost as white as marble.²¹

April 6, 1841, the Corner Stones were laid in the presence of many thousands of people. It was a day long to be remembered.²²

April 13th, 1841, having been called and previously ordained, (October 1840) I left on a mission to the east,²³ to the British provinces, (Providence) journeyed by land through Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom by the way.

At Toledo took a steamboat for Cleveland, thence to Kirtland, and thence to Buffalo, N. Y. preaching as I went;²⁴ thence to New York City, thence by shipping to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia; carried a quantity of books which I circulated and after stopping with my friends during the winter of 1841 and preaching round about the Tidings of Salvation, I again took shipping for Boston, the distance of 2,000 miles; distance across the Bay of Fundi, from thence home by way of New York City, Albany, Erie Canal, thence up the lakes to Chicago, thence to Nauvoo; arrived in August 1842, journey home 2,400 miles long. During this mission—baptized a

²¹ Joseph Smith announced the intention to build a temple in Nauvoo on 3 October 1840 in the afternoon session of conference. However, no mention is made of the opening of the quarry in the History of the Church. HC 4:205.

²² Ibid. 4:326-31.

²³ Jesse had lived in Nauvoo from June 1839 to April 1841, a period of 22 months. This was the longest period of time he ever spent in the city.

²⁴ It is interesting to note that Jesse mentions traveling through Kirtland. He does not mention stopping in Portland, New York to see his father. It would seem probable that he did stop to see his father, but this omission demonstrates the almost impersonal nature of his journal keeping.

number.²⁵ About the time of my arrival, there was a demand from Missouri and Illinois to surrender Joseph Smith and others.²⁶

In September [1842] a special conference was called upon to go abroad, preach the Gospel and endeavor to allay excitement, etc.²⁷ I set off in N. E. course towards Michigan, crossing the head waters of the Illinois at Ottawa, thence up the Knakakee River, preaching in every village, and all the principle settlements as I passed and contending earnestly for the Constitutional rights of the Latter-day Saints. I was remarkably prospered, and this undertaking resulted in lasting good, for the Lord was with me in word and in every deed. I arrived in Ypsilanti, Michigan, 30 miles from Detroit and 500 miles from Nauvoo. Here I tarried and labored for a time round about with some success, initiated such as received the word into the Kingdom. Thence on a more southern route through the north of Indiana and interior of Illinois to Nauvoo; arrived in March 1843 in this mission, traveled rising of one thousand miles, much of it through prairie country. Five-eighths of Illinois is said to be composed of Prairies; Indiana and Michigan also abound with the same. The north of Indiana as well as Michigan abound with small lakes and frequent sandy plains. But to return:

After my arrival in Nauvoo sometime in June [1843], there was a general excitement raised in consequence of an attempt to take Joseph Smith and others to Missouri. He happened at the time to be on Rock River 100 miles from home. The attempt was fruitless, for Joseph returned in triumph to Nauvoo, and was met in the Prairie by a great many of the inhabitants who went out on horses and carriages—a

²⁵ This first mission covered sixteen months.

²⁶ HC 5:86-139. Joseph was forced into hiding for much of August in order to avoid arrest. The Prophet believed his disaffected counselor, John C. Bennett, was behind these difficulties.

²⁷ This conference was held on Monday, 29 August 1842. HC 5:136-37.

great company—with colors flying, and music playing to “Welcome the Prophet.” The scene was animating in the extreme!²⁸

About this time I was called upon to accept a mission, but declined, being somewhat worn down with traveling. I accordingly tarried in Nauvoo until July when a Special Mission was tendered me by the Quorum of the Twelve, to go in company with Elder B. Brown to the British Provinces and such places as seemed expedient.²⁹ We accordingly made ready and having been directed by conference to stop in Cook County, we accordingly directed our course towards Chicago.³⁰ We left Nauvoo (August 1, 1843), set off by land carriage in company with brethren traveling to the north, proceeded directly to Cook County, there we stopped for awhile and labored, but as there was not an effectual field open here, and our mission being to the East, we accordingly proceeded to Chicago, took the steamboat “Illinois” bound to Buffalo, got underway in the morning of the 24th of August [1843]. The lakes were calm and we had a very agreeable passage in company with Brother P. P. Pratt and O. Hyde.³¹ At Mackinaw, we had a view of a great body of Indians who had assembled for the purpose of receiving a payment from the U.S. Government. They had pitched their tents all along for miles near the

²⁸ HC, 5:439-75.

²⁹ Brown, Testimonies for the Truth, 75. Brown implies that Jesse was at least partly responsible for this mission call, which is probable.

³⁰ This actually represents two separate mission calls. On 29 May 1843, Jesse and Benjamin Brown were called to Nova Scotia and the Canadian maritime provinces. On 3 July 1843, prior to their departure, the two missionaries, along with Thomas Gillet, were assigned a special mission to Cook County to help ally public opinion concerning the recent arrest of Joseph Smith. At least eighty-three missionaries were assigned to various counties and cities in Illinois at this time. (HC 5:413, 485). This third mission was to last 22 months. The two missionaries participated in at least 197 baptisms during this mission.

³¹ Parley P. Pratt (1807-1857) was one of the original members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, serving in the Quorum from 1835 until his assassination in 1857. Orson Hyde (1805-1878) was also an original member of the Quorum of the Twelve. He served as President of the Quorum from 1847-1875. Elders Pratt and Hyde left Nauvoo on 16 August 1843. They were in route to Boston to join with other members of the Twelve who had been in Philadelphia. The Quorum then met together and held a special conference in Boston on 9 September 1843. HC 5:537; 6:10-30.

shore, examined the fort which stands on a very high bluff, thence pursuing our course through Lake Huron, arrived at Fort Cratit which presented a beautiful appearance, a row of field pieces stood along the bank and the soldiers were on parade; our band on board the boat played briskly as we passed down the narrow outlet. All was well calculated to enliven the heart and add joy to pleasure. The scenery along this route is wild and romantic—the Canada side is particularly so. We frequently saw groups of Indians in places. We stopped in Detroit a short time; thence through Lake Erie and passed on to the Canada side. Brother O. Hyde preached under the awning of the Hurricane Deck to the passengers. As we passed my former home,³² all I could discern in the distance was a mist or smoke. August 28, 1843. Arrived in Buffalo.

I have traveled those lakes three times, each time they have been still and calm, comparatively speaking. Here we parted with our brother and set off for Lewiston. We did not stop to examine the Cataract of Niagara, as I had visited the Falls before. At Lewiston we had a view of “BROCK’S MONUMENT”³³ standing a little above Queenstown on the Canada side. Thence by steamboat, Rochester. Just before we entered Lake Ontario, we had a view of two forts, situated on each side of the river, which forms the national boundary.³⁴ We crossed

³² Portland, New York.

³³ Sir Isaac Brock (1769-1812) was the commanding officer of the British troops in Upper Canada during the War of 1812. His troops defeated an invading American force at Queenston Heights on 13 October 1812. Brock was killed during the battle. A neoclassical triumph column with a statue of Brock was erected on the battlefield. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 24 vols. (Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, 1964) , 4:260; 11:777.

³⁴ Fort Niagara, New York. was an old British fort that was occupied by American forces in the 1790s. Sometime after the turn of the century, Fort George, a smaller structure, was erected on the west. Thomas H. Raddall, *The Path of Destiny: Canada From the British Conquest to Home Rule, 1763-1850* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1957), 131, 203.

the head of the lake to Toronto City,³⁵ the seat of Government for Upper Canada. This place is singularly situated—the harbor is formed by a neck of land extending a great distance, in shape like an Eclipse; thence across the lake, which was still and quiet, arrived in Sacket's Harbor,³⁶ September 1, 1843. This is 1450 or 1500 miles from Nauvoo; Here we commenced our Ministerial labors.³⁷ At first there was but little opening, but prejudice gave way directly and our field of labor extended far and wide until the cry from all parts of the county was “Come over and help us.” We labored incessantly day and night, sparing no pains. I frequently had 12 or 15 appointments out at a time extending a long distance. We assembled in conference December 30 and 31, 1843 in Jefferson County and at that time had baptized 50 persons into the Kingdom and organized a number of churches.³⁸ Conference now over, we designed prosecuting our journey to the provinces, but pressing invitations called us into the field; from that time our influence was increased and our labors extended still wider. Held a number of public debates, one in particular which was published, being held with the Champion of the country and resulted greatly in favor of the Saints. Thus passed the winter and spring; but few days passed without meetings. My circuit was large and required much traveling, which I estimated at 2500 miles.

³⁵ Situated on the north shore of Lake Ontario, Toronto was settled in 1793 by the British on the site of an old French fort. The town was established for the purpose of serving as the capital of Upper Canada. Toronto became a city in 1834 and had a population of over 10,000 at the time of Jesse's visit. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 22:303.

³⁶ Sacket's Harbor is located on Black River Bay, an inlet of Lake Ontario, eleven miles west of Watertown, New York. It was first settled in 1801. Leon E. Seltzer (ed.), *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer of the World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 1621.

³⁷ Benjamin Brown reports that they confined their missionary work to Jefferson County, holding their first meeting in the schoolhouse at Lime, New York. Brown, *Testimonies for the Truth*, 76-77.

³⁸ Jefferson County, New York is bounded by Lake Ontario on the west and the St. Lawrence River on the north. The county is drained by the Black River—which flows west for 120 miles from the Adirondacks to Black River Bay—and by the Indian River—which flows west approximately 80 miles. During its early settlement, the county was heavily wooded with deposits of iron, limestone and talc. *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer*, 226, 836, 875.

Assembled in conference May 25 and 26, 1844, in Adams,³⁹ Jefferson County, New York. There were present on that occasion about three hundred Saints, seven or eight hundred spectators; a number of Elders were present and branches were represented as follows:

ADAMS BRANCH—63 members; Elisburgh—52;

INDIAN RIVER—44; Clayton—9; Lime—39;

BLACK ROVER—54; Billar Point—12;

THERESE—17; Alexandria—23;

Scattering members besides.

During our sojourn here we baptized one hundred and fifty souls (150) there about; Ordained eight or ten Elders, etc.⁴⁰

May 29th Conference now over, time would not permit us to stay longer, consequently, we prepared May 29 [1844] to leave.

Proceeded to Lockport, thence to Alexandria bay, here took passage on board Steamboat “ROCHESTER.” June 3 [1844] I left at 6:00 P.M. and arrived at Ogdensburgh at ten. Thirty miles from Kingston. The river presents a rugged appearance, being interspersed with numerous rocky islands producing low shrubs, etc. Current moderate; we passed Chippeway and other small towns. At 12 o'clock took passage on board the small steamer, “CHARLOTTE,” belonging to a line of small boats that play between Kingston and Montreal; they pass down the St. Lawrence and up the Redean Canal,⁴¹ touched at Prescott—a fine town opposite

³⁹ Ibid., 11. Adams was a small village 13 miles south south-west of Watertown. According to the conference minutes, the Adams Branch was the largest concentration of Saints in the county.

⁴⁰ The total attending the conference was 313. It would appear that in nine months the two Elders had almost doubled the active membership in the area. See: HC, 7:317.

⁴¹ This is most likely the Rideau Canal, built in the late 1820s. This canal was part of a project in improve navigation and commerce in and around Montreal. Kathleen Jenkins, Montreal, Island City of the St. Lawrence (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1966), 281.

Ogdensburgh, thence down the river, passed Cornwell a fine town on the Canada side. Here the river is more rapid; thence through Longlow,⁴² a very rapid place nine (9) miles long, thence through Lake St. Francis 25 miles long,⁴³ here the prospects are more pleasant. Passed Carto, a French town, and rapids of the same name. The quick descent causes a tremendous confusion of the water.⁴⁴ The country here is inhabited by French people, small french houses, quite compact, appear on either side. From here to Montreal the river is interspersed with Islands and rapid currents. Catholic steeples appear frequently; huge crosses are seen occasionally in front of individuals doors. Passed Cedar town and rapids; here the waters appear to be literally mad for three miles, presenting a mass of white foaming water. Next, came to the Cascades, another rapid, two miles long, up this it seemed impossible for our boat to live but she struggled through the foaming water and brought us safely through. Next came to LeChina, a town principally French, opposite is an Indian town called Cocknatagon, 11 miles from Montreal, thence the LeChina rapids which surpassed any and everything of the kind I ever saw. Here all the waters of no less than eight lakes, the greatest chain on the globe, draining a vast country of three thousand miles, are hurried over rocks forming almost a second cataract. Our boat passed through a narrow channel, at times almost buried, while rocks were visible at no great distance on either side. After a struggle of three minutes, came through safe.⁴⁵ For some distance the mighty river

⁴² This was probably the Long Sault Rapids. Encyclopædia Britannica, 19:841.

⁴³ Ibid. Lake St. Francis is a 28 mile stretch of the St. Lawrence where it widens out sufficiently to be considered a lake. This is one of two such lakes between Kingston and Montreal.

⁴⁴ Ibid. Between Lake Ontario and Montreal the St. Lawrence River drops 225 feet in elevation, from 245 feet at Lake Ontario to only 20 feet at Montreal. The Carto Rapids is one of the locations where the river drops very quickly.

⁴⁵ Ibid Jesse is describing his passage through the Lachine Canal. Built in 1825, the canal was nine miles long, stretching from the still waters above the Lachine Rapids to Montreal. The Lachine Rapids marked the of navigation for the St. Lawrence prior to the construction of the Lachine Canal..

goes foaming along towards its great reservoir; we passed LaPrairie on the right and arrived in Montreal⁴⁶ June 4, 1844, at 3:00 P.M. Our boat was locked into the canal immediately, we landed passed through the city to the lower part, procured a house in which we preached twice while there.⁴⁷

June 5th, 1844, spent the day in viewing the city; passed through the principal streets—they are narrow and irregular; in the best parts, the buildings are high and covered with tin; all the back part are inhabited by French. Their buildings are small, irregular and compact. The incorporation extends three miles square; contains fifty thousand inhabitants—two-thirds French.

One trait in the History of this city is that a four-wheeled carriage is scarcely ever seen, while calashes⁴⁸ and cabs⁴⁹ stalk the streets and hedge up the way, we thoroughly examined everything of note, particularly the Parish Church,⁵⁰ the largest building of the kind in America—260 by 130 feet; it contains 1363 pews, capable of seating 15,000 persons. The sanctuary is adorned in superior style, tinged with gold. We ascended the tower—260 feet high by means of 25 stair cases forming 285 steps; from this observatory the whole city is seen at one glance. Spy

⁴⁶ Montreal is situated on an island bounded by the Ottawa River on the north and the St. Lawrence River on the south, just a few miles east of the confluence of these two rivers and forty miles north of the United States border. In the 1840s, Montreal was a shipping center. One of the two largest cities in British Canada, Montreal was primarily a French city with a strong Catholic influence. The population in 1844 has been estimated at 44,000. Jenkins, *Montreal*; Stephen Leacock, *Montreal: Seaport and City* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1942).

⁴⁷ According to his own reckoning, Jesse traveled from Alexandria Bay to Montreal in twenty-one hours, making anywhere from two to five stops. Jesse seemed impressed by both the rapids and by the speed at which they traveled.

⁴⁸ A calash is a light, four passenger carriage that has a folding top and small wheels.

⁴⁹ Sometimes called a cab, a cabriolet was a two wheeled one horse carriage with a folding leather hood.

⁵⁰ Two churches dominated the Montreal skyline in the 1840s. Notre-Dame de Bonsecours was built between 1658 and 1678. It was destroyed by fire in 1754. It was rebuilt on the same site 1771-1775. This structure had a single tower. Commenced in 1824 and completed in 1829, the new parish church, also named Notre Dame has been described as perpendicular gothic. This second church had two towers and would seem to be the building described by Jesse. Jenkins, *Montreal*, 277-78.

glasses, etc. are at hand—The square rigged vessels, about 100 in number, lay along the shore in full view, men, horses, etc. hurry to and fro along the streets and appear like swarms of ants. Having satisfied ourselves in viewing the city, we next examined the monster bell—It weighs about ten tons cast in London at the expense of twelve hundred pounds sterling. It is suspended in the western tower; the opposite one contains thirteen smaller bells. This fabric is built of hewn stone and exclusive of bells, cost one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

June 6, 1844, left our lodgings at Mr. Griffis's Hotel and repaired to Parish Church, saw High Mass performed and other Catholic ceremonies—great splendor was exhibited. Two or three hundred wax candles were burning, some of them six feet long; one or two hundred priests were present, some of them dressed in garments gilded, others in white robes. Next we visited the “Grey Nunnery”⁵¹—examined it critically; we were not permitted to enter the “Black Nunnery.”⁵² The day was spent agreeably. At 6:00 P.M. took passage on board the “Charkafox” for Quebec; bid farewell to the Catholic metropolis probably forever. I viewed the country very carefully, it is level inhabited entirely by French, houses white, very compact along the banks of the river Catholic steeples, crosses, are seen, as we pass along; the river is broad and beautiful and the whole way—100 miles.⁵³

⁵¹ In 1694 Francois Charron established the city's second hospital. When the hospital encountered financial problems in the 1700s, an order of nuns, founded by a widow, Madame d'Youville, assumed control of the operation. Known as the Grey Nuns, this Catholic order became one of the most prominent institutions in a city known for its religious orders. By the 1840s the original structure had been tripled in size with a chapel and spire centered in the middle of the main wing of the building. Luc d'Iberville Moreau, *Lost Montreal* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975), 141-43.

⁵² While Montreal had many religious orders and several convents established throughout the city in the 1800s, none of them had the designation of “Black Nuns”. It is possible that Jesse is referring to the Convent of the Dames de La Congregation Notre-Dame. On the surface, it would seem peculiar for Jesse and Benjamin Brown to visit the convents. However, it seems that in the nineteenth century, male visitors to Montreal regularly called at the convents during their sight-seeing. The nun's apparently sold various items in an effort to augment their income. Moreau, *Lost Montreal*, 134-40; Jenkins, *Montreal*, 276.

⁵³ The distance from Montreal to Quebec is 160 miles when following the course of the St. Lawrence River. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 19:841.

Arrived in Quebec⁵⁴ at 9 A.M. June 7th [1844] put up at Meriams Hotel; proceeded to examine the City, the lower town is situated along the water's edge under a high cliff on which is situated what is called the upper Town. Besides these there are three suburbs of entire French. The Upper Town is surrounded by a wall of twenty or thirty feet in thickness. We passed through Prescott Gate,⁵⁵ obtained a pass from the commanding officer, and attended by a soldier, entered the citadel;⁵⁶ it contains military stores, etc.—six thousand stand of arms, three thousand barrels of powder, and provisions for seven years. One thousand five hundred troops are stationed here. The walls are mounted with thirty-two pounders, etc., not only around the citadel, but around the entire upper town; two hundred and fifty heavy pieces on the walls besides hundred of heavy cannon and scores, if not hundreds of cords of shot or balls and bombs of all kinds in the citadel ready for use. Magazines, batteries, etc. all numbered in regular order. This fortress is to all appearance impregnable.

After spending some hours in our search, we passed out through a strong gateway. Next, examined the old French ruins, then proceeded to the Plains of Abraham.⁵⁷ The clash of arms, the groans of the dying have long since ceased—all

⁵⁴ Quebec is the center of French Canada and capital of the province of Quebec. It is located on the north bank of the St. Lawrence River, at the confluence with the St. Charles River. Quebec is 160 miles by river from Montreal and approximately 400 miles from the Atlantic Ocean. The upper town was erected on the bluff and was dominated by the Citadel. The lower town stretched out along the river below the bluff. At the time of Jesse's visit, the capitol of Canada had just been moved from Quebec to Kingston. Mazo de la Roche, *Quebec: Historic Seaport* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1942).

⁵⁵ Ibid., 197. Prescott Gate, built in 1797, was one of the six entrances in the walls to the old city of Quebec. Interestingly, It is St. Louis Gate that leads directly to the Citadel. This would indicate that either the two missionaries took a long route to reach the Citadel or that Jesse incorrectly named the gate.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 196-98. The Citadel is situated on the rise above the city. It was begun by the French in 1703. Judged inadequate by the Briish, major improvements were begun in 1803, designed by the Duke of Wellington.

⁵⁷ The Plains of Abraham is located on the top of the bluff beyond the Citadel. During the French and Indian War, this plain was the site of the battle where Quebec fell to the British. On the night of 13 September, General James Wolfe had his British forces climb the cliff face where the bluff overlooked the river, forcing the French to come out and face the British force. This ended a three month siege of the city.

was silence. The roar of cannon, the crack of musketry no longer fill the plains with blood and carnage; Here fell two brave warriors—Wolfe⁵⁸ and Montcalm.⁵⁹ I seated myself beside a monument bearing this inscription: “Here died brave Wolfe.” We passed over the battleground and descended the bluff where Wolfe and his men ascended, dragging their cannon after them. All was silent and lonely.

June 8th, 1844, Spent the day revisiting the citadel and all military parks, public buildings.

June 9th, 1844, Being Sunday attended Catholic services in the afternoon. Thousands of Catholics were assembled and formed a grand procession displaying much pomp and show. The procession commenced their march from the church which was adorned in the greatest splendor, the sanctuary, with its images tinged with gold was lighted up with hundreds of wax candles, the priests, some in gilded garments and others in robes of white; ahead went boys dressed in white—some white with pots of incense, others with baskets of flowers to strew the streets, others with the Altar, the Ark of the Covenant, then the bishop and a long train. Smoke issued from the pots and the altar, as they passed. The streets were adorned with bushes and flowers, and filled with thousands of people. We visited two churches in Montreal and two in Quebec. They were all built in similar style, being built in a very grand and extravagant manner, especially the sanctuary—thirty or forty feet high, twenty broad, forming a concave front in the middle, stands at the height of twelve feet, the Virgin Mary with the infant in her arms, next above is

⁵⁸ James Wolfe (1727-1759) was the English general who defeated the French forces at Quebec during the French and Indian War. He died from wounds received during the battle on the Plains of Abraham on 14 September 1759. Quebec surrendered four days later. McGraw-Hill Encyclopedia of World Biography, 12 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), 11:424-25.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 7:483-84. Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm (1712-1759) was the French general in command of troops in Canada during the French and Indian War. He was in personal command of the troops in Quebec when Wolfe besieged the city in the summer of 1759. Like Wolfe, he Montcalm died from wounds received on the Plains of Abraham on 14 September 1759.

Jesus on a cross. On either side around about stand the Twelve Apostles, while above all on the top of the Sanctuary stands God on a ball, representing the earth as his footstool, holding a scepter in his hand. The whole front is regularly arranged with candles; when lit up the whole appears like a mass of gold.

Quebec is a large city, but meanly⁶⁰ built, quite populous, wealth and poverty, pride and misery abound there. There were from three to five hundred square rigged⁶¹ vessels lying in port; the aspect is rather gloomy. Cabs and calashes are in use instead of four wheeled carriages, plenty of dog-teams⁶² may be seen running to and fro through the streets. After a stop of four days we engaged a passage on board a French vessel—not a soul could speak English; set off June 11th [1844] with ebb tide, sun down with a fine breeze until flood tide, then down anchor, held on till ebb, thence on; the country below Quebec is gloomy, lofty, and precipitous banks while blue ranges of mountains are seen in the distance, their small white cots are seen along the river; they appear as white spots scattered over the hills and mountains. Arrived at June 12th [1844] St. Andre, this is 100 miles from Quebec—here the country is rocky and very broken; the tide rises rapidly and high and extends 100 miles above Quebec to three Rivers,⁶³ rises at Quebec 15 feet. From River De Loup proceeded back from the St. Lawrence, crossed the Portage 36 miles to Lake Temisquata,⁶⁴ bought a canoe, crossed the lake 15 miles,

⁶⁰ Jesse is describing the city as being shabby. He was clearly more impressed by Montreal than he was by Quebec.

⁶¹ A square-rigged sailing vessel has the sails attached to yards that are rigged perpendicular to the mast. The sails are then controlled by traces or ropes.

⁶² Dog teams were used to pull small carts for the transportation of merchandise and supplies. They seem to have been used, like the two wheeled carriages, because of the narrow streets.

⁶³ Three Rivers is about 77 miles upriver from Quebec. Three Rivers, being at sea level, is the upstream limit for tidal conditions. This explains the need for their vessel to have dropped anchor during flood tide when departing Quebec. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 19:841

⁶⁴ Lake Temiscouata is 28 miles long and 3 miles wide. Located in eastern Quebec Province, it is drained by the Madawaska River. *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer*, 1891.

thence down the Madwaska⁶⁵ to its junction with the St. John⁶⁶ at Little Falls, twenty-two miles thence by means of our canoe to Grand Falls⁶⁷—36 miles, hired it drawn around the Falls, thence on our journey as before. Inhabitants, nearly all French, till we reached the Grand Falls, below that English people, lumbering, is the chief employment; the river is rapid and we passed down swiftly; arrived at Fredericktown⁶⁸ June 19th, 1844. Distance from Grand Falls to Fredericktown 130 miles, the whole distance from Kingston⁶⁹ 768 miles. On our arrival invitations were received for preaching. We accordingly entered the field of labor. We were the first Latter-day Saints that ever journeyed that way. Our undertaking was an arduous one. We had to clear the ground of heaps of superstition before any seed could be sown to advantage. Priestcraft had reigned predominant and had become strongly rooted. At first it seemed impossible that any of these captives could be made free through the truth.

Hireling priests labored to save their craft. One modern Pharisee prophesied that we could not find one individual who would receive our testimony in the

⁶⁵ Ibid., 1112. The Madawaska River issues from the south-east end of Lake Temiscouata and flows 30 miles south-east into the St. John River. The missionaries had obviously carefully planned their route of travel. Traveling by canoe through Lake Temiscouata and down both the Madawaska and the St. John they saved themselves considerable travel time.

⁶⁶ The St. John River is the largest river in New Brunswick. It travels from north-west to south-east across the entire province, emptying into the Bay of Fundy. Settlements along the St. John were principally agricultural in nature, although several served as logging centers. These settlements were principally English loyalists who had fled north after the Revolutionary War. J. Bartlet Brebner, *The population of the province in 1840 has been estimated at 155,000. Canada: A Modern History* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1960), 190-93.

⁶⁷ The Grand Falls represents a 74 foot drop in the level of the St. John River. The falls and the small settlement located there are 90 miles north-west of Fredericton near the Maine border. *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer*, 707.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 640. Fredericton became the provincial capital of New Brunswick in 1785. Located in York County, on the St. John River 60 miles upriver from the Bay of Fundy. Settled by loyalists after the Revolutionary War, Fredericton was both the political and commercial center of the region.

⁶⁹ Kingston is situated on the Canadian shore of Lake Ontario. It is at the eastern end of the lake, near the exit of the St. Lawrence River. Jesse seems to have used this as a reference point for their travels into Canada, probably because of its proximity to Jefferson County.

Province. One or two preachers attempted to discuss, as challenges were given by us, but were put to flight and shame. Those who prophesied against us were soon proven to be liars.

July the 15th [1844], about 12 individuals who had received our testimony in Queensberry County of York,⁷⁰ came forward for baptism. The Lord confirmed the word with signs following according to promise. By this time certain persons seeing that none dare stand before us and that we were likely to prosper notwithstanding all their exertions, were moved with anger against us and began to lay plots. The first thing was to enter complaints to the Governor against us, such as that we were baptizing those who had once been baptized, influencing the people to leave the province and go to the States, believing in spiritual gifts, speaking against the established church common prayer book, tearing down churches, going against British laws, etc. etc.⁷¹

At first we paid little attention to them—continued preaching until we had baptized twenty, when we were informed that the Governor had ordered the Magistrates to meet in council and inquire into the truth of their complaints. Consequently three met. Their names were—Parent, Earls and Morehouse, having given public notice previously for all persons who knew of our being guilty of the before mentioned charges to attend. Two only were sworn—two testified to, what we acknowledged our names, places of residence, to what nation we belonged, etc. The other, a Negro, testified to all intents and purposes that we preached false doctrine, such as, that we had power to raise the dead, cast out devils, also we were

⁷⁰ The two missionaries seem to have focused their activities in York County while in New Brunswick. York County was located in west central New Brunswick, adjacent to the Maine border. The population centers were located along the St. John River. *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer*, 2126.

⁷¹ According to Benjamin Brown, these men had found an old provincial statute forbidding dissenters to hold public religious services without a written license from the governor. This ordinance had never been enforced, but they attempted to use it to drive the missionaries from the region. Brown, *Testimonies for the Truth*, 78-79.

building a temple that should not be thrown down somewhere in the States, a place of safety, where the residue of mankind should be destroyed. The proceedings of this meeting were forwarded to the Governor. Things having arrived to this pitch we thought it wisdom to take some steps to counteract their proceedings. We accordingly prepared ourselves with documents from Judge Boardsley and Dr. Shelton. We repaired to Fredricktown,⁷² appeared before His Excellency, the Governor, our names were recorded and our place of residence. Our documents underwent an investigation—the Governor was very inquisitive. I was somewhat surprised that the Governor should enter into a debate with us, but this he did, and it lasted about two hours. Many points of our doctrine were taken up, at last, finding himself hard run for arguments accused us of being unacquainted with the dead languages. Thus closed our interview without any positive answer, whether we would be allowed our rights or not. Lawyer Wilmot, the Governor's chief Counselor, treated us kindly, and told us there was no law that could harm us. This blowed up the whole affair and frustrated their plans.⁷³ We returned to our labors and continued preaching and baptizing. Many reports were flying abroad about warrants, prisons, etc. The whole County was greatly agitated.

Elder Brown went to Maine a short time. During his absence there was some Mob talk. These desperadoes, finding themselves defeated in all their plots were determined to have revenge. Brother Brown soon returned. Our number had by this time increased to 25.

⁷² Jesse and Benjamin Brown had been proselyting in Southampton, York County. This community was located fifty miles up the river from Fredericton. Eliza Shelton Keeler, "Autobiography" in Kate B. Carter (ed.) *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1962) 5:285.

⁷³ Benjamin Brown's account of the meeting with the governor is very similar to Jesse's. He does add that it was David Shelton who advised them to approach Judge Beardsley. Brown does add that the governor was "most terribly prejudiced against us, and very ignorant of law and gospel. Brown, *Testimonies for the Truth*, 79.

September 2, 1844, Soon after Dr. Shelton and family were baptized,⁷⁴ he being a man of influence and a Magistrate in the County of York. The excitement seemed to raise higher than before and things appeared to converge to a point. The 11th of September is a day long to be remembered. In the afternoon, I preached in Dr. Shelton's neighborhood; Text Rev. 12-14 and labored to show the falling away, the rise of great Babylon and the coming forth of the great work of God in the last days. I had great liberty and spoke at length. Brother Brown and others bore testimony. The Spirit of God was there. The meeting closed about sunset. We repaired to the Dr's house for supper. Everything did not appear just right. Some designing persons walked up the street, made use of some hard speeches and appeared to manifest a hostile spirit. With supper over, Brother Brown left the house and walked down the street toward Mr. Foster's. Just before he reached the house, was met by seven or eight ruffians who knocked him down and beat him most inhumanly, mangled his body by jumping on him, etc. On the appearance of a friend, the mob ran off. Brother Brown was brought back half dead, covered with blood and dirt. I washed his wounds, found him cut and bruised in a horrible manner; got him in bed in a front room in the lower story. About 12 o'clock at night, I laid down with him, fell into a drowse for a moment, to be roused by a prowling mob. I sprang from my bed, seized a chair and held our bedroom door. The mobbers had possession of the front room and attempted to open our door, but I withstood them. At this moment by means of stones and rails, our windows were broken in with a noise that was like thunder. This gave me to understand that there

⁷⁴ David Booth Shelton and his wife Bethia Slason were the parents of twelve children. The eldest daughter, Ann, later became a plural wife of Jesse. Keeler, Autobiography, 5:285.

One interesting detail is provided by Benjamin Brown's son Lorenzo, who recorded in his journal for December 1844 that Charles Shelton, the second son of the family, had originally been one of the mob leaders in New Brunswick. He wrote: "Father returned in December having had a prosperous mission, in New York, and New Brunswick, the latter a British Province and filled with hard customers. Here he and Brother Crosby built up a branch despite the opposition which raised a mob and left father on the ground for dead. The leader of this mob has since become a member, his name Charles Shelton." Lorenzo Brown, Journal, 1:8.

was [no] other alternative. We must either fall into the hands of a merciless mob, or I must do my best. Elder Brown was scarcely able to get out of bed; all the weapons I had were a chair and cane; the chair appeared to be the heaviest. I drew it and stood ready for a charge, but none dared to put his head in my reach. I am thankful that they did not. I stood here in suspense, not knowing what my fate might be, but was determined to defend myself to the last; for there was no hope of mercy if once in their hands. Our room was small, about ten feet square; stones, rails, etc. were thrown into the room, but as good luck would have it we were not hurt by them. By this time, Mrs. Shelton broke through, for the mob, before they commenced their operations, crept in and fastened the family into their rooms to prevent them from lending a hand of assistance, and came to our door. Her voice was the voice of an angel; she bid us come out quickly; we did so, and that too,

undiscovered by the Mob.⁷⁵ The night was spent in this deplorable manner.

However, about the time we left the bedroom, the Doctor left the house by a back door, and after a while returned with 12 men to protect the house. On examination found the windows broken in a most deplorable manner. Our bedroom from which we had escaped was covered with stones, rails, etc. One room in the second story had all the windows broken, thinking we might be there. The room in which I had taken refuge was searched once, but in vain, the chief enmity seemed to center in me, but miraculously, I escaped unhurt. For months, the least noise would disturb me, and I would imagine that I heard the breaking of glass, etc. My feelings were such as are not easily described. The mob consisted of about thirty men. The next

⁷⁵ Brown, Testimonies for the Truth, 68-70. Benjamin Brown describes this mobbing incident as follows: "This enraged our enemies so much that our lives became endangered, and, to escape their violence, we had to sleep in the woods, and do our baptizing in night, as their determination was to mob us the first opportunity. Unfortunately one of them overheard me promise to visit one of the brethren after I had been preaching one day. This mobber, with a party of about ten others, waylaid me. Some of them held me while the rest beat me about the head with their fists; but not being able to bruise me sufficiently in this manner, one of them took off one of my boots, and belabored me about the head with the heel of it, until I was covered with blood, which ran down onto my clothes and the ground. Some of them then threw me down, and jumped upon me with their knees, until they broke several of my ribs.

"All this while I had been calling out loudly, whenever they did not stop my mouth. But it suddenly occurred to me that, if I feigned myself dead, they would leave me, thinking their murderous work accomplished, so I groaned loudly as if dying, and resigned myself into their hands, holding my breath as much as possible. This succeeded, the darkness of the night favoring my purpose, and they left me, and ran off as fast as they could. Directly they were gone, I arose, though with great difficulty, and went into a house not far from there, where I washed the blood off my person, and Elder Crosby, who also came there, laid hands upon me. The mob, however, by some means discovering that I was not yet dead, and that Elder Crosby was with me, met and resolved to attack the house that night, and, if possible, get possession of both of us, after which they purposed to cut off Elder Crosby's ears, tar and feather us, carry us out into the middle of St. Johns River, and, after tying stones to our feet, sink us both.

"The first intimation that we received of this determination was by a wooden rail being hurled against the window. The rail broke through the window, came in upon the bed where we were sleeping, and awoke us both. We immediately sprang up, and Elder Crosby rushed to the door where they were hammering to get in. He held it as well as he could, but in another moment they would have succeeded, had not Mrs. Shelton, who had been alarmed by the noise, come upon them unexpectedly with a lighted candle, and surprised them in the act. This frightened them, and alarmed lest they should be known, they fled with the rest that had been posted at the other parts of the house.

"We were quiet after this for about an hour, and Justice Shelton, at whose house we were stopping, went to alarm the neighbors, and his son who lived some distance off, so that we might have assistance in case of the mob returning. The mob returned while he was gone, having recruited their spirits with whiskey. They made a second attack upon the house, trying another door this time. But Elder Crosby held the door, with an iron grasp, and the resolution of a lion, so they were again unsuccessful. After drinking round, they tried a third time, and one of them managed to get his arm through the door opening, but while doing so he was caught round the waist in the arms of Mr. Shelton's son, who, with several others, entered the place at that moment. And thus the Lord delivered us out of their hands, for they were not long dispersing themselves after this. Several of them were recognized by our friends."

day we attended our appointments, some mile below, but Elder Brown was not able to appear in public for some days. All this did not discourage us, or the Saints; we continued to preach and baptize. For some days we preached and baptized during the day, and slept in the woods during the night time. During all this, we had many more invitations for preaching than we were able to fill.

Having an appointment up the river some miles, our friends assembled for a meeting. As we were detained later than was expected and having heard that a mob was lying in wait for us, thirty or forty of our friends armed themselves with clubs and whatever came to hand, and came rushing down with all speed to meet us whether there was a mob or not, I never learned, however, we returned with them and had a good meeting—a large and attentive congregation who treated us with all the kindness in their power. We did not lack for friends.

The summer was now spent and the time drew near for us to depart. We called the Saints together and organized them into two branches—forty-seven in all. We were in the province about three months. Some had seen us in visions six months before our arrival, and after hearing the word, were convinced of the truth and testified that all was fulfilled to the letter, even our dress and appearance they recognized.

All things being now ready, we set off for Houlton, Maine—were cordially received and preached a few times; procured a passage with Teamster, and set off October 9th [1844] for Bangor, 120 miles thence by steamboat to Portland, thence by cars⁷⁶ to Boston,⁷⁷ 400 miles.

⁷⁶ Jesse's reference here to traveling by cars could mean several things, but it most likely indicates that he traveled by carriage or wagon. Probably some kind of local hire service.

⁷⁷ Settled in 1630 by John Winthrop, Boston was the cultural and commercial center of New England. Boston is located on Massachusetts Bay at the mouth of the Charles River. Boston had a population of over 100,000 in 1840. It was a center of Latter-day Saint activity in the 1840s, but little is known about the Church from that period as emigration kept the membership from stabilizing. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 3:988-992.

October 15th, 1844, Found the Saints in good spirits, between two and three hundred in Boston,⁷⁸ was cordially received.

After a short time, I was called upon to go and visit the Saints in New Hampshire on business 70 miles or 80 miles distance. Returned again to Boston, being much worn down with excessive labors; concluded to tarry during the winter and recruit⁷⁹ my health. By invitation, I consented to take the Presidency of a small branch in Lowell City,⁸⁰—30 miles from Boston, and to take up my abode there. Came into the city December 1st, 1844; kept up regular meetings during the winter; gave my attention partly to studying some useful sciences; baptized a number during my stay.

On the 20th of January, 1845, paid Andover⁸¹ a visit. This is a village about ten miles from Lowell; went in company with about 200 persons—Ten large sleighs. I had the privilege of examining a very large library containing nearly 15,000 volumes. I examined one that was published in 1492 in English.⁸²

⁷⁸ HC, 7:317. Jesse wrote a letter to the Church from Boston, reporting on their missionary activities. He wrote: “In August, 1843, Elder B. Brown and myself (having been appointed to visit the British provinces) proceeded to western New York, where we spent the winter. We organized several branches of the church, baptized upward of 150 souls and held to conferences. After tarrying eight months we went to Montreal and Quebec, making a short stay in each of these Catholic cities, preached some and circulated some books, pamphlets, etc. We proceeded to New Brunswick, and amid much opposition, persecution and personal violence, baptized 47; organized them into two branches, both in the county of York, above Frederickston. We returned to Boston in October and have spent a few weeks in the regions round about.”

Benjamin Brown left Jesse in Boston and returned to Nauvoo.

⁷⁹ In this context recruit means to replenish, restore or improve the health of an individual. Jesse uses this term several times while describing rest days while crossing the plains in 1847.

⁸⁰ Located on the Merrimack River and the mouth of the Concord River, Lowell was a “Company town”. Its location chosen because of the availability of water power, Lowell was established by the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, specifically as a textile center in 1822. Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer, 1088.

⁸¹ Ibid., 70. Settled in 1643, Andover is located in north-east Massachusetts on the Merrimack River. Like Lowell, Andover was a center for woolen mills.

⁸² The library referred to was probably the library of Philips Academy. Oliver Wendell Holmes graduated from Philips Academy in 1825. The modern library contains his papers and is named for him. It could also have been the Abbot Academy library.

On the 25th of January [1845] we had a dreadful storm during the night the snow drove through the air in almost solid columns. About three O'clock we were roused by the ringing of bells—every bell in the city was ringing. The cry was Fire! Fire! I dressed myself and went out to witness the most terrific scenery that my eyes ever beheld. Fire engines were in the streets but buried in snow, it was impossible to get them to the fire. The wind blew a hurricane; the air was full; it was difficult to breathe. The reflection caused everything to appear red, the buildings burned down—no assistance could be rendered—the inhabitants escaped with their lives.

Lowell is a manufacturing town—33 mills; 6304 Looms; Spindles 204,076; Number of persons employed, 8735—Females 6,320. Yards of cloth manufactured weekly 6,459,100—annually 75,873,200.

Made a visit to Boston; had the opportunity of ascending the Bunker-Hill monument, the State House, and all other objects of note in the town. I saw a number of small brass cannon that were used on Bunker Hill during the first hostilities with England. Spent the winter very agreeably up to this date.

March 12th, 1845 Left Lowell. March 29, proceeded to Boston then thence to N. Y. thence to Philadelphia, thence to Pittsburgh, thence down the Ohio and up the Mississippi; arrived in Nauvoo April the 25th, 1845.

By council of P. P. Pratt, nearly all the Elders were called in at that time. Journey home was 2168 miles, I found all things quiet. On the 28th of May [1845], was present at the laying of the last stone of the temple.⁸³

⁸³ HC 7:420. On this date the attic story was begun.

On the 19th of June, 1845. Had a settlement with the temple committee—Paid tithing up to that date from the 18th of October, 1840,⁸⁴ at which time the temple was commenced.

On the 1st of July, 1845. Joined the Second Quorum of Seventie's.⁸⁵ After the death of Joseph the Prophet, the responsibility of leading and bearing the Church and kingdom fell upon the Twelve, who proceeded to organize and set all things in order. The names of the Quorum are as follows:

President of the Quorum, Brigham Young; Heber C. Kimball.

John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff

Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt,

Orson Hyde, Willard Richards,

John E. Page, Lyman White

George A. Smith, William Smith.⁸⁶

During the summer of 1845, the work of organization continued till 30 Quorums were set in order. I remained at home and worked on the temple this season. There were but very few Elders sent abroad this summer—the main object of the Church being to build the Temple and Nauvoo House, which works were rushed on with great spirit.

The season glides away swiftly while all was peace and quietude, untill all at once, without any notice, or the least cause while the Saints were pursuing their common avocations, a gang of ruffians on 10th of September 1845, commenced an

⁸⁴ I have corrected this date for clarity. The BYU typescript shows 1846 not 1840, but Jesse almost certainly means 1840. It was in October 1840 that he reported being present when the temple quarry was opened.

⁸⁵ Between October 1844 and December 1845 the Quorum of the Twelve expanded the number of Seventies Quorums to over 30. Jesse's addition to the second quorum would appear to be part of that expansion. HC 7:305, 549.

⁸⁶ The correct order of seniority of the Twelve at this time was: Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, William Smith, Orson Pratt, John E. Page, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Willard Richards and Lyman Wight. William Smith, John E. Page and Lyman Wight would soon leave the Church.

attack upon a settlement—Marly settlement,⁸⁷ south of Nauvoo, by burning their houses and driving defenseless families from their homes. This burning continued and spread in the country branches, until 70 or 80 houses were consumed. During all this insult and destruction of property the Saints did not show the least resistance. At last, the Sheriff (Backenstan)⁸⁸ thinking that forbearance was no longer a virtue, organized a posse, set off for the burning district; found a company engaged in firing and attacked them, killing some and driving the rest over the river, or rather, they rushed over through fear. The Sheriff, at one time on his route from Warsaw to Nauvoo, escaped very narrowly, being pursued closely by four or five ruffians on horseback; the Sheriff, coming up with friends, called on them to save his life; whereupon, one man—P. Rockwell⁸⁹ fired and killed a ruffian dead by the name of Warrel.⁹⁰ Upon this, they retreated. The Sheriff, with his posse, took possession of the principal parties in the country. The Governor,⁹¹ seeing we were likely to overcome our enemies, sent a force of 400 men who paraded the county, and instead of bringing the burners to justice, they came to Nauvoo in

⁸⁷ Lima, Illinois—referred to by the Mormons as the Morley Settlement—is an agricultural community sixteen miles north of Quincy. In 1845 its population was almost entirely Latter-day Saints. *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer*, 1054.

⁸⁸ Jacob B. Backenstos was the non-Mormon sheriff of Hancock County. However, he was known to be sympathetic to the Mormons.

⁸⁹ Orrin Porter Rockwell and John Redding were at a crossroads when Sheriff Backenstos arrived. Knowing Rockwell and Redding were armed, Backenstos stopped and commanded the mob to stop. When the mob continued to advance, Backenstos ordered Rockwell to fire. Rockwell shot Frank Worrell dead. The mob dispersed and later retrieved the body. HC 7:446-47.

⁹⁰ Franklin A. Worrell was a member of the Carthage Grays and the officer of the guard in charge of Carthage Jail on 27 June 1844 when Joseph and Hyrum Smith were murdered. Rockwell was certainly aware of this when he chose to fire on Worrell among the members of the mob chasing Sheriff Backenstos. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 2:320, 481.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 2:122, 337, 341-42. Thomas Ford was the governor of Illinois from 1842-1846. His inability to control the mob violence in Hancock County contributed both to the death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith and to the expulsion of the Saints from Nauvoo.

search of stolen goods, dead bodies, etc. At length, troops were dismissed, except 50 who remained at Carthage to protect the Mob. The destruction of property ceased after 10 or 12 thousand dollars loss on our part and all things remained quiet.

On the 6th of October 1845 we had a General Conference in the Temple.⁹² The main business of the Conference was to lay before the brethren the propriety of removing as a Church and people into the wilderness, out of the reach of Gentile Christians. Measures were adopted for organizing the people into companies of hundreds, companies of fifties, and companies of tens, whose interest was to be One, for the purpose of removing all rich and poor. A vote was taken to the effect that all our means should be expended, if necessary, or that all should go so far as our means and influence will extend. Many interesting instructions were given respecting our removal to a place owned by God only, where we could be delivered from Christian mobs. President Young asserted that we owed the United States nothing, not a farthing, not one sermon. They have rejected our testimony, killed our prophets; our skirts are clear from their blood. We will go out from them; let them see these matters.

At the opening of the Conference, the standing of the Officers throughout the entire Church was tested by vote; all stood forth except Lyman White and William Smith; the former was laid over, but the latter lost his standing either as an Apostle or Patriarch, and directly after was cut off from the Church.⁹³ Nothing strange or important transpired in Nauvoo.⁹⁴ During the Autumn and winter the Companies turned their attention to building wagons, etc. The Nauvoo house being

⁹² The General Conference met for three days beginning Monday, 6 October. HC 7:457-477.

⁹³ Ibid., 7:458-460.

⁹⁴ Nothing strange or important may have occurred in Nauvoo, but on 23 November 1845 Jesse was married to Hannah Elida Baldwin by Brigham Young.

discontinued immediately after the commencement of the Hancock riots—The whole force was turned to the completion of the Temple, as also every necessary preparation for our contemplated removal in the spring.

I continued as a regular laborer on the Temple, and witnessed the completion of the Upper Room in which the Endowments commenced about the first of December, 1845. From this period the Temple was thronged things being rushed on with the greatest haste. As many as 500 went through in twenty-four hours, this not common. Received my endowments in January, 1846. The work continued until the 8th of February [1846] when all was stopped, and immediate preparations entered into for a removal. The crossing commenced on or about 2nd of February 1846,⁹⁵ and continued till the 16th; as fast as they crossed removed back four or five miles and camped, waiting for all to cross.

April 24th, 1846 The ferries are crowded; the brethren are crossing with all diligence and going on to join the main camp. The works on the Temple ceased April 23, 1846—that is, the joiner work—the painters and masons continued a few days longer.

Since June 1845, I have labored 262 days on the Temple.

May 24th, 1846, we⁹⁶ packed our things and removed to the River bank; on the 25th crossed the Mississippi and moved back in the Territory⁹⁷ two or three miles and camped.

⁹⁵ According to Joseph Fielding Smith, the first wagons left Nauvoo on 4 February. Bishop George Miller left on 6 February. Brigham Young and other of the Quorum of the Twelve left on 15 February. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1973), 331-32; Roberts, *Comprehensive History of The Church*, 2:540-41; HC, 7:578-580.

⁹⁶ This is the first indication Jesse makes in his *History* of his marriage to Hannah Elida Baldwin on 23 November 1845 at Nauvoo, Illinois. In some ways Jesse's "History and Journal" has the appearance of being insensitive to his wife, Hannah. However, realizing that Jesse became a polygamist in 1854, and that much of his history was compiled after that time, these omissions seem more reasonable.

⁹⁷ Iowa Territory.

May 26th, 1846 We ascended the bluffs, and some six miles from Nauvoo we found ourselves on a high and sightly place where we had a most splendid view of the Temple and almost every house in Nauvoo—This was a farewell view; thence proceeded on our journey, slowly, at the rate of 12 miles a day. Perhaps reached the Des Moines River⁹⁸ on the 28th, crossed the 29th, thence onward slowly, found a great number of brethren on the road, as many as forty wagons, tents, herds of cattle, flocks of sheep were seen in abundance, moving onward we traveled through a country interspersed with small prairies well adapted to husbandry, and somewhat improved.

June 5th, 1846, we entered a large prairie about one hundred miles from Nauvoo and very nearly beyond white settlements. This prairie continued all the way to the camp. We traveled on a high dividing ridge, heading the streams and passing near points of timber.

June 15th, 1846 About 8 miles from camp, Mount Pisgah,⁹⁹ I had the misfortune to lose an ox which broke up my team and frustrated my calculations, as I had no more, nor means to buy.

June 16th. Reached the camp, crossed Grand river and pitched tent; here are many people camped in every direction; many ploughing, planting, etc.

On Sunday, June 21st, 1846. Two messengers returned from the Camp of the Twelve on the Missouri River, and brought favorable tidings of the Journey to the

⁹⁸ Beginning in Minnesota and flowing south-east across Iowa until it enters the Mississippi, the Des Moines River forms the north-east boundary of Missouri. As the Saints began the journey west they were just skirting the northern border of Missouri, following the east bank of the Des Moines until passing the northern boundary of Missouri. Then they would cross the river and head west through southern Iowa. *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer*, 507.

⁹⁹ Mount Pisgah was founded 18 May 1846 in western Clarke County, Iowa Territory, approximately 180 miles from Nauvoo. Mount Pisgah served as a temporary Mormon settlement until 1852 when it was abandoned. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of The Church*, 3:50.

Mountains, plenty of Buffalo. The principal men at Council Bluffs,¹⁰⁰ as well as the Big Chief of the Potawatamies are favorable. One hundred men, mounted, armed and equipped were called for to go from this place with baggage wagon, provisions to serve as a front and rear guard, flanking parties, buffalo hunters, etc., for the camp that move on this spring.

June 26th, 1846, Captain Allen attended by some four or six soldiers arrived here from Leavenworth with documents from General Kearney of the rest, who had received similar orders from the President of the United States, calling for 500 Mormons to volunteer to serve U. S. and operate against the Republic of Mexico in the now existing war, the declaration of which is dated May 13, 1846. They were told after a hearing that all our men were needed to carry out our own measures, but were referred to the Authorities of the Church then at Council Bluffs.

July 3rd, 1846. Owing to disappointments, etc., found myself unable to go and consequently set out on my return to the settlements to procure means at the time of our departure.¹⁰¹ The brethren were moving on by scores and hundred, arrived at Keokuk, Iowa, on the 10th, where and when my wife set off for the State of Maine, the home of her father. She went on business expecting to return in

¹⁰⁰ Originally named Council Hill, Council Bluffs, Iowa was the site of an 1804 conference between local Indian tribes and the Lewis and Clark expedition. Called Hart's Bluff when the Mormon's arrived, it was renamed Kaneshville and served as a Mormon community from 1846 through 1852 and was an important supply center for both Latter-day Saint emigrants and the California gold rush. It was named Council Bluffs after the Mormons left and became the starting point for the Union Pacific Railroad. Courtlandt Canby, *The Encyclopedia of Historic Places*, 2 vols. (New York: Facts on File, 1984), 1:208; *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer*, 458.

¹⁰¹ Jesse seems to be referring here to his inability to travel on to Council Bluffs as a result of his losing one of his oxen the previous month (see entry for June 15, 1846). While it is possible Jesse is referring to the arrival of Captain James Allen and the Mormon Battalion recruitment this seems unlikely. There is no evidence that Jesse was interested in joining the Battalion. For details of the Battalion recruiting see Roberts, *Comprehensive History of The Church*, 3:64-84.

September, but was taken sick, the news of which reached me by means of a letter.¹⁰²

On the 23rd, of September. I immediately packed my goods and took them with me to St. Louis, stored them proceeded on my journey to her relief. There was at that time a considerable number of Saints in St. Louis, some 60 families, arrived during my stay. These were a part of the remnant left in Nauvoo, lately exiled by September Mob. Proceeded by way of Illinois river, the chain of Lakes, Canal, Railroad, Steamboat, etc., to Clinton, Maine, 200 miles from Boston. Whole journey from Iowa 2400 miles. Arrived on the 21st, of October at 5 o'clock. In consequence of her previous illness, was of course some time in gaining strength sufficient to return to the West, and ever when recovered we found it impossible to get the means we expected because of rascality in those who should have been our friends; finding it impossible for us to get our rights we set off on our way westward January 14th, 1847. As a company intended leaving Boston March 1st, 1847. I thought it best to tarry in Lowell for company freight and passage being increased, the time of our departure was again postponed till April 12th. Proceeded by land across the country by way of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, etc., arrived in St. Louis May 1st. Here detained for a boat to the Bluff till May 11th;— Whole distance from Maine to the Bluff 2900 miles; arrived there May 24th and prepared immediately for a tour to the Rocky Mountains. The Church is in a scattered state, yet a strong body organized themselves and called the town Winter Quarters. During our stay I cruised around and to my astonishment I found the Saints with extensive fields of cultivated land all accomplished within one year.

A company of Pioneers left Winter Quarters April 1st, 300 strong, to open the way and select a spot for a resting place for the people of God.— All things

¹⁰² Samuel Wallace Crosby, Jesse Wentworth Crosby: Mormon Preacher—Pioneer—Man of God (n.p., 1977), p. 46-47. Wallace Crosby has reproduced several of the letters that Jesse and Hannah exchanged at this time.

now ready I set off June 5th in company with about 50 wagons, and arrived at the Horn,¹⁰³ built a raft and prepared to cross.¹⁰⁴

On the 14th about 200 wagons camped side by side; here we burned coal, set fires, built bridges, remained in camp till the 19th; thence to the Platte here stopped for all to come on. The same day of our encampment some men on their way to Winter Quarters were attacked by three Indians—Omahaws—one named Weatherby was shot through and died soon after. On the first wagon arriving on the Platte the relics of a man was found. By means of a letter found with him, he was found to be a “bearer of dispatches,” from the Indian Agent at the Bluffs to the Pasmoes station, evidently an Indian. It was not ascertained by whom he was killed.

While in camp on the Platte our organization was completed; we keep up a guard by night and by day; our cattle are herded in compacts; the cattle of each 50 by themselves. We are numbered, men and boys from 12 years and upwards. The whole body being organized into hundreds, fifties, and tens¹⁰⁵—each fifty by themselves—five wagons abreast, or as close as may be. But finding this order

¹⁰³ This would be the Elk Horn River. William Clayton described it as being nine rods wide and three feet deep with a swift current. While timber was plentiful, Clayton thought the Elk Horn was difficult to ferry across. The Elk Horn crossing was 27 miles from Winter Quarters. William Clayton, *The Latter-day Saints; Emigrants' Guide* (St. Louis: Missouri Republican Steam Power Press, 1848).. The *Emigrants' Guide* was reproduced as the addenda to volume 3 of B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1965) 6 volumes, 3:547-572. Page numbers, cited in brackets, refer to volume 3 of Roberts. All distances cited in the footnotes are based on Clayton's charts of the 1,031 mile trail from Winter Quarters to Great Salt Lake City. I have noted instances where Jesse gives a distance that varies with Clayton's figures.

¹⁰⁴ Parley P. Pratt reported that the raft was made of dried cotton-wood timber. Pratt also notes that it was at this time that they organized the company for grazing purposes. His account, though less detailed, closely parallels Jesse's record. Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 329-330.

¹⁰⁵ Five emigration companies were organized in 1847. The first hundred was captained by Daniel Spencer. It was organized June 15-17 on the west bank of the Elk Horn. The company was organized into Two groups of fifty, with each fifty divided into five groups of ten. Only the men and boys over the age of 12 were counted, so each group was significantly larger. Jesse, Hannah and George Henry traveled in the first ten of the first fifty of the Daniel Spencer hundred. The captain of their fifty was Peregrine Sessions. The captain of their ten was Elijah F. Sheets. Kate B. Carter (ed.), *Heart Throbs of the West*, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1847) 8:416-419.

inconvenient, we traveled two abreast, afterwards our order of camping was by fifty. On stopping the wagons we formed into two half moons, with an open space between at the extremities. In this our cattle are kept safe. in this order we traveled up the Platte at the rate of from 8 to 15 miles a day. The country through which we passed is quite level, so much so that no lock chaines are needed; the soil quite sandy, somewhat dry, and barren in places, but good grass and plenty of rushes along the Platte, the land as we pass seems to undulate more.

25th [June] 1847. Came to Loup Fork,¹⁰⁶ camped on its banks in the evening. Five men from Pawnee passed on their way to Council Bluffs.

Sunday, June 28, 1847.¹⁰⁷ Remained in Camp:—130 miles from Winter Quarters—six miles from Pawnee village, The country through which we pass is quite destitute of timber, level and quite sandy, for the most part. There are some small streams to pass, but none of magnitude. The village of the Pawnees seemed a work of some magnitude, but now in ruins, being burned by the Sioux last year. The roofs of their wigwams are round, formed of poles, covered with grass and earth. We saw and examined the cells in the earth where they conceal their corn. We saw no Indians yet some few seemed lurking around. A calf which had lagged behind came up with an arrow shot through his back. A few whites at the station forming for the Indians.

June 30th, 1847. Still on the north side of Loup Fork, but finding deep ravines we determined to cross.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ There are several references by Clayton to the Loup Fork. Based on the mileage noted by Jesse, this site was the upper ford of the Loup Fork. Clayton wrote: "You will find the water in some places near 3 feet deep and will have to travel down the river about half a mile, to avoid deep holes, and find good place to get out." Clayton, *Latter-day Saints; Emigrants' Guide*, [553].

¹⁰⁷ Jesse has the incorrect date here. June 28, 1847 was a Monday.

¹⁰⁸ The company had apparently hoped to find a better ford across the Loup Fork than the pioneer company had used. Clearly they were feeling their way along the north side of the Platte. Clayton, *Latter-day Saints; Emigrants' Guide*, [553].

July 1st, 1847. All on the south side of Loup Fork—18 miles above the Pawnee station a few buffalo seen for the first time.

Sunday, July 6th, 1847. Camped on the Platte at Grand Island¹⁰⁹—170 miles from Winter Quarters. The whole camp of near 600 wagons arranged in order on a fine plain, beautifully adorned with roses. The plant called the prickly pear, grows spontaneously; our cattle are seen in herds in the distance; the whole scene is grand and delightful. Good health and good spirits prevail in the camp. Our labors are more than they otherwise would be, on account of the scarcity of men—500 being in the army, and about 200 pioneers ahead of us. We were one day going from Loup Fork to the Platte, the land somewhat broken.

July 6th. Camped on the old camping ground of the Pioneers; found a “Guide Board” with inscriptions as follows:

“April 29th. 30th, 1847. Pioneers all well, short grass, rushes plenty, fine weather, Watch Indians,—217 miles from Winter Quarters.”

July 7th, 1847. Saw herds of antelopes, very wild; shot one. Fine camping ground, good grass.

July 8th, 1847. Weather fine, for three days we have passed multitudes of Prairie dog villages—they are certainly a curiosity to the traveler; they live in cells, the entrance of which is guarded against the rain. Thousands of these little creatures dwell in composts, and as we pass great numbers of them set themselves up to look at us, they resemble a ground hog, or wood chuck, but smaller. Passed another Pioneer camping ground; found inscriptions on Buffalo Heads, or skulls, “They had killed 11 Buffalo 250 miles from Winter Quarters.”

July 10th, 1847. Camped on the Platte which I crossed, found it one mile wide, three feet deep, one foot on an average, current three miles and hour.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. Based on the mileage, Jesse should be camped on or near the Wood River. Clayton does not reference Grand Island for another forty miles.

July 11th, 1847. Killed six buffalo. I was supposed the 1500 hundred were seen at one time. The grass in places is eaten close by them. Those killed weighted from four to ten hundred each. One thing worthy of notice. The ground here and a weeks journey back is in many places covered with a something called Salt Pete,¹¹⁰ the ground is crushed with it. Weather warm, good health.

July 15th, 1847. Camped by a large spring of water 280 or 300 miles from Winter Quarters.¹¹¹ Buffalo in abundance, killed all we wanted. Two horses found some distance back and obtained; one had a bride on, the other a halter. Two found yesterday but could not be taken. With exception of the Platte bottom the country on this side north of the river is a continual succession of sand hills, small valleys between.

July 16th, 1847. 216 miles from Fort Laramie, 15 miles from the forks of the Platte; here seen today many thousand head of buffalo. On each side of the river hills and valleys were literally covered with them. Their meat is good and wholesome. At evening while our herd was feeding on the plain, some twenty buffalo came running to them, our cattle were frightened and ran. In the mean time our men fired upon them, killed and and wounded three.

July 17, 1847. Traveled fourteen miles and camped; at noon killed one buffalo.

July, Sunday 18th. 1847. Remained in Camp; were somewhat troubled to keep the buffalo out of the herds. During the night they bellowed about us and an alarm was given by the guard to keep the buffalo out of camp. News reached us that 75 head of cattle were strayed from the third hundred, who were some twenty

¹¹⁰ Potassium nitrate (saltpeter or saltpetre) is a crystalline salt that is used to preserve meats, is found in some medical treatments, and in making gunpowder. High concentrations of potassium nitrate in the soil could cause illness in cattle, oxen and other of the pioneer's domestic animals. Indeed this becomes a difficulty for the company later during the summer.

¹¹¹ 293 miles from Winter Quarters. Clayton, Latter-day Saints; Emigrants' Guide, [555].

miles behind; they broke out on the night of the 16th, being frightened. Men being called for to search after them we were still detained in camp during the 19th. We are now in a country entirely destitute of timber¹¹²—buffalo dung dried on the plain is our only substitute. Yesterday six stray horses were seen, one taken. Some letters reached us from the Mormon Ferry, 118 miles above Fort Laramie, North Fork of the Platte. The Pioneers left men there to await our arrival. the bearers of these letters were bound to the States from Oregon—they report 40 head of oxen seen with a heard of buffalo—They were lost by the Oregon emigrants. Our men found four oxen and drove them in—strays.

July 20th, 1847. Concluded to raise the oxen lost from other companies and go on as no trace of the 70 head had been found. Traveled 8 miles to find grass, camped, crossed Rugged Bluffs; Talk of crossing the Platte, for many days we have scarcely been out of sight of herds of buffalo.

July 21st, 1847. Country sandy; while crossing some Rugged Bluffs;¹¹³ we at once came in sight of Buffalo, almost without number, the river for six miles swarmed with them. As we approached they ran in multitudes over the Bluffs; traveled 12 miles,—camped.

July 22nd, 1847. Saw the carcasses of 13 buffalo just killed which gave us to understand that a large body of Indians were near. At midday we came in sight of 100 or 110 Indian Lodges. We were no sooner in camp at evening, than they came running on horseback to our camp, about 100 in number. Report rang through the camp that a body of Indians were coming with a Red Flag, but on near approach it proved to [be] the Stars and Stripes. They are of the Sioux nation—the neatest and most cleanly Indians I ever saw. They were friendly; we gave them a feast of bread

¹¹² Ibid. Clayton reports the last timber north of the river at 306 miles west of Winter Quarters. “Your only dependence for fuel will be buffalo chips and drift wood.”

¹¹³ Ibid. 320 miles from Winter Quarters.

etc. After firing a cannon, the Indians retired to their Lodges about 2 miles distance.

July 23rd, 1847. Remained in camp awaiting the arrival of the third hundred. the Indians again visited us in greater numbers; our people traded with them—gave them bread, meal and corn, etc., for moccasins Buffalo robes, and after the usual feast was over they commenced a dance. That over, our people got up and danced also with the marital music. After firing two cannons they returned to their Lodge in peace.

July 24th, 1847. Traveled 12 miles. As soon as we were under way the Indians were with us by scores to trade. they followed us for some miles; some of our men went over to their lodges and were kindly received and invited to dine, which invitation they accepted. Their meal consisted of dried meal pounded. Our men bought some oxen of them which they had found with Buffalo. All the dishes which the Indians has were earth shells; skins of beasts were used to carry water, corn, etc. This nation can, we are told, mount thirty or forty thousand warriors—Very wealthy in horses. this body of which we speak is merely a hunting party—2 or 3 hundred strong, with considerable number of horses, for pack horses.

July 25th, 1847. Lay in camp. Brethren met us from Pioneers, brought us cheering tidings.

July 26th, 1847. Traveled 20 miles; a considerable number of Indians were seen on the other side of the river going on. No timber except some cedars. We have seen no buffalo for some days.

July 27th, 1847. Traveled 18 miles. County level with some exceptions. Met another body of Indians; seemed friendly, good grass.

July 28th, 1847. Traveled 17 miles; saw timber to our left across the river. for some days rocks have shown themselves in the Bluffs, but today Lodges appear in some places 20 feet high; at evening we had a gale and thunder—some rain.

July 29th, 1847. Traveled 20 miles, camped near Chimney rock¹¹⁴ about 90 miles from Fort Laramie; met a party of men from Oregon on horse back. Saw high Bluffs in the distance; weather fine.

July 30th, 1847. Traveled 18 miles through a country almost barren, camped on a fine bottom of rich grass and rushes. Exceeding high bluffs, and shelving rocks appear on our left across the river. Some men went to visit these heights; they found some creatures and killed them; that they called Mountain Goats; they resemble our sheep except the wool.

August 1st, 1847. Sunday lay in camp; some of our cattle sick, supposed to be poisoned with the Salt petre spoken of—two died. General heath with the people.

August 2nd, 1847. Traveled 25 miles poor grass, sandy plains. 3rd. Traveled 12 miles, going sandy very hard: came in sight of some high peaks of the Black Hills. August 4th: Traveled 12 miles over sandy plains: some men passed us from California on their way to the States—about fifty in number. General Kearney and his attendants horse back, many pack horses, camped within a few miles of Laramie, thence up the South side now enter the Black Hills. 5th: Traveled 8 miles, crossed the Platte at Laramie,¹¹⁵ thence; up the south side now enter the Black Hills a range of Rocky Mountains. These heights are covered with a growth of small pitch pine, valleys small, land very broken, grass poor, and but little of it. Fort Laramie so called is on the Platte. At the foot of the Black hills occupied by some Frenchmen. They build for dwellings a kind of Fort built of unburnt brick.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., [558]. Chimney Rock, located on the south side of the Platte, was still clearly visible from the north bank. The company was now 452 miles from Winter Quarters.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., [559]. Fort Laramie was located about a mile and a half west of the ford. this crossing of the Platte was significant. The emigrants would now be following the Oregon trail on the south side of the Platte. They were now 522 miles from Winter Quarters and only 509 miles from the valley—although they did not know they were now over halfway.

This does well. As some of our cattle gave out we exchanged with the traders for fresh ones—they sell and buy cattle. At Laramie we strike the Oregon track.

August 6th, 1847. Moved six miles; August 7th: Remained in camp to recruit and repair for the mountains.

August 8th, 1847. Moved four miles; some men in search of game saw a bear who retired to his den with threatening hard to give battle. The land with the exception of the Valleys along the river is on continual succession of hills, rugged in their appearance.

August 9th, 1847. Traveled 16 miles; broke two wagons, crossed rugged hills and craggy rocks.

August 10th, 1847. Traveled 18 miles; we are obliged to travel so far and no farther on account of stopping places. Since we left the Platte on the 9th. We have no water except at these places where there are brooks and springs; some timber, Pitch Pine on the hills, a species of willow on the water courses, the grass, what little there is as dry as if cured like hay.

August 11th, 1847. Ascended a very high hill and camped on the top, having broke two wagons; found some grass in deep ravines, gravel roads, some stone and rocks wearing on our cattles' feet. Traveled three miles.

August 12th, 1847. Traveled 17 miles—one continual succession of hills, quite difficult, Lofty blue peaks are seen in the distance; a new species of fowl called the Sage Bird¹¹⁶ was brought in.

August 13th, 1847. Traveled 18 miles; arrived at our camping ground late in the evening; roads very bad, broke two wagons, camped on a creek of spring water,

¹¹⁶ The sage hen or prairie chicken is a member of the grouse family. It is a mottled, ground dwelling bird indigenous to the plains and Rocky Mountain region. Encyclopædia Britannica, 10:976.

some timber, good grass a mile up the creek; country very broken and rocky, a plant called sage¹¹⁷ is about the only thing seen growing except the water courses.

August 14th, 1847. Lay in camp to repair and recruit. Killed three buffalo, saw hundred, almost the first for some weeks, a man from the Mormon Ferry, met us, brought tidings from the Pioneers that they had pitched upon a place for the Saints to Locate—Had laid off a City and Temple lot near Salt Lake, 450 miles from us.¹¹⁸

August 16th, 1847. Traveled 12 miles; arrived at the Platte—roads little more level; met E. T. Benson; he confirmed the tiding from the Pioneers.

August 17th, 1847. Traveled 12 miles on the bank of the Platte.

August 18th, 1847. Traveled 13 miles and camped at the Mormon Ferry,¹¹⁹ 120 miles from Laramie, 400 miles from Salt Lake. Grass very scarce, rainy weather, quite cool.

August 19th, 1847. Traveled 7 miles, crossed the Platte, which here camped on the north bank; here met five men waiting for us.

August 20th, 1847. Traveled 14 miles, left the Platte, which here is quite small stream, and struck off for the Sweetwater 50 miles distant. Saw Buffalo plenty, killed two; camped by a spring, saltpetre here. Three oxen died, one cow, numbers sick, timber seen here and there; roads hard and good; camped on a brook two miles and half from its head.

August 21st, 1847. Traveled 12 miles; roads sandy.

¹¹⁷ Sagebrush. Indigenous to the western states, sagebrush grows as far east as Wyoming and western Nebraska. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 19:813.

¹¹⁸ The emigrants now knew how much further they would be required to travel. From this point forward Jesse records the mileage to Salt Lake instead of how far they had traveled.

¹¹⁹ Mormon Ferry was established at the last crossing of the North Platte River. It was an important milestone to many of the pioneers as they approached the valley. Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Westwater Press, 1981), 46.

August 22nd, 1847. Traveled 14 miles and camped on a fine creek well stored with fish. Grass scarce the country begins to look mountainous and rocky.

August 23rd, 1847. Lay in camp. 24th: Traveled 12 miles at 12 o'clock, arrived at Saleratus Lake¹²⁰ —was found dried down to a crust of from one to six inches in thickness, which we broke with same and gathered all we wanted tons of white and pure, so far as we know, Saleratus¹²¹ lay here a wonder and a astonishment to the passers by. The earth under this crust appeared to us like potash, equally as strong; there is considerable heat in it. Two miles further we arrived at Independence Rock¹²² —a place of moment with travelers, where hundreds of names are painted or engraved; here we enter the pass of the mountains, rocky points appear on every side with a narrow defile. Before arriving at this rock we strike the Sweetwater¹²³ —a branch of the Platte.

August 25th, 1847. Traveled 14 miles up the Sweetwater. After going two miles passed through the Devil's Gate¹²⁴ a defile with rocky heights on either side; here the river passes through a split in a high rock or mountain.

August 26th, 1847. Traveled 10 miles; roads very sandy a heavy white frost; saw camp grounds where, to appearance, near one hundred thousands of Indians had been a few days since.

¹²⁰ William Clayton wrote: "Here gather your Saleratus from a lake west of road. Sandy, swampy, smells bad. Water poisonous." Clayton, Latter-day Saints; Emigrants' Guide, [562].

¹²¹ Baking soda.

¹²² Independence Rock is a granite outcrop located on the north side of the river. Clayton, Latter-day Saints; Emigrants' Guide, [562].

¹²³ Ibid. Clayton describes the Sweetwater River as being eight rods wide and two feet deep and easily forded at low water.

¹²⁴ Ibid. At Devil's Gate, the company was now only 327 miles from Salt Lake City. Clayton notes that the rocks rise perpendicular for 400 feet.

August 27th, 1847. Frost; Traveled 10 miles. 28th. Traveled 10 miles; traced the Sweetwater through deep defiles with very high rocky summits on either side. A messenger from companies behind came up with us with dispatches from Brother Taylor, stating that “their cattle were sick and dying, and requesting help, but as we could render none we moved on, this mineral whatever it may be, proves to be destructive to cattle. At one time being turned out to feed, our cattle came in nearly all sick; some died, early in the season this difficulty is avoided, but now the streams are low and grass short, so that cattle eat the salt petre with the grass, the waters are tinctured with it also.

August 29th, 1847. Traveled 18 miles; roads sandy, without feed or water; met about 15 pioneers on their return; ascertained the distance to be less than we expected.¹²⁵

August 30th, 1847. Traveled 10 miles; camped at the foot of a large hill.

August 31st, 1847. Traveled 8 miles; camped by a spring; snowy mountains seen in the distance; met more pioneers on their return.

September 1st, 1847. Traveled 15 miles; 2nd; Traveled 12 miles; went through South Pass, the waters turn towards the Pacific;¹²⁶ camped by the Pacific Springs, very miry. 3rd: Traveled 24 miles without water or grass; passed the Oregon road. We turn south on the California track¹²⁷ camped on Little Sandy. 4th: Lay in camp. The Twelve and others came up with us; in the evening had an interesting meeting where they gave a full description of the land, a good report. 5th: Traveled 8 miles and camped in Big Sandy; country level and sandy. 6th:

¹²⁵ Ibid., [564]. At this point the company would have been approximately 265 miles from Salt Lake. To have traveled for over two months and now realize that they were only three weeks from their goal clearly encouraged Jesse.

¹²⁶ Ibid. This is the continental divide. Clayton reports the altitude as 7,085 feet.

¹²⁷ Ibid. This is where the California trail established by the Donner party separates from the Oregon Trail. Clayton instructs the emigrants to take the left fork.

Traveled 17 miles, cold. 8th: Lay in camp to recruit and repair, and dry goods wet in crossing; found an abundance of black currents¹²⁸ on other streams; also we found and dried plenty.

September 9th, 1847. Traveled 13 miles and camped on Ham's Fork. 10th: Traveled 10 miles. 11th: Traveled 15 miles and camped on Black's Fork.¹²⁹ 18 miles from fort Bridger, a trading post occupied by some French traders. this is near to small rapid streams of pure cold water. The traders keep a considerable number of cattle and horses, very good horses which are used for riding and carrying burdens from place to place. Furs are carried in this way to water navigation on the yellowstone; goods bought in this way and sold at a very high price.

September 14th, 1847. Traveled 13 miles and camped on Muddy Creek about 100 miles from the Valley. The country is somewhat broken, sandy and barren; some scrub cedars on the high lands, some timber on the creeks, the weather is quite cool; hard frost last night.

September 15th, 1847. Traveled 10 miles and camped on a mountain, night overtook us there.

September 16th, 1847. Traveled 10 miles and camped on Bear River One mile and a half before arriving at our camp ground we passed a Tar spring in a deep defile. Traveled 10 miles and camped at a cave rock;¹³⁰ killed some antelope; grass somewhat dried and frost-bitten, yet plenty. The country appears more beautiful after crossing the Bear River mountains.

¹²⁸ A small acidic fruit related to the gooseberry.

¹²⁹ This site was described by Clayton as "Black's Fork (third time)." Clayton, Latter-day Saints; Emigrants' Guide, [566].

¹³⁰ Ibid., [567] This is most likely Cache Cave, 66 miles from Salt Lake.

September 19th, 1847. Traveled 10 miles and nearly all day in a narrow defile with high mountains on either side, camped on the head waters of a small stream leading into Weber river.

September 20th, 1847. Traveled 15 miles in the before-named canyon, very high rocks, which in places tower for hundreds of feet above, and in places nearly over us as we passed in or near the bed of the stream. Toward evening struck Weber river and followed it down to our camp ground.¹³¹ This is a small rapid river, well stored with fish; some timber called “Balm of Gilead.”¹³² Met men and oxen on their way from the Valley to meet the Camps.

September 21st, 1847. Entered Pratt’s Pass, traveled 9 miles having been troubled to find our cattle, got a late start, consequently was out late in the evening. Broke three wagons, tipped one over by moonlight, which with it’s load rolled down hill. In the morning it was considered best to break up into small companies, which we did.

September 22nd, 1847. Traveled 9 miles and broke one wagon, left it: roads very bad and dusty.

September 23rd, 1847. Traveled 10 miles, bad roads; crossed a high mountain, saw the Valley from it’s top; camped at the foot of another mountain; grass plenty; our view of the Valley just named reminded me of the space between mighty billows at sea.

¹³¹ Ibid., According to Clayton, the pioneers followed the Weber River for approximately four miles before crossing the river. All along the bank of the river there were good camping sites. At the ford of the Weber they had traveled 990 miles from Winter Quarters and were still 40 miles from Salt Lake City.

¹³² Balm-of-Gilead is a member of the Poplar, Aspen and Cottonwood families. It grows to a height of 60 feet with a broad crown. Hortus Third (New York: Macmillan, 1976), 901.

September 24th, 1847. Ascended the second mountain very high and steep, in descending it were compelled to chain two wheels.¹³³ At sunset found ourselves camped within the bounds of Great Salt Lake City, in the Great Basin of North America—22 miles from Salt Lake. This Valley is said to be about 100 by 20 in extent, with a deep rich soil covered with grass, the whole being beautifully diversified with springs and streams of the very best of water, the largest of which runs West of the City, and is called western Jordan. This Valley is on or near the boundary between the Utah and Snake or Shoeshone nations of Indians. There are at no great distance from the City warm and hot springs of both fresh and salt water; good measures of water out of Salt Lake makes one of the very best salt, when evaporated, and abundance of salt is procured about the shore at this time of the year. I was lead to exclaim when first viewing this beautiful space, hemmed in with lofty mountains. “Behold a resting place prepared and had in reserve for the Saints.” There is but little timber in the Valley, and that little is found along the streams and is called “Cottonwood” or “Balm of Gilead” in the Canyons or deep cuts between. We find Oak, Maple, Balsom, or Fir, etc. This last named timber resembles Pine; from these Canyons we have to haul nearly all our wood and timber from 6 to 10 miles. The weather continued warm until about the 20th of October when a little snow fell in the Valley and made the Mountains appear white from this; the cold increased very fast. The first day of November the snow fell about four inches deep, but soon melted.

November 16th; snow fell four or five inches deep, frost pretty severe. Thus far it November, since our arrival all have been busily engaged in hauling wood, timber, building houses, sewing wheat. In October a part of the brethren in the

¹³³ Clayton, Latter-day Saints; Emigrants’ Guide, [568]. Clayton labels this as “Summit of Mountain. Altitude 7,245 feet.”

Battalion arrived, some continued their journey to Winter Quarters, others remained with us.

About the middle of November a company was fitted out for Lower California to procure seed, shrubs, etc, etc.

December 15th, 1847. Weather cold. many men complaining of frost bitten feet, though the weather thus far has changed after cold a few days, pleasant again.

1848

January 2nd, 1848. Weather cool, though pleasant; the ground being dry at the commencement of cold weather did not freeze, but is now frozen to the depth of 8 inches or more, being moistened by melting snow.

Some Indians have been in and about the camp, but as yet have done no harm. Yesterday, New Year's, a public meeting was held—a few laws framed by a committee, and sanctioned by the High Council, were presented to the people, and adopted for the time being. They are as follows:

ORDINANCE 1st: Respecting Vagabonds, that no exertion be spared respecting cultivation of the earth.

ORDINANCE 2nd: Respecting disorderly persons or disturbers of the peace, to be punished with stripes not exceeding thirty-nine or FINED at the discretion of the Judges.

ORDINANCE 3rd: Respecting ADULTERY OR FORNICATION: Any person or persons convicted of the above crime to receive on the bare back lashes not to exceed thirty-nine, or to be fined in the sum of, not to exceed \$1000.

ORDINANCE 4th: Concerning Stealing, robbing, house-breaking, etc., any person or persons convicted of any of the above crimes to be punished with lashes not exceeding thirty-nine, and to restore four fold.

ORDINANCE 5th: Respecting drunkenness, swearing, cursing, etc. Any person or persons convicted of these charges to fined not to exceed \$25.00 nor less than \$10.00—passed in behalf of the High Council and people of great Salt Lake City, December 27, 1847.

Through February and March we had considerable falling weather; heavy rains and frosts in April. A somewhat sever frost of the 27th. of May destroyed all our gardens. Light rains on the 1st. of May, about the middle of the dry season set in.

June 22nd, 1848. JESSE WENTWORTH CROSBY, born.¹³⁴

When Harvest was over a public feast was held—a liberty pole raised on which a sheaf of wheat, one of barley, rye and oats was raised. Public thanks offered and all the people with one accord shouted “HALLELUJAH TO GOD AND THE LAMB”.

We had to depend mostly in irrigation, though we had light rains, during the season of the raising crops. A kind of cricket, which are our greatest annoyance, destroyed more or all, had it not been for the timely interference of the gulls who came in Myriads, and dispelled the enemy, to our great joy, which was considered a direct interposition of Providence.

The High Council convened and made it a fineable offense to shoot one, notwithstanding our harvest was quite abundant.

The emigration came on in the Fall, some 600 or 800 wagons strong. They brought us news of great revolutions in Europe. No particular change in the U.S. Our winter for 1848 came on early and quite severe which was very hard on the brethren—many of whom lived in wagons, tents, etc., during the winter. The snow fell deep which increased the suffering of the people. The winter finally broke and

¹³⁴ Jesse Wentworth Crosby, Jr. (1848-1915) was the second son of Jesse and Hannah.

the spring opened pleasantly. things moved on harmoniously, except a few dissenting spirits who left us for California Gold Mines. Some Indians killed some of our cattle and on refusing to give themselves up four of them were killed by a party of our men.

On the 24th of July, 1849. A public anniversary was held in honor of the day on which the Pioneers entered the Valley, several thousand person were present and a public dinner was prepared and all invited to partake, rich and poor, black and white. The day was spent very magnificently and the firing of cannon etc., etc.

24 Bishops with as many banners with very appropriate mottoes, such as:

“Truth is Mighty and Will Prevail.”

“Hail to our Martyrs.”

“Hail to Our Chieftain.”

“Holiness to the Lord.”

“Free Soil.”

“Equal Rights.”

“God and Liberty.” etc., etc.

I had the honor of acting as Captain of our division of the people of the 17th Ward. many strangers were present on their way to the Gold mines, who were invited to come and partake without money or price of the sumptuous dinner, which consisted chiefly of the fruit of the valley.

Many thousand men passed through the Valley this season on their way to the Gold mines regions, which the Saints discovered in 1847, but the received as little credit for their discovery as Columbus did for his discovery of America.

Very great improvements were made on every hand and an abundance was raised to supply ourselves and the thousands of Saints that come to our standard. All things passed on steadily till towards spring 1850—A company of renegade Indians committed depredations on a company of the Saints settled in Utah Valley.

These grievances had been of long continuance, and could be borne no longer. The Indians were a company of thieves and murderers collected out of several Tribes, and universally by their own people. A company of men were ordered to go in search of these desperadoes and hunt them out and destroy them. There were several hard fights—in one of these one of our men was killed, some two or three were wounded slightly. The skirmishes continued some two or three weeks and ended in the almost entire destruction of the Indians except the women and children who were brought to the city as prisoners of war. They were kept for a while and then set at liberty. Throughout this affair the Providence of God was manifested to a great degree, for the Indians were well armed and had plenty of ammunition; some 40 of them were killed, and only one of our men, and that by his own impudence.

Spring came, and at the April Conference, I was called in company with seven others,¹³⁵ to go on missions to England. We had 16 days notice to get ready for a journey of some 8000 miles. I accordingly set about the work and made every provision within my reach for my wife and children, three in number, the youngest, Samuel Obed, born August 26, 1849, but eight months of age. I got ready to leave my family, my farm, city lot, houses, etc., that I had toiled so hard to improve; and on the 19th of April [1850] bid farewell to the beautiful Valley, and left all for Christ's sake, and the Gospel's, to go to a foreign nation and travel without purse or script,¹³⁶ in the midst of this unfriendly and uncharitable generation, far away from kind friends and Happy Home.

¹³⁵ The men called on British missions are listed by Jesse on page 157. Several wrote accounts of this mission, but only C. V. Spencer wrote with detail. See: C. V. Spencer, "My Experiences in England" in *Labors in the Vineyard* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1884).

¹³⁶ Scrip.

Our first day's journey took us over the first mountain, on the top of which we found snow some 10 feet deep—a great change from the City, only some 8 or 10 miles distance, garden, vegetables were up and thriving. We were compelled to stop two day and break a road with our feet forming ourselves into two lines (there being some 30 men in all traveling east with us). Treading the snow with our feet in the middle of the day when the snow was soft, then at night the frost formed a hard road, especially where we had trodden, so as to hear our horses, oxen and wagons, by this means we crossed over snow at least 20 feet deep and with safety scaled the summit of the second mountain and proceeded on our journey with but much toil, as we often found ourselves in deeps now and were compelled to shovel our way, that is, throwing the snow from before our teams and wagons for miles together, thus keeping up the snow on either side so that the teams could pass. It seemed a great undertaking being rather early in the season; but as we had started, all to a man refused to turn back, calling to mind the promises of God made to us through His servants when we were set apart by the laying on of hands to go on the Mission. I will here inset a copy of the blessing pronounced upon my head by President Brigham Young, at the time I was set apart for my mission to England.

“Brother Jesse W. Crosby: We bless and set thee apart to go on a mission to England in the name of Jesus Christ: and we pray our Heavenly Father to enlighten thy mind that thou mayest comprehend all the Arts and Sciences. Thou shalt have power over the wicked. Thy enemies shall flee before thee. Lift up thy voice to the Nations of the earth and the Lord will give thee language that thou shalt be able to confound the wisdom of the wise. The angel of the Lord shall go before thee that thy feet slip not. Thou shalt have all that thy heart desires in righteousness, and thou shalt return to thy family in peace and be mighty in Israel. The elements will be subject to thee, and thy soul will be satisfied. We seal these blessing upon thee in the name of Jesus Christ, Amen.”

Those on missions with me to Europe are as follows: Moses Clawson, William Burton, James Works, I. C. Haight, Appleton W. Harmon, Robert Campbell, John O. Angus, Claudius V. Spencer. Some were of weakly constitutions and our toils were very great, but every man nerved himself up and bared his breast to the storm. Brother Thomas Grover traveled with us, and had his family but the remainder of the company soon left us, being stronger handed. We had several snow storms, and on the 28th we were compelled to leave the road on account of the snow and take to the hills, which were so soft that our wheels cut in half way to the axel-trees. Some of our oxen tired out.

April 29th, 1850. Came to the Weber river; forded it and camped to let our teams rest, having come 40 miles in 11 days (by incessant toil.) On the afternoon drove four miles and camped at the mouth of the Red fork of the Weber.

April 30th, 1850. Came up Red fork 15 miles and camped near a deep ravine; teams weak; feed poor, weather fine.

May 1st, 1850. Came about nine miles, roads soft, snow deep in places; some complaining of ill health.

May 2nd, 1850. Came over a high divide one and one-half miles, and camped in a snow storm.

May 3rd, 1850. Snow deep in places deep muck, heavy road; came about 9 miles and camped again without water, wood or grass of any consequence. Weather cold, shoveled half mile through snow after camping.

May 4th, 1850. Came to Bear River, crossed it and came up with the party that had left us, weather clear and fine.

May 5th, 1850. Sunday remained in camp Eighty miles from home; have been 17 days performing the journey; all hands wearied and fatigued, and our teams somewhat worn down, yet all in good spirits. We have our devotions morning and evening, singing and praying.

May 6th, 1850. Left Bear River, came 5 miles and camped at the foot of the mountain; roads bad, had to travel on the sides of the hills. Snow deep.

May 8th, 1850. Traveled 10 miles, came to Fort Bridger. 113 miles from Salt Lake City. Thus after 20 days of hard and incessant toil we found ourselves out of the snow and in little better footing after trading a little with the mountaineers; move onto a camping place of some Frenchmen, with who we traded cattle, bought provisions, etc.

May 9th, 1850. Came to Muddy creek and camped; 125 miles from the Valley. The snow has disappeared; roads good, but streams very high.

May 10th, 1850. Came 16 miles; crossed several creeks, very high; camped on Ham's Fork; had to raise our wagons beds and crossed by means of stretching chains across the stream and hitching our teams on the opposite side. Came 13 miles and camped without water.

May 12th, 1850. Came 10 miles and camped on Green river; weather fine; traveling good.

May 13th, 1850. Crossed, water almost over our wagons, goods and provisions wet. Met a large body of Snake Indians. Came 17 miles and camped on Big Sandy, feed poor.

May 14th, 1850. Traveled 18 miles and camped on Little Sandy, food poor.

May 15th, 1850. Traveled 20 miles; met a company of "Gold Diggers" on their way to the mines. Camped on Pacific Creek, so called from the fact that from this divide the streams run westward toward the Pacific.

May 16th, 1850. Came 4 miles and were caught in a thunder storm, very violent. Storm over, moved on—16 ½ miles in all; camped with on the Sweet Water; rain storm; a large company of "Gold Diggers" camped with us, from 100 to 150 men.

May 17th, 1850. Came four miles and camped on Small Creek.

May 18th, 1850. Traveled down Sweet Water, crossed stream, deep and Rapid.

May 19th, 1850. Sunday: thought best to travel as there was but poor grass for our teams. Crossed a very black "Alkali" swamp and by reason of taking a wrong road camped at Alkali Springs after traveling 10 ½ miles.

May 20th, 1850. Traveled 7 miles and camped on the River bank.

May 21st, 1850. Road very sandy, and a large train of Emigrants for the mines. Amongst others we saw a man with a wheel-barrow, which he had rolled some 800 miles and was still in good spirits moving on, having some 1200 miles before him yet through the wilds of nature, carrying with him his scanty supply of provisions, bedding, arms, ammunition, etc. Traveled and camped at Gravel Bluffs.

May 22nd, 1850. Wind high; road sandy; came 19 ½ miles and camped two miles west of Devil's gate. At this gate the Sweetwater River passes through a mountain of rocks which rise some hundreds of feet on either side, in perpendicular form; the sight grand, standing on a level with the river and viewing men on the summit they seem but mere specks.

May 23rd, 1850. Traveled 17 miles; met several trains of "Gold Diggers"; camped on Greece Wood Creek.

May 24th, 1850. Came 19 miles; passed Alkali swamp and creek, and camped on Dry Creek. Brother Grover very sick. The road thronged with "Gold Diggers".

May 25th, 1850. Camp 21 miles to the Platte; wind high, very dusty.

May 26th, 1850. Decided to stop a few days and recruit and exchange our oxen for horses, etc. In the meantime all went to work, except two that were appointed to trade with the Gold Diggers, and helped the Ferrymen. Sixteen of the

brethren who came from the Valley for the purpose of establishing a Ferry, to build boats, which was done by going to the mountains for timber some miles distant and having large trees down to four inches gunwales, for the sides and sawing boards with pit saws for the bottoms, etc. These boats were managed by means of large ropes stretched across the stream, then with pulley blocks working to the before named rope, then guy ropes attached to each end of the boat, and to the two blocks with pulleys, then drop one end of the boat so that the force of the current pressing against it will push the boat across, then reverse the process and the boat will recross and make it in about five minutes. The stream is very deep and rapid. After a stop of eight days, having assisted the brethren till the last boat was launched and our wagons, (having left the most of our camp, equippage and wagons, except one) and teams constituted the first load.

Early on the morning of June 3rd, 1850. Bid farewell to our friends and two of our party, Father Eldredge and Molen, who has journeyed thus far with us on their way to the States, but concluded to return to the Valley, not able to stand the journey and we prosecuted the journey with good horse teams; all were well pleased. Traveled 13 miles and camped on Muddy Creek.

June 4th, 1850. Came 24 miles, camped on a creek.

June 5th, 1850. Came 27 miles and camped on the Labonte, Roads good, and all pleased to be able to expedite our journey onwards.

June 6th, 1850. Came 30 miles; camped on Horse Creek, the road swarming with "Gold Diggers".

June 7th, 1850. Frose early in the morning; horses gone; camp rallied; bought a horse to search for the missing. One of the party mounted the horse and rode several miles on the road west but could get no traces of the lost; diligent search was made, and at length a trail was found leading into the mountains which

we followed with all diligence and came up with the horses in the evening. All very thankful that we were again able to move on.

June 8th, 1850. Came 24 miles and camped on the Platte.

June 9th, 1850. Sunday, remained in camp—eight or ten miles west of Laramie.

June 10th, 1850. Traveled 18 miles, passed the Fort which is now a government post, it is surprised to see the whole country teaming with God Diggers. The whole number that have passed this Fort are as follows:

16,915 Men, 335 Women, 242 Children, 4,627 Wagons, 4,642 Mules, 14,974 Horses, 7,475 Oxen, 11,052 Cows, as reported to us officially. This was not supposed to more than one-fourth of the emigration on the move.

June 11th, 1850. Traveled half the day and stopped to recruit.

June 12th, 1850. Met with two cases of cholera, both fatal; reports of sickness and death before us; great press of wagons insomuch that we seldom have the road.

June 13th, 1850. Traveled about 24 miles. Great number sick.

June 14th, 1850. Still traveling down the south side of the Platte; the stream too high to ford.

June 15th, 1850. Passed two new graves; were told of dreadful havoc with cholera ahead, one man died near us at night; one of the brethren dreamed he saw destroying angels in great numbers traveling west, with the Gold Diggers; he saw that we were compelled to meet these destroyers and he wondered within himself how we should escape, but was told that they had not harmed us, he saw that as we met them and came in close contact they turned out and gave us the road.

June 17th, 1850. Traveled 30 miles; heavy trains passing on both sides of the river, almost continually were saluted with reports of great mortality ahead, and seldom pass a train but what has lost from one to six men—more sick, which they

have faith to believe will die soon. this I infer from their own answer. I ask: "Have you lost men?" "Yes, six, and three more sick, which we think will die today." One company of twelve lost 5 and the rest turned back; one company from Ohio lost 6 men; one small company of men all died; some women left alone with teams.

June 18th, 1850. Traveled some 20 miles, camped on the South Fork of the Platte; passed several new graves entered today, yesterday and day before, as we learn from inscriptions.

June 19th, 1850. Crossed the South Platte, all safe; several emigrants wagons became uncoupled and went rolling down the stream with the current. Quite unwell, several of the brethren complaining.

June 20th, 1850. Traveled 25 miles; passes many graves, five new ones in one place. We had regular hours of devotion, prayer and singing morning and evening; thousands looked upon us with astonishment wondering how we escaped the destroyer to a man having little or no sickness, and cheerfully united in singing the songs of Zion to the multitudes that came to talk to us.

One day as we passed a large train the brethren united in singing as we traveled, all faces were turned towards us; many observations we heard; one said, "They are a cheerful lot, and the first that I have seen for weeks, who are they?"

June 21st, 1850. Traveled some 30 miles. Passed some graves that had been opened by wolves. Passed several heavy trains belonging to Government, bound for Fort Hall also 100 mounted men, soldiers. Most of the emigrants that we meet now are bound for Oregon; the great mass of the Gold Diggers have passed the Cholera; still bad, nearly every wagon has some; one wagon of 3 men had lost two; one woman said she had lost her father, mother and sister; herself and another sister remained alone.

June 22nd, 1850. All well; met Holiday's train from Western Missouri, some families of Saints, all bound for the Valley.¹³⁷ Traveled 18 miles, very few emigrants. The road quite clear.

June 23rd, 1850. Traveled 16 miles. Roads good.

June 24th, 1850. Traveled 20 miles; met a company of Saints from St. Louis and elsewhere; camped with Lorenzo Young and two other families traveling in company with men bound for the mines. Brother Young had some 427 head of sheep, and 70 head of cattle bound for the Valley.

June 25th, 1850. Met Captain Milo Andrus' company, 50 wagons strong, from Kanesville, bound for the Valley, all well and in good spirits.¹³⁸ Traveled 20 miles and camped at Fort Kearney 200 miles from the Bluffs.

June 26th, 1850. Heavy rain during the night, the earth covered with water. Met with Captain Lakes' company of 50 Saints; met another train of merchandise, Keincades' all bound for the Valley of Saints. Camped with a company of the Saints—63 wagons, Captain, Thomas Johnson from Kanesville.¹³⁹

June 27th, 1850. Met Captain Aaron Johnson and company of 100,¹⁴⁰ organized men, Saints all bound for the Valley, they had lost some by sickness the first we heard among the Saints. Met with Brother William Cameron, Brother Moses Tracy, Calvin, etc.

¹³⁷ According to the records compiled by the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, all of the organized Church emigrant companies for 1850 were staged from Kanesville, Iowa, departing between June 3 and July 4. This emigrant company does not appear to have been one of these, indicating that the list is not exhaustive. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 6:257-258.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, Using the D.U.P. records, the Milo Andrus company was the first group to depart Kanesville in 1850. They departed on June 3 and arrived in the valley on August 20. There were 206 emigrants in the company.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, The Lake company is not listed, but this might have been the Benjamin Hawkins company which had left Kanesville on June 7. The Thomas Johnson company should not be confused with the Aaron Johnson company which Jesse meets the following day.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Aaron Johnson was the captain of a company that left Kanesville on June 12.

June 28th, 1850. Met Brother Fleming's Company of 23 wagons, including Blair's goods, all for the Valley; also met Captain James Pace and Sessions with 36 wagons; likewise, David Evans with 54 wagons; They had lost 4 by cholera; also met David Bennetts' company 57 wagons;¹⁴¹ they had lost 11 mostly children; traveled 28 miles experienced a sever thunder storm with wind. Met Captain Otis L. Terry and company of 50, camped with Captain William Wells, Company of 50;¹⁴² met my brother and sister traveling to the Valley;¹⁴³ some sickness—there had been 11 deaths.

June 30th, 1850. Traveled 27 miles along a very wet bottom; passed Captain Moses and 25 men, 13 wagons, and camped with Brother Roundy and Company of 30 wagons.¹⁴⁴

July 1st, 1850. Traveled 27 miles; met 9 wagons belonging to Brother Snows company of 100 organized men, camped with Captain Woodruff's company of 62 wagons.¹⁴⁵

July 2nd, 1850. Met Brother Snow's company of 62 wagons; Brother Stephen Markam's company of 50 wagons, Saints bound for the Valley traveled 25 miles and camped at Salt Creek.¹⁴⁶

July 3rd, 1850. Started on as usual; met 5 wagons—Government Stores bound for Fort Kearney. Met 15 wagons loaded with goods for the Valley,

¹⁴¹ Ibid., Of the three companies listed here, only the Pace company appears on the D.U.P. lists for 1850.

¹⁴² Ibid., Neither company is listed in the D.U.P. records.

¹⁴³ This would be Jesse's older brother John Crosby and his family. The sister would be his oldest sister Hannah and her husband Edward Mumford. Jesse's sister Frances had already journeyed to the valley with her husband Lorenzo Brown. The middle sister Eliza joined the Church but never traveled west with the Saints.

¹⁴⁴ Neither company is listed in the D.U.P. records. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 6:257-258.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., The Wilford Woodruff company left Kanesville on June 20.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., The Stephen Markham company left Kanesville on June 20.

Middleton and Riley's. Passed 16 wagons, camped off the road; Government train, come of the men had died, some had run away, and the train unable to move crossed weeping Water and stopped to noon; passed nine graves in a row, all dated from June 15th. to 29.

July 5th, 1850. Started on in good season; met Brother Hunter, Woolley and Hey Wood with 27 wagons,¹⁴⁷ 18 of them loaded with merchandise for the Valley—28 tons of weight; stopped to dinner with them, came on and crossed the Missouri river at Bethlehem. The weather intensively war; fed out horses and came on ten miles and stopped at Brother Johathan Browning's with Brother O. Hyde who started that day for the Valley.

July 5th, 1850. Arrived in Kanesville; all well.

July 6th, 1850. Sold our teams and got ready to ship for St. Louis per steamer but were obliged to stop on account of Boat which was every day expected, in this way we were retained till the 15th, when all hands, tired of delay, we hired a man with team to take us to St. Joseph 150 miles.

July 15th, 1850. Got under way and traveled some 30 miles, to Kag Creek and stopped with some brethren.

July 16th, 1850. Traveled 33 miles and stopped with Squire Palmer a worthy man and well situated.

July 17th, 1850. Traveled 35 miles.

July 18th, 1850. Crossed the Nediway and camped five miles west of Savannah; here we heard of the death of President Taylor, that happened eleven

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., The Edward Hunter company left Kanesville on July 4 and was the last train of the season. Over a fourteen day span, between June 22 and July 5, Jesse and his companions passed seventeen emigrant companies and four trains carrying merchandise for the valley. These trains included over 670 wagons, over 2,000 head of livestock and two or three thousand Latter-day Saints.

days since;¹⁴⁸ also of the commotion in Cuba.¹⁴⁹ This is a good country, well improved.

July 19th, 1850. Friday morning; very sick; started on, though unable to travel; high fever and severe pain in right side; at length arrived in St. Joseph and went to bed till evening. Thence on board the Steamer "SACRAMENTO" bound for St. Louis Missouri. As I walked down to the Steamer a gentleman walked by my side and wished to converse with me about the mountain country; as we were about to part he said; "I understand you are on your way to England." I replied in the affirmative. Said he, "Are you aware that the Cholera is very bad below?" I replied in the affirmative, "It cannot be worse than what we have already passed through." "Well," said he, "I have just come up and wouldn't return to St. Louis at this time for the whole city." "I would advise you to stop a while." "No." I said, "I think we shall not stop, we started on a mission to England, whither we were sent." He said, "Well, I think there is ten chances for some if not all of you to die where there is one forrall [sic] to get to England." I said, "All you say may be true but we shall go on or die trying." "Well, well," said he, "You have good courage." "Well we are engaged in a good cause." These were my feelings, though at the same time I was scarcely able to sit up, and as soon as I had bid the gentleman and others "Goodbye" returned to my state room and kept it most of the way down to St. Louis, and for whole days scarcely got out of my birth. Our gallant boat run down that night to Weston. July 19th I lay up till morning; got under way about ten A. M.

¹⁴⁸ Zachary Taylor, twelfth President of the United States, attended the dedication of the Washington Monument on July 4, 1850. A combination of heat exposure and poor eating lead to serious intestinal problems, resulting in his death on July 9.

¹⁴⁹ Conflicts between the Spanish and Cubans were frequent during the first half of the nineteenth century. Cuban revolts against Spanish authority were frequent and bloody. Jesse could be referring to any number of different incidents.

touched at Fort Leavenworth, Independence, and the Missouri at a good height of water.

July 21st, 1850. Passed Jefferson City.

July 22nd, 1850. After touching at St. Charles (where we got some ripe apples, the first we had seen for three years) arrived at the mouth of the river at 7 A. M. and to St. Louis at Nine. Stopped till evening; got passage on board the "SENATOR" bound for La Salle, Illinois river. Left St. Louis at 6 p. m. having parted with four of our company there.

July 23rd, 1850. Passed fine scenery, fine towns Naples, Meridota, Beardstown, etc. Met several boats on their way to St. Louis.

July 24th, 1850. Arrived at daylight at Peoria, beautiful prairie bordering on the river; rich farms; the scenery still more delightful; arrived at La Salle at 4 P. M. Got on board the evening "Packet" "Prairie" State drawn by three horses on Canal: Left at 6 P. M. made good speed.

July 25th, 1850. Heat oppressive, health poor; arrived at Chicago 6 P. M. Put up at the New York House; in the evening searched out a few Saints that lived in the Town.

July 26th, 1850. Brother Haight and Spencer left on board the "JULIUS NORTON" via Central Railroad to Buffalo. Myself in company with Brother A. M. Harmon took passage on Steamer "CANADA" for South port and arrived in the evening.

July 27th. 1850 and 28th. Remained at Southport with Brother Harmon's friend. A beautiful country, elegant farms, etc. but the chastening hand of God seems to be on the track. The potato crop is cut off with the rot; the wheat is diseased, it rots in the head; the cholera is amongst the people; six died the day we left; we heard of 30 cases in a day at Chicago.

July 29th, 1850. Took passage on board the “LOUISIANA” bound for Cleveland, Ohio. Got under way at 6 P. M. All things went of smoothly till the night of the 31st. About ten P. M. Stearn stuck on a ledge of rock; all was confusion for a moment; gamblers forsook their games and ran with consternation to the main deck. Attempts wee made to back off but to no effect. The Captain then ordered the deck load thrown overboard. The order was obeyed—300 barrels of flour, 150 lbs of fish, besides potash and other freight was discharged with all possible speed; she then by help of the Engine backed off, and our noble and gallant steamer glided onward through the Lake and River till we were to enter Lake St. Clair,¹⁵⁰ when we were hailed by the Steamer “NIAGRA” lying aground. We were detained 7 hours getting her afloat; thence onward we glided, touched at Detroit; thence to Cleveland.

August 2nd, 1850. Repaired to the house of Brother Williams, tarried here till 2 P. M.

August 5th, 1850. Preached once; baptized two: Mary Elizabeth Logan, and Lucy Ann Brown. I was well received and treated with the utmost kindness; the brethren and sisters and friends manifested their faith by their works in assisting me on my mission; they gave me some \$22.90. Thomas Wilson, President John Hawkins and William Coperner and others set off per Steamer and arrived in Buffalo next morning

August 6th, 1850. At 5 A. M. waited here for Elder Harmon till next day. Elder Harmon had called at Sandusky to see his friends.

¹⁵⁰ Lake St. Clair is north-east of Detroit and is part of the international boundary between Michigan and Ontario. The Lake is 26 miles long and 24 miles wide. It is joined to Lake Huron in the north by the St. Clair River, and it is joined to Lake Erie in the south by the Detroit River. Jesse and Appleton Harmon clearly chose to travel from Chicago to Cleveland by steaming through the Great Lakes. This is the way Jesse had traditionally traveled. Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer, 1629.

August 7th, 1850. Took the train for New York, via Seneca Lake, got off at 6:30 A. M. and arrived in New York on the 8th. The brethren constituting the delegation for England, though they had taken different routes from St. Louis through the States, were now all in New York except one, Brother Clawson, and ready to take passage on the same ship. We accordingly engaged our passage on board the new and splendid ship “LADY FRANKLIN” of two thousand tons burden first trip to sea. Ship not ready for sea till 14th.

I will now give a summary of distances and first class fare so far as steamers and railroads go.

From Salt Lake City to New York City, from Great Salt Lake City to Kanesville, Council Bluffs on Missouri River from 1000 to 1060 miles. Land carriage journey performed with oxen, mules or horses, road leads through the territory of six Indian Tribes—500 tribes mountainous, abound-with game; the remainder of the distance mostly a level country, abounding with buffalo, etc. Journey requires three months, from the Bluffs to St. Louis 800 miles by water, fare Ten Dollars; from St. Louis to LaSalle 300 miles fare \$3.00 by steamer; from La Salle to Chicago 100 miles by packet on canal \$4.00; from Chicago to Buffalo by steamer 1000 miles—fare Eight dollars; from Buffalo to New York by railroad, 500 miles, fare Ten dollars. Thence to Liverpool 3,500 common passage per sail ship 30 day Steamship from 10 to 30 days, fare from \$150.00 down to \$15.00, to return.

August 14th, 1850. Ship now ready; we hauled off into the stream next morning towed by steamer out of harbor and put to sea.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Jesse and his nine companions left New York City on 14 August 1850. The vessel required thirty-one days to cross the Atlantic, arriving at Liverpool on September 14. It appears to have been a relatively uneventful voyage. Jesse confined many of his journal entries to weather reports, describing wind conditions. He displays a comfortable knowledge of sailing nomenclature. There was some rough weather, and one passenger was buried at sea, but the missionaries reached Liverpool without mishap. Jesse seems to have enjoyed the voyage.

August 16th, 1850. Somewhat stormy; high wind sprang up; large school of porpoises along side.

August 17th, 1850. Strong wind in our favor; school of porpoises working with the wind; sail seen far to windward; the wind increased to a gale, continued all night; two sails seaward.

August 18th, 1850. Becalmed with heavy sea rolling; nearly all seasick, dull music, the blue ocean beneath, the blue sky above, not else to be seen except a few of Mother Carey's chickens sporting about the vessel. Toward evening the wind sprang up from the west; a passenger a Mr. Roach—died and was buried in the Ocean after being sewed up in a strong can,¹⁵² with 50 pounds of sand attached to his feet, then laid on a plank—one end of which was raised till the body slipped into the briney deep, and in a moment disappeared.

August 19th, 1850. Becalmed wind toward evening.

August 20th, 1850. Wind slack; sail to lee ward

August 21st, 1850. Wind favorable; 22nd. Fine gale, drawing near the grand banks of Newfoundland.

August 23rd, 1850. Brisk wind; sail seen to windward, and two or more whales spouting water to leeward.

August 24th, 1850. Fine wind sail seen to windward. August 25th: Weather fine.

August 26th, 1850. Wind fair; sea smooth and delightful; passengers all on deck; 107 souls on board.

August 27th, 1850. Wind still favorable; two sails seen during the day.

August 28th, 1850. Three sails seen, one ship with the topmast carried away.

August 29th, 1850. Wind from the north; ship to the windward.

¹⁵² Canvas.

August 30th, 1850. Wind a little more westerly; ship passed hard by to windward; a large shoal of porpoises sporting about our ship delightfully; they were in the height of enjoyment, while our gallant ship dashed through the fowming brine with great rapidity.

August 31th, 1850. Strong east wind, two barques seen to windward.

September 1, 1850. Wind the same; Captain Yeston and mates—Ward and Noon—fearing along passage put passengers on rations of 2 quarts of water per day each.

September 2nd, 1850. Falling of mercury in the barometer fortold and approaching storm, which proved to be more rain than wind; wind easterly, ship heading east by north.

September 3, 1850. Strong head wind; weather dreary; several ships and barques seen. 4th: Head wind, sail to windward, several shoals of porpoises.

September 5th, 1850. Wind the same. A British Barque “SIR HENRY SMITH” on the larboard tack; passed hard by, showed colors; Our Captain in turn showed Stars and Stripes; and another flag with ship’s name “LADY FRANKLIN”.

September 6th, 1850. Wind increased to a gale; sea tempestuous, but our lovely ship spread her canvas to the gale and rides proudly on the troubled bosom fearless of the raggin deep, striking the minds with awe and portraying power and greatness, almost divine.

September 7th, 1850. Passed several sails; wind the same; tacked ship at 4 P. M. to full view of Galloway, Ireland. The shore seemed to consist of rugged rocks of a most gloomy aspect, yet all rejoiced to see “TERRA FIRMA”, ship standing off an hour or two, his the land from view.

September 10th, 1850. Wind ahead as usual; made slow progress up the Channel; Ireland in full view; on the west farms and fields of grain in the distance.

At night wind increased to a gale; sea very tempestuous. Retired to our room; attended to our usual devotions and turned in for the night.

September 11th, 1850. Wind more favorable; sailed well till evening; becalmed.

September 12th, 1850. Breeze till Noon; becalmed off Holy Head, Coast of Wales in full view; on the east fine fields of grain, and a high range of mountains stretching along. A Yawl came along side, told of a ship being lost the night before by running on rocks. Streamers cross from here to Dublin in five hours. At evening was hailed by ship “MONTEZUMA” that left two days after us from new York; all well. At 4 P. M. fired two cannon for a signal; late in the day got a steam bug boat; the Captain fearing that he would not get over the bar. Hired a second one so as to pass before the tide went down; got into the stream all safe.

September 14th, 1850. Hauled into the dock early in the morning, and all over joyed and hearts filled with gratitude to God that we all had arrived in safety to the end of our long and tedious journey, and were once more permitted to set foot on “TERRA FIRMA.” Repaired to the house of O. Pratt’s, Wilton Street; was well received and after a few days stop at Liverpool,¹⁵³ we repaired to our fields of labor;—mine in Warwickshire, center of England.¹⁵⁴ This Conference extends over several shires, includes several large towns and cities, and contains 21 branches of the Church. Immediately on my arrival commenced traveling and Preaching the Gospel to Saints and sinners; traveled through most parts of the Conference preaching almost every night, twice and three times on Sunday,

¹⁵³ The British Mission headquarters was located at 42 Islington Road, Liverpool. It was from here that missionary work was supervised. From the Liverpool office the Millennial Star was published, along with other books and tracts.

¹⁵⁴ At the Warwickshire Conference held on October 5 and 6, Jesse was appointed to serve as President of the Conference. He held this position until November of 1851 when he was released as President and told to “stand ready”. He was called to return to Nova Scotia in January of 1852. Millennial Star 12(1850):19:298; 12(1850):22:345; 13(1851):21:334.

baptizing two up to October 10th. Went to Rugby¹⁵⁵ to attend by appointment there, and on hearing that Queen Victoria would pass that day, went in company with several Saints to get a sight of Her Majesty. Thousands assembled waiting the arrival; at length the Royal Train arrived at the station. Her Majesty with Prince Albert and the children six in number, all rode in a very fine carriage prepared for their accommodation. The train was detained some twenty minutes during which time the Queen was cheered with loud voices which rent the air, while she stood erect in the carriage and bowed gracefully to the assembled thousands. She is a plain looking person and dresses plainly. Thence to Leamington,¹⁵⁶ thence through the south part of the Conference called Stratford on Avon,¹⁵⁷ the birthplace of Shakespeare. I visited his birthplace in the round old house, likewise his burying place in the old church. The spot is covered with a flat stone slab with these words inscribed in ancient English; "Good friend forebear, Jesus' sake forebear, to dig the dust enclosed here." The slab forms part of the church floor. This town and church are very ancient, dates back to the Conquest. Many grave stones date back to the beginning of the Sixteenth Century. Some ten or twelve miles beyond this is a very

¹⁵⁵ Rugby is located in east Warwickshire on the Avon River, 11 miles east of Coventry. A rail and engineering center, Rugby is famous for its public school, depicted in Tom Brown's School Days. Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer, 1611.

¹⁵⁶ Royal Leamington Spa is located on the Leam River two miles north-east of Warwick and eight miles south of Coventry. Primarily known as a nineteenth century health resort, the medicinal use of the springs was discovered late in the 1700s and the Royal Pump Room was opened in 1814. Other industries in the community included foundries, metal works and brickworks. The name of the Borough was officially changed from Leamington to Royal Leamington Spa after an 1838 visit by Queen Victoria, who granted use of the royal prefix. This name change would have still been a recent development when Jesse labored there, explaining why he consistently calls the town Leamington. Automobile Association, Treasures of Britain and Treasures of Ireland (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), 414; Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer, 1033.

¹⁵⁷ Stratford-on-Avon is 21 miles south south-east of Birmingham. Situated on the right (or south) bank of the river Avon, this ancient city was the home of William Shakespeare. Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer, 1822.

ancient place called Reggley near Alcester;¹⁵⁸ it was once the abode of the Kings of England; it has as many windows as there are days in the year. The present owner, it is said, came in possession of the property by shedding of blood, so they are compelled to this day to wear a hand painted bloody on their carriage; everything about the country seems to indicate age; altogether it seems like an old garment nearly worn out. The life and mirth of the land is gone, and the people in fulfillment of the words of Jesus Christ are looking for these things that are coming on the earth; yet they are zealous of the traditions of their fathers and are slow to hearken to the revelations of God. Great exertions are being made to bring the truth within the reach of all. Tracts, illustrative of the principles of the Gospel and the mind and will of God respecting this generation are being carried from house to house throughout the country, as far as possible, thus fulfilling the command of God, that where we cannot go we are to send, and many of the aristocracy of this land will not go to hear anything that is unpopular in the eyes of this wicked generation. There are many hundred of thousands of tracts that are carried from house to house, exchanged weekly in England in this Conference alone consisting only of some 800 Saints. We have some twelve or fifteen thousand tracts in circulation, which are exchanged weekly, in spite of all opposition, the truth gaining ground, and is established in the hearts of thousands notwithstanding the discord of the Secretarian world, and the jarring elements of Christendom. Some time in October, England was divided into twelve Bishoprics by the Roman Catholics

¹⁵⁸ Ragley Hall is located 18 miles south-west of Royal Leamington Spa near the town of Alcester. Begun in 1680, Ragley Hall was designed by Robert Hooke. This country mansion took a century to complete. The 500 acre grounds feature extensive gardens and a lake, landscaped by Capability Brown. Treasures of Britain, 403.

under the supervisions of Cardinal Wiseman¹⁵⁹ and twelve Suffragans.¹⁶⁰ This of course, gave great offense to the Clergy of the Church of England and other parties; petitions were sent to her Majesty, calling on her loudly to put down popery, the poor Pope was burned in effigy in all the towns; on every wall may be seen these words: “Down with Popery.” “Down with the Pope.” “No Pope.”¹⁶¹

December 25th, 1850. Assembled in Conference at Leamington; much business of interest disposed of, thence to Coventry to attend a Tea Party;¹⁶² thence to Birmingham¹⁶³ to attend a conference, at which time some 1600 persons assembled in Livery Street Chapel, mostly Saints. After conference a Tea Meeting was held; much valuable instruction was given to illustrate the necessity of obeying council strickly. The story was related of a man hiring two laborers to work in his garden; he set them setting out cabbage plants, with orders that they should be set out with leaves downwards and roots upwards. One man thinking this to be wrong, said to the other, “Let us reverse the plants and set them out properly,” but not being able to prevail on his comrade, he set about it alone. But the master

¹⁵⁹ Nicholas Patrick Stephen Wiseman (1802-1865) was created a cardinal and named archbishop of Westminster by Pope Pius IX in the fall of 1850. This represented a formal reorganization of the Roman Catholic faith in England. It was viewed as an act of aggression by the protestant clergy. The public debate reached Parliament, where the “Ecclesiastical Titles Bill” was introduced. Eventually passed, this act imposed a 100 pound fine on any Catholic clergy elevated to the office of Bishop. It was never enforced and finally repealed in 1872. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, *The Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917) 22 volumes, 21:714-17.

¹⁶⁰ Suffragan describes a subsidiary or assistant bishop subordinate to an archbishop. *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933) volume 10.

¹⁶¹ It is interesting to note that while Jesse took the effort to make note of sectarian differences among the British clergy, he makes no specific condemnation of either denomination. He seems more interested in the idea of the conflict than in the issues.

¹⁶² Coventry was established as a Benedictine monastery by the earl of Mercia and his wife, Lady Godiva, in 1043. It became the center of the midlands cloth industry by the fourteenth century. It was a major textile manufacturing town of the nineteenth century. Coventry is located 18 miles south-east of Birmingham. Canby, *Encyclopedia of Historic Places*, 1:209.

¹⁶³ Birmingham is located 110 miles north-west of London. Located in Warwickshire, Birmingham was the principal manufacturing town of central England during the victorian era. It was a center of Latter-day Saint activity from 1840 to the 1860s. *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer*, 221.

returned shortly and discharged one for his disobedience, but told the other he had done well and was to continue but was not to go to work and set the plants properly.

The hearts of the Saints were comforted and all went off well. The season is now very disagreeable and dreary, a deal of rain and fog. The Hall in Birmingham was lighted with gas till 11 A. M. and again at 2 P. M. The day was so dark, and this is a common thing in this country during the winter season, yet the winter is very mild indeed, little or no snow, but little frost; some leaves hung on the hedges all winter. During the winter some 2000 Saints emigrated to America. About 100 were from the Warwickshire Conference, of which I have charge. The last Ship with Saints sailed in February, and took Brother O. Pratt from our midst; his labors in England have been productive of much good. He is succeeded by Brother F. D. Richards. The half Annual Report showed 42 Conferences, and 32,000 Saints in England. The Gospel was first introduced into France early in 1850, and a Church organized on the 6th of April, consisting of six members. The Gospel was introduced by Brother John Taylor, he having been appointed to open the door of the Kingdom of God to the French Nation. The Gospel was also introduced into Italy in 1850, by Brother Lorenzo Snow, and others. The Gospel was also introduced into Denmark by Brother Erastus Snow, same year. Much opposition has been manifested against the truth in France, Italy, Switzerland, Denmark and Norway; yet the Elders have been preserved from harm and have been able to establish the truth in these benighted regions, and set up the standards of Zion. A few humble souls gathered around it.

Some time in February [1851] I saw a most beautiful panorama of the Mississippi, Missouri and Ohio Rivers exhibited, painted on canvas, one mile in length; also panoramas of the Falls of Niagara, or the Mammoth cave, several prairie views, prairie on fire.

April 6th, 1851. Attended a conference in Birmingham, Brother John Taylor was present and F. D. Richards. The Church was declared to be of age.

May 14th, 1851. Assembled in Conference in Leamington—over 60 had been baptized during the quarter. The dreary winter had passed away and all nature had assumed a more lively aspect. I still continue my labors preaching almost every day from city to city and from town to town, but my health has been but second rate as the climate does not agree with me it being too damp and consumptive.

June 1st, 1851. Went to London to attend a Festival to which all the Elders in England and in Europe were invited.¹⁶⁴ The Presidents of 40 Conferences were present, 4 of the Twelve, viz: John Taylor, Lorenzo Snow, Erastus Snow, and F. D. Richards. The Conference Represented a little more than 2000 Saints. Meeting came off well. The Festival was held on Monday, June 2nd, [1851] in the Masonic Hall, Queen Street, London. 1100 persons were present and as many excluded for want of room. The meeting was opened by prayer and singing; a band was in attendance; several songs were sung as the performances of the day were being carried into effect. Twenty-four Young Ladies marched round the room dressed in white, with wreathes of flowers on their heads; Twenty-four Young Men with staves in their hands marched in like manner, while the Mountain Standard was sung:¹⁶⁵

Lo, the Gentile chain is broken; Freedom's Banner waves on high;

¹⁶⁴ T. Edgar Lyon, Jr., "In Praise of Babylon: Church Leadership at the 1851 Great Exhibition in London" *Journal of Mormon History*, 14(1988):49-61. In this article, Lyon provides a detailed list of the Church leaders attending this conference. He demonstrates that Jesse's experience was typical of the men who attended this conference. They enjoyed the conference, but they also had strong impressions of the Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition. Jesse's description of the conference is quoted in the article.

¹⁶⁵ *Millennial Star* 11(1849):23:354. The "Mountain Standard" was composed by Parley P. Pratt. It was first performed in Salt Lake City at the celebration on 24 July 1849. The manner of performance is very similar—clearly this performance was meant to pattern the original.

List ye nations, by this token, Know that your redemption is nigh.

2

See on yonder distant mountain, Zion's standard wide unfurled
Far above Missouri's fountain, Let it wave for all the world.

3

Freedom, peace and full salvation, Are the blessings guaranteed;
Liberty to every nation; every tongue and every creed.

4

Come ye Christian sects and Pagan: Pope and Protestant and Priest:
Worshippers of God or Dagon: Come ye to fair Freedom's feast.

5

Come ye sons of doubt and wonder; Indian, Moslem, Greek or Jew
All your shackles burst asunder, Freedom's banner waves for you.

6

Cease to butcher one another; Join the covenant of peace;
Be to all a friend, a brother, This will bring the world release.

7

To our King the great Messiah; Prince of Peace shall come to reign.
Sound again ye heavenly choir; Peace on earth good Will to men.

Then 12 men (Young) with bible in the right hand and Book of Mormon in the left, then 12 ladies with bouquets of flowers; then 12 aged men with staves. A piece was sung "Say what is truth."¹⁶⁶

Oh' say what is truth 'Tis the fairest gem,
That the riches of worlds can produce;
And priceless the value of truth will be when
The proud monarch's costliest diadem
Is counted but dross and refuse.

2

Yes, say what is truth! 'Tis the brightest prize
To which mortals or Gods can aspire;
Go search in the depths where it glittering lies
Or ascend in pursuit to the loftiest skies

¹⁶⁶ "Oh Say, What is Truth" was written by John Jaques (1827-1900) and composed by Ellen Knowles Melling (1820-1905). Hymns of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), 272.

Tis an aim for the noblest desire.

3

The sceptre may fall from the despot's grasp
When the winds of stern justice he copes;
But the pillar of truth will endure to the last
And its firm rooted bulwarks outstand the rude blast,
And the wreck of the fell tyrant's hopes.

4

Then say what is truth. 'Tis the last and the first,
For the limit of time it steps o'er
Though the heavens depart, and the earth fountains burst,
Truth the sum of existence will weather the worst,
Eternal, unchanged, evermore.

Refreshments were served up consisting of oranges, raisings, cakes and cold water. Several speeches were made—one in favor of the young men—and of the assembly wherein a synopsis of the history of the Church was given, its rise and organization, which took place April 6th, 1830, Ontario County and State of New York, its rapid progress and spread throughout the United States, the building of a Temple in Kirtland, Ohio, settlements and improvements in Missouri, the persecution, the removal of the Church to Illinois; the building of Nauvoo city, the death of the Prophet Joseph and Hyrum Smith, martyred in Carthage Jail June 27th, 1844; the completion of the Nauvoo Temple, etc.

The introduction of the Gospel into England in 1837 by Elder Heber C. Kimball and others who landed in Liverpool in the month of July 1837, in a land of strangers without a farthing in their pockets, they proceeded to several parts of England. Preston was the first place thus highly favored to receive the Gospel in England; multitudes hearkened and scores were baptized, as many as 120 at one time is mentioned. Thus the work prospered mightily, so that at the end of three months 700 Saints met in Conference. The work of God also prospered in other parts to which the Elders went till in 1840—Three years from the time it was first

introduced, there were represented at Conference assembled in Manchester 4,019 Saints, and though the combined powers of earth and hell have brought a storm of persecution unparalleled upon the Saints, yet truth has gained a ground steadily and thousands have enlisted under its banner, until 38 Conferences have been organized consisting of about 33,000 Saints, including some 2000 Elders.

A young lady spoke in favor of the Young Ladies; much useful instruction was given by several of the Elders present, and a fair account of the whole appeared in the "Daily Times" the next day, as taken by a reporter present.

June 3rd, 1851.¹⁶⁷ Went to the Crystal Palace, and viewed the wonderful exhibition of all nations. The building was built by royal commission and is a Wonder to behold, bearing flags of all Nations, waving to attract the assembled multitudes from every portion of the habitable globe. No less than one hundred different nations were contributors. It was commenced early in the winter of 1850, and finished in May 1851. The materials used in the construction of this building were iron, wood, glass; of the first about 4000 tons were used, and about 1200 loads of timber were required for the wood work. The weight of glass in the roof and upright sash frames is about 400 tons.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ Jesse does not record dates during his stay in London, but he does note that he stayed 3 weeks. Depending on how long he spent at Brighton and how many meetings he may have attended in connection with the conference, it would seem probable that he spent somewhere between 8 and 10 days seeing the sights of the capital. It would appear that he visited the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace at least twice. He also visited the Tower of London, the British Museum, the Zoo, Kew Gardens and Buckingham Palace. Many of these locations are within easy walking distance of one another, but Jesse clearly made special efforts to visit locations such as Kew Gardens to the west near Richmond. Oddly, he makes no mention of visits to St. Paul's Cathedral, the Houses of Parliament or Westminster Abbey. The notes that follow attempt to clarify the locations he visited.

¹⁶⁸ The Crystal Palace was physically imposing and the wonder of the age. "It covered 772,824 square feet (about 19 acres) in plan. It was 1,848 feet long by 408 feet wide and had an addition on the north side measuring 936 by 48 feet. Its longitudinal central aisle, . . . was 72 by 66 feet high, and its vaulted transept was 72 by 108 feet high. Nine hundred thousand square feet of sheet glass . . . formed its walls and roof. It was supported by 3,300 cast-iron columns, 2,224 principal girders and 24 miles of main gutter; 205 miles of wood sash bar held the glass roof panels in place." Folke T. Kihlstedt, "The Crystal Palace" *Scientific American*, 254:4(October 1964):133.

The following account is taken from the “Illustrated Exhibition” for 1851. “This building, designed by Mr. Paxton¹⁶⁹ is 1851 feet long by 456 broad and 66 feet high. The number of columns varying in length from 14 feet 6 inches to 20 feet is 3,300. There are 2,224 cast iron girders for supporting galleries and roofs besides 1128 intermediate bearers or binders; 358 wrought iron trusses for supporting the roof; 34 miles of gutter for carrying water to columns; 205 miles of sash bars, and 900,000 superficial feet of glass. The Gallery is 24 feet wide, and extends nearly a mile. The length of tables or table space for exhibiting is about 8 miles. An idea may be formed of the unprecedented quality of materials employed in the edifice from the fact that the glass alone used weighs upwards of 400 tons. The total amount of the contract for use, waste, and maintenance was 70,000 pounds. The total value of the building, if it be permanently retained, is 150,000 pounds.”

It is the only building in the world that permits the rays of sunlight to penetrate in from every part without interruption.

It is situated in Hyde Park, London,¹⁷⁰ which is the largest city on the Globe and by far the most conspicuous in elegance, wealth and trade, containing no less than 2,600,000 inhabitants, and is now on the increase, not-with-standing there are nearly one thousand deaths recorded in it weekly. There are many scenes of interest in London, Such as the British Museum,¹⁷¹ containing the greatest collection of

¹⁶⁹ Sir Joseph Paxton (1801-1865) was trained as a gardener. In 1826 he entered the employ of the Duke of Devonshire as superintendent of the gardens of Chatsworth. His work constructing arboretums, conservatories and greenhouses prepared him to design the Crystal Palace. In 1850 a contest was held to select a design for the structure that would hold the Industrial Exhibition. There were 233 plans submitted and none were judged acceptable. At the suggestion of the Duke of Devonshire, Paxton was invited to submit a design. He developed the plans for the Crystal Palace in nine days. He was knighted after its completion. Dictionary of National Biography, 15:548-549.

¹⁷⁰ The Crystal Palace was situated in the south-east corner of Hyde Park, just east of the present location of the Albert Memorial. Treasures of Britain, 293.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 313. The British Museum was established by an act of Parliament in 1753. The present building was erected between 1823 and 1847.

curiosities in the world, being a vast building and requiring more than one day to go through all the departments and take but a hasty glance at all the objects which have required ages to collect, from every part of the Globe known to the world. The space allotted to books contains 500,000 or half million volumes. Admission Free to this wonderful place of Wonders.

The Tower of London,¹⁷² and the Thames Tunnel are also marks of admiration. The Tower contains Coats of Arms of very ancient date, numerous instruments of cruelty such as was in use centuries ago. One was noticed by all, it was taken from the Spaniards and lodged in the Tower as a specimen of “Catholic Court Inquisition.” It was iron; there were screws so arranged as to confine each thumb, the limbs could be stretched and joints dislocated, etc. Immense quantities of arms—small arms and cannon.

The Zoological Gardens¹⁷³ and the Kew Gardens are also worthy of attention. The former contains animals from every part of the Globe from the inferior, creeping lizard, up to the King of animals and the King of Birds, with all the varied species of insects, serpents quadrupeds and amphibious animals. The Gardens are extensive abounding with shrubs and evergreens; they were got up and are kept in repair at great expense.

The Kew Gardens¹⁷⁴ contain vegetables of every specie and flowers of every hue, here may be seen fruits growing from every clime and every zone. This interesting garden is situated in the Thames below London; artificial heat is extensively used by means of coal fires and flues.

¹⁷² Ibid., 307. While much of the Tower of London was built in the thirteenth century, the White Tower dates back to 1097 and the reign of William I. Much of the arms and weapons described by Jesse still occupy the Tower.

¹⁷³ Better known as the London Zoo in Regents Park.

¹⁷⁴ The Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew date from the seventeenth century and cover 286 acres. Much of it was landscaped by Capability Brown for King George III. The gardens were opened to the public in 1841. *Treasures of Britain*, 255.

During my stay in London of about three weeks my attention was much taken up with new objects of interest, such as the multitude of assembled people from almost every nation under Heaven who had come hither to see the World's Fair—the greatest exhibition that the world ever saw in all probability. The city was thronged and the multitude were barbarians one to another, as many languages were spoken.

I spent two days in the Crystal Palace, and looked upon the work and specimens of art from no less than one hundred different nations, with interest. Here wealth and beauty presented itself on every hand. Thence to Brighton,¹⁷⁵ 50 miles, situated on the Channel that separated France from England. This is a beautiful town of some 70,000 inhabitants. After a stop of one week during which time I met with the Saints several times; they are a good people and my visit (disigned particularly for the improvement of my health, to bathe in the Ocean and get the sea breeze) was an agreeable one; thence my return to London, where I spent some 4 or 5 days; took another view of the Exhibition; made a visit to Buckingham Palace¹⁷⁶ the Queen's residence when in London. It is a great edifice, built at the expense of the Government, and cost much merely to enlarge it.

The daily expenses of this establishment, saying nothing of Windsor Castle, situated on the banks of the Thames about 40 miles from London, which is the residence of the Royal Family when out of London. These two establishments are kept up at an enormous expense, which I am informed is paid by the Government

¹⁷⁵ Brighton is mentioned in the Domesday Book of 1086. Since the nineteenth century it has been a popular seaside resort on the English Channel. With its unique onion shaped domes, the Royal Pavilion, built by George IV when he was Prince of Wales, would have certainly drawn Jesse's attention when he visited with city. Canby, *Encyclopedia of Historic Places*, 1:123; *Treasures of Britain*, 99.

¹⁷⁶ Buckingham Palace was built in 1703 by the Duke of Buckingham. It was purchased in 1761 by George III and remodeled in the early nineteenth century for George IV. It became the principal London residence of the royal family during the reign of Queen Victoria. It would have still been the "new" royal residence when Jesse visited London in 1851. *Treasures of Britain*, 285-86.

independent of the salaries paid by them to the Queen and her royal consort Prince Albert and their children.

From London I proceeded by train to Coventry about 100 miles distant, in time to attend a festival of the Saints held in the ancient city, said to be the oldest, except two in England and numbers about 40,000 inhabitants. The chief occupation of the people are Watch and Ribbon making. Three very ancient churches with immense spires the tallest of which is 303 feet in height, make this city conspicuous. These churches like most of the ancient ones were built by the Catholics, and taken from them during or immediately after the reign of “Henry the Eighth.”

June 24th, 1851. The Coventry Fair took place, which is celebrated once in three years in memory of a most singular occurrence that is said to have transpired in the fourth century.¹⁷⁷ England was then divided into districts; this City is in that part that was called Meria and Earl Laffrick imposed a grievous tax upon the people who besought him in vain go release them from the annoyance. His wife was then appealed to, and she begged of him time after time to grant the people’s request. At last he hastily said, “If you will ride round and through the town naked it shall be done.” Contrary to his expectations the lady agreed to ride; an order was then issued that all houses were to be closed and no one to look out on pain of death. The lady rode, and one man notwithstanding the order ventured to look out and was struck blind. He, or his bust stands in one of the most popular streets of the town looking out to this day. At these fairs in memory of this transaction two ladies ride as nearly naked as possible and not be so. These who rode upon the occasion of which we speak, were French ladies. it was considered a moderate

¹⁷⁷ The story of Lady Godiva and her husband, Leofric, the earl of Mercia dates from the eleventh century. The first recorded version of the story appears in the thirteenth century. The legend of Peeping Tom is not added until the seventeenth century. The Godiva procession described by Jesse became a part of the Coventry fair in 1678 and has traditionally been held at intervals of seven or eight years. Encyclopedia Britannica, 10:515.

estimate to say that 100,000 persons were present. This, in a manner, shows the state of morals in the old world. It is startling to look abroad upon the face of the earth and see the state of things in their true light.

It is estimated that there are in England alone 200,000 public prostitutes, out of 26,000,000 of inhabitants. France and other parts are still worse. It is admitted by all that crime is on the increase to a wonderful¹⁷⁸ extent. Mothers cutting their children's throats, and then their own is no unusual thing; secret and public wholesale murders, assassinations, wars, and commotions make up a great portion of the new[s] of the day. A little addition to the present enormities will fulfill the saying of the Prophet, viz. "It is a vexation only to understand the report."

The present inhabitants of the earth are variously estimated from 8 to 960,000,000 and the number that dies annually at 18,000,000 and the weight of this mass of human bodies annually cast into the grave is no less than 624,400.

Human life is but slightly valued especially by the rullers who control the mass of the people.

I, as before, continued traveling through the conference, preaching the word and baptizing, etc., till September when I went to Tipton¹⁷⁹ —iron and coal, where the country is literally dug hollow, and is settling down frequently to the great peril of the people. Near here is the Didley Castle,¹⁸⁰ [an old] "Fortress" of great strength but ruined by Oliver Cromwell by cannonaging, and is situated on a hill of some magnitude, which is dug hollow, there being subteraneous passages through for some miles. I spent a few days with the Saints here, thence on my way to

¹⁷⁸ Wonderful was used in the nineteenth century to indicate that something was surprising large, fine, admirable or excellent. Jesse found the crime increase to be surprisingly large Oxford English Dictionary, volume 12.

¹⁷⁹ Tipton is located 5 miles south south-east of Wolverhampton. It was a manufacturing and steel working center in Victorian times. Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer, 1917.

¹⁸⁰ Dudley Castle was built in the thirteenth century. Additions were made in the sixteenth century. The castle was destroyed by the forces of Oliver Cromwell in the 1650s. Treasures of Britain, 163.

Liverpool—100 miles—spent a few days, thence to my field of labor again. Continued till January 4th, 1852: When I resigned the Presidency of the Warwickshire Conference in favor of William Speakman and as soon as arrangements could be made I proceeded to Liverpool thence by ship “EMPIRE STATE” Captain Russell for New York City. After going on board was detained in the Channel seven days by head wind. Finally we got under way on the 21st of February, and after a voyage of 33 days arrived in New York in safety, though much worn down with fatigue and sickness. After a few days stop I proceeded to Lowell, Massachusetts about 200 miles distance to transact some business and try and get some friends started for the Valley. April, 1852: From thence by Packet to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia to fulfill my appointment as published in the Star, No. 1 Volum[e] 14, January 1st, 1852: viz. “To go on a Mission to Nova Scotia, to take the Presidency of the Saints there, and to preach the Gospel to strangers, etc.”¹⁸¹

I will now return to some general remarks on my mission to England I was in the country from the 14th of September 1850 till the 14th of February 1852. In all 518 days. The climate was trying to my constitution and my health for a considerable portion of the time—was but second rate. However, I made the best use of my time I could under the circumstances and traveled according to my daily journal while in England: By railway train 2939 and walked 2735 miles, meaning only journeys from town to town and from village to village, and preached during the said time over 400 public discourses, saying nothing of those of a more private nature; and some 300 were baptized under my direction, though mostly by those Elders laboring under my charge, my calling being more particularly to preach the Gospel, to counsel and direct those under my charge.

¹⁸¹ Millennial Star 14(1852):1:10.

But to return, I arrived in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia¹⁸² April 26, 1852: and labored about three weeks with tolerable success, holding meetings almost daily and much valuable seed was sown as I have reason to believe though but few were baptized. Thence, by brig “THETIC” Captain Kenaly to St. John, N. B.¹⁸³ thence by steamer up the St. John River to Southampton 150 miles, thence to Boston 490 miles and New York 250 miles; there, after some deliberation resolved on giving up going home till another spring, for though anxious to go home yet felt that my labor was not thoroughly done, and commenced getting up a company to go through with me to the Valley, and therefore, took a cruise through the States to inform the scattered Saints of my intent and to invite them to fall in the ranks, and went as far south as Toms River; New York thence visited through some parts of New York, thence through New England some 200 miles and thence by Steamer “MAID OF ERIN” to St. John; on our trip down had a frolic with two whales who gave us chase and made much sport for the passengers. During my short stay in the States I aroused many who expressed a firm desire to renew their covenants and gather up for Zion; also baptized several. I arrived in St. John June 25th, 1852: thence to Sackville¹⁸⁴ 120 miles—all from Boston to Sackville 520 miles; remained till July 5th, 1852: preached several times and baptized four. There is a small branch of the Church here; thence by carriage to Shediac—30 miles; thence to Deddeck by schooner, preached twice; thence to Charlotte Town about 40 miles,

¹⁸² Yarmouth, Jesse’s birthplace, is located on the south-west coast of Nova Scotia, on the Atlantic coast entrance to the Bay of Fundy. It is 140 miles south-west of Halifax. *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer*, 2117.

¹⁸³ St. John is on the south coast of New Brunswick, on the Bay of Fundy and at the mouth of the St. John River. *Ibid.*, 1636.

¹⁸⁴ Sackville, Shediac, Deddeck, Charlotte Town, Popes Harbor, Eastward, Chester, Windsor, and Parsoboro are just some of the many little towns that Jesse visited traveling throughout Nova Scotia. He seems to have used Halifax as a base and then constantly moved through these smaller communities visiting with the few Saints in each location, scheduling preaching appointments when he could. His activity would certainly indicate that he was no longer suffering from the health problems that he had encountered in Great Britain.

stopped one day; had much conversation with some lawyers, Masons, etc. They offered me a home and their Hall, but I declined thinking to come again; took passage on board the “MARGARET” for Halifax¹⁸⁵ some 400 miles distance—was nine days on the passage; several times becalmed, twice went on shore and preached. Arrived on the 19th of July 1852: Got the Saints together and held several meetings. August 3rd, 1852: Left Halifax in schooner “MARY ANN” for Popes Harbor, 40 miles to the Eastward, over 40 miles; one family of Saints here. Remained till the 12th, thence to Halifax in schooner and arrived the same day—40 miles; stopped one day, thence to Chester 40 miles, and arrived the same day by Coach.

August 13th, 1852. Preached once at Brother Calkun’s walked one day 10 or 12 miles to get a Hall in Chester but without effect.

August 18th, 1852. Returned to Halifax by carriage 40 miles. Next day received a parcel of books from Liverpool—\$55.00 worth.¹⁸⁶

August 25th, 1852. Crossed the river and went five miles by carriage, held meeting, blessed some children; returned to Halifax.

August 26th, 1852. Went by coach to Windsor 40 miles; got Temperance Hall and lectured at night; next day lectured again, thence by coach and packet to Sackville, by way of Parsoboro and Amherst, in all 100 miles; stopped several days, preached and baptized, thence by private carriage 50 miles to Wallace River,¹⁸⁷ stopped several days, preached and baptized, thence again to Sackville—50 miles—stopped and preached on the way to Amherst, traveled to Herbert River

¹⁸⁵ Halifax is located on the south coast of Nova Scotia on Halifax Harbor, a fine sheltered bay. *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer*, 747-48.

¹⁸⁶ While the Church had begun publication of the *Deseret News* in 1850, the principal center of Church book publishing at this time was Liverpool.

¹⁸⁷ Wallace is located in western Nova Scotia on Wallace Harbor, an inlet of Northumberland Strait. In Jesse’s time it was a small village. *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer*, 2056.

and several small towns and held meetings, some 70 miles journey; baptized and ordained, and prepared to leave per steamer for St. John 120 miles. Procured a hall and preached several times, thence to Eastport 60 miles and delivered a course of lectures; thence to St. Andrew's per steamer in search of my wife's people; lectured at Algara Hall in the evening and at some private houses for several days; thence to St. George by schooner 20 miles; preached a Temperance Hall several times to Wife's friends and promiscuous¹⁸⁸ crowd of hearers; thence to St. John.

October 23rd, 1852. Per schooner "CAPTAIN HALLAN" 60 miles up the St. John River to Southampton—150 miles—Reorganized the branch, held several meetings, baptized several persons, was threatened by mob violence; thence per steamer to Fredricton—50 miles; thence per carriage with Benjamin Hanson,¹⁸⁹ wife's uncle, to his home; talked nearly all night with the family; thence next day to Fredricton 12 miles, tried for a Hall—failed—thence to St. John 100 miles, procured a Hall and delivered a course of Lectures; prejudice strong; thence to Yarmouth, N. S. per schooner LaSalle.

November 24th, 1852. Encountered a heavy gale and snow storm; dare not make the land; stood out for the open sea, and lay too. The night was terrible; the sea broke over us with great violence and swept the deck; in the morning nothing remained but one barrel crammed between the companion way the bulwarks, even the levers for working the capstan were gone; however, we made the port the next day in safety. 100 miles; labored till about the 20th of January 1853: Baptized two

¹⁸⁸ Promiscuous can mean casual or irregular. It may be that Jesse found the crowd less than attentive to his discourse.

¹⁸⁹ Hannah Elida Baldwin Crosby's mother was Elizabeth Hansen. Benjamin must have been her brother.

of my mother's sisters; Thankful Amelia Bancroft¹⁹⁰ and Sarah Shaw and a few others. Thence to St. John via Brig, velocity 100 miles thence to Sackville per Coach 130 miles; met with the Saints; so counseled and helped them to sell their property prior to leaving in the Spring. Delivered a course of lectures at Amherst and Hibert River and other places around about; thence to Halifax from 100 to 150 miles by coach; arranged some matters with the Saints there and agreed to meet all the Saints from the province at New York City, April 20th, 1853; there organized for our journey to Utah; thence intended to go directly to Boston, but the Steamer had quit the route and I was obliged to go by way of St. John by Coach to Digby; thence by Steamer from 150 to 200 miles; thence to Portland, 300 miles; thence to Bloomfield, Essex County, Vermont, distance about 100 miles. Arrived some time in March; done some business for parties in Utah; preached several times to crowded houses; thence by way of Portland to Boston; called together the Saints and met with them; went to Lowell and done the same; thence to Boston 60 miles in all. Thence to New Bedford, Fall River, and other places where a few Saints were residing; thence to New York; in all including roundabouts 300 miles or more. Thence to Raverstraw; beld meeting, thence to new York 80 miles; waited a few days for the arrival of the Saints from the East thence on our way to Utah. Left New York April 20th, 1853: per Steamer "ALBANY" thence to Buffalo, N. Y. Got the families and goods on board the Steamer for Cleveland, and thence I proceeded by cars through the country. Stopped at dear old Portland where I spent my early

¹⁹⁰ Thankful Amelia Cann Bancroft (1800-1863) was born and died at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. Jesse clearly had regular contact with Thankful Amelia and her husband William Bancroft during his mission. The Millennial Star reported that Jesse could be reached in Nova Scotia care of William Bancroft. Millennial Star, 141852):320. I cannot identify Sarah Shaw

days; expected my father to accompany me but he had gone.¹⁹¹ Thence to Cleveland 200 miles, waited on day for the Steamer to arrive, thence to St. Louis 700 miles; thence to Keokuk about 200 miles brought our wagons per steamer; here we joined the English emigration, proceeded to Illinois and bought our cattle, and as soon as convenient commenced our move through Iowa. While in Illinois stopped two night[s] at the Mansion House at Nauvoo,¹⁹² conversed with Emma Smith, while she cooked our supper. Found her mind soured against the Saints. The house seemed desolate; the furniture defaced; the west wall of the Temple alone remains,¹⁹³ and the place is wonderfully¹⁹⁴ changed.

To return, we left Keokuk¹⁹⁵ in advance of the trains, except one that was two weeks ahead of us; we passed that on Wood River, and beat them about four weeks into the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, and arrived at my home September

¹⁹¹ It is unclear what Jesse means when he reports that his father was gone. According to the Journal History, Joshua did go west with Jesse in 1853, so it would seem that they were able to meet somewhere on the trail. The 1850 census records show Joshua living in Portland and married to a second wife named Malinda. Malinda's fourteen year old daughter, Lansa Ann Lewis, was also living in their home. The 1860 census still shows Joshua married and living in Portland. This time three young children are listed in the household, Harriet E. (age 8), Ammy L. (age 5) and Ella Josephine (age 1). Joshua would have been 76 at the time of this census. Horace C. Taylor, *Historical Sketches of the Town of Portland* (Fredonia, New York: W. McKinstry & Son, 1873), 406; Journal History, 19 August 1853, 2.

¹⁹² The B.Y.U. typescript reports that they stayed at the Mission House, I have corrected this to read Mansion House. After the death of Joseph Smith, Emma Smith and her second husband, Lewis Bidamon, operated the Mansion House as a hotel. Missionaries, especially those who had known both Joseph and Emma, frequently stopped to visit with Emma as they traveled between Utah and the eastern states. Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith, Prophet's Wife, "Elect Lady," Polygamy's Foe* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1984), 261-262.

¹⁹³ The Nauvoo Temple was burned out in 1848. Most of the remaining walls were destroyed in a tornado in 1850. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church*, 3:22.

¹⁹⁴ Wonderfully was used in the nineteenth century to indicate that something was surprising large, fine, admirable or excellent. Oxford English Dictionary, volume 12.

¹⁹⁵ From 1847 to 1852, all emigrant trains were staged from either Winter Quarters or Kaneshville (Council Bluffs). From 1853 to 1859 the emigration companies departed from various locations—each summer had one or two designated departure points. By beginning in Keokuk the entire breadth of Iowa is added to the journey—a distance of 300 miles or more. While emigrants had always found it necessary to cross Iowa, this was the first year that it was calculated as part of the journey. By 1854, many people were able to cross Iowa by railroad. Stanley B. Kimball, "The Mormon Trail Network in Iowa 1838-1863: A New Look" *Brigham Young University Studies* 21(Fall 1981): 417-430.

10th, 1853;¹⁹⁶ having been absent from my mountain home about three years, four months, and 22 days, and traveled according to Journal by land and water, by card, steamers, sailing Packet, canals, coaches, wagons etc. 24,744 miles, and it would increase the figures to 30,000 in all probability if small journeys were counted.

The Utah Indians had been troublesome during the summer previous to my arrival, set on by Mountaineers who sought the downfall of the Saints. many of the brethren were under arms at the time of our arrival. One or two companies we met on Green River in search of Desperadoes. Walker was the leading Chief at the time—a great War Chief—since dead.¹⁹⁷ The troubles were brought to a close and peace restored that fall. The winter passed smoothly but was hard on stock; the spring brought its usual cares.

I engaged in Farming to the extent of my means; the season seemed favorable till some time in the month of June [1854], as I was at work with my hired men and little boys we notices something occasionally dropping near us, on examining it it was “GRASSHOPPERS” and before evening of that day the air literally swarmed with them; day after day they continued to increase till the air was filled to that extent that at times it was difficult to breathe. Our crops and every green thing was threatened with entire ruin and destruction, but before they had completed their work, they had miraculously disappeared, leaving us barely enough to supply the wants of the people including the emigration, and a small

¹⁹⁶ Jesse was president of the company. William Atkinson served as captain, and Marriner W. Merrill was captain of the guard. This group of 79 people, traveling in 13 wagons left Keokuk, Iowa May 18, 1853 and arrived in the valley 116 days later. The journey across Iowa added approximately one month to the journey. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 20:208-209.

¹⁹⁷ A good description of the Indian War of 1853 can be found in Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church*, 4:33-38.

detachment of U. S. Troops under Colonel Steptoe¹⁹⁸ who wintered with us and left in the spring for California. In October of this year, 1854; Was married to Ann Shelton, of New Brunswick.¹⁹⁹ December 30th, 1854; Elida was born.²⁰⁰

The next year 1855 was a trying year to the Saints. The “GRASSHOPPERS” in great numbers appeared every where; hatched in the fields and commenced their depredations. As soon as the grain had fairly commenced to grow, field after field was laid waste and destroyed, root and branch; even after the grain had obtained the height of a foot or more; they moved like armies, sweeping the country of every green things. And the courage of many failed. My crop was entirely destroyed; and late in June I plowed my wheat land and planted it to corn. The corn was all we had to subsist on. We depended much on our cattle, but the Lord seemed determined to try us. The winter was a dreadfully severe one and our stock died at wholesale. I lost one-half of all I had. many were reduced to straightened circumstances, even bran bread was used and famine seemed to stare us in the face, but those that had provisions divided with those who had nothing and none died of want. Some of the eastern papers rejoiced at our calamities and speculated upon seeing the Mormon bones bleaching upon the Plains; but the Lord ordered it otherwise. He did not wish to destroy but to make us feel after him. He effectually removed the grasshoppers with a great wind which swept them in masses into Salt Lake as they arose in the air in the middle of each day. The destruction was so

¹⁹⁸ Colonel Edward J. Steptoe, of Virginia, was sent to Utah in the summer of 1854 in command of a unit of 175 men. He was sent to survey a possible route for a railroad to California and to investigate the 1853 murder of Captain John Gunnison and seven others by Indians. While in Utah, Steptoe was offered the governorship of the territory, but he declined in favor of Brigham Young. Eugene E. Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847-1869* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 110, 222-23.

¹⁹⁹ Ann Shelton (1820-1860) was Jesse's first plural wife. She and her family had joined the Church in 1844 after hearing the gospel preached by Jesse and Benjamin Brown. See the Biographical Essay on Jesse, chapters 5 and 7 for more information on Ann.

²⁰⁰ Elida Crosby (1854-1919) was the fourth child and eldest daughter of Jesse and Hannah.

great rows of grasshoppers were soon along the shores of the lake for scores of miles. Thus was the army removed effectually, and the heavens seemed to smile upon us again.

The Spring of 1856: opened delightfully; our crops grew well and we had a good harvest.

April 30th, 1856. THANKFUL AMELIA was born;²⁰¹ the summer was one of scarcity, but the autumn brought us plenty, and our enemies in the states and throughout the world were again disappointed and the Saints rejoiced.

It is strange to see the growing prejudice against the Saints; the papers teem with foul misrepresentations, and plots are being laid on congress to bring the Saints into trouble.

In September, 1856, the first Hand Cart company arrived—men, women and children walked all the way and drew their provisions, clothing, etc. on carts 1000, or 1200 miles. This Fall a reformation was commenced;²⁰² the effects thereof was felt in the world abroad as well as at home; the Saints drew nearer to the Lord and their enemies raged the more.

There was a catechism got up and the people questioned as to their morality, their general course of life, love for the truth, etc., and while this was going on and the Saints laboring most deligently to correct their ways and live heir religion, our enemies waxed worse and worse; Memorials were sent to Congress, but were treated with contempt, and it seemed that we were approaching an important crisis for the Nation seemed drunk with rage against the Saints; and from one end of the United States to the other, one continual stream of lies proceeding from the press and pulpit. All that could be said was said and done to break up the Mormons. The

²⁰¹ Thankful Amelia Crosby (1856-1905) was the second daughter of Jesse and Hannah.

²⁰² For an excellent study of the Reformation of 1856, see: Gene A. Sessions, *Mormon Thunder: A Documentary History of Jedediah Morgan Grant* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 166-272.

overland Mail contract had been let to a Mormon between Great Salt Lake City and the States, and when the men went down with the July Mail, they were threatened with Mob violence at Independence, and not allowed to bring the mail, but were told an army was on the way to Hang, Kill and Break up the Mormons.²⁰³ The men returned and brought the news.

July 24th, 1857. It was resolved that this army should not enter the Valley. A small company of horsemen under R. T. Burton²⁰⁴ were sent to meet them, watch their movements, stampede their animals, etc. The army was regarded as a mob. Governor Young having had no official information of troops being sent.

I will her observe that on the 24th day of July, 1857: The news arrived at the approach of the hostile arm. Governor Young issued a proclamation declaring the Territory under Martial law, and ordering the entire militia to be ready at a moments warning to proceed to any point to check the invaders and forbidding the troops to enter the territory.

The Company under Burton met, the troops kept out of their way, and by means of flanking parties kept strict watch of them day and night and reported to us by expresses, constantly going to and fro over the road. It was thought our enemies intended to separate and approach at different points but they did not attempt it. At or near the Pacific Springs, our boys prepared with horses, cowbells etc., rode into the enemies camp, making all sorts of noises in their power. They

²⁰³ The Brigham Young Express and Carrying Company held the federal mail contract in 1857. The company contract was rescinded on June 10, 1857 by President Buchanan as part of the move against the territory. When the Independence, Missouri postmaster refused to deliver the west bound mail to the company agent, Abraham O. Smoot hurried west with the news of the coming army. At the same time, the company agents dismantled the mail stations as they returned west. Leonard Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 162-70.

²⁰⁴ Robert T. Burton (1821-1907) was issued orders on August 13, 1857 to take the first regiment of the militia and march eastward on the road to the States. He was to assist the incoming emigrant trains and determine the strength of the approaching Federal army. Leroy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen (eds.) *The Utah Expedition 1857-1858* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark, 1958), pp.196-197; Andrew Jensen, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jensen, 1901), 1:238-41.

rode through and through the camp before any one could be aroused. The bugles at length made a faint noise, and the men began to turn out. It was at night and the horses and mules seemed inclined to run to the tents and wagons instead of running away; and the plan of stampeding was therefore abandoned. the officer in command fearing for the safety of his baggage which was in advance, commenced a force march and made the best of their way to Ham's Fork of Green river undisturbed, here overtaking their baggage trains they encamped to await orders. At this period some thousand of our men were ordered out and pitched upon Echo Canyon as the best place to attack, the invaders temporary breast works were thrown up bateries of rocks made on high precipices and two deep ditches dug across the Canyon to fill with water. Here the enemy could be raked from all our positions, and immense rocks were pried up and fixed in readiness to roll down some hundreds of feet at a given signal; here the main body of our men took up their quarters; but the horse companies formed themselves into scouting parties and proceeded near the enemies camp. My self and the company to which I belonged left Salt Lake City September 25th, 1857; we were called in haste and left at 12 o'clock at night, and proceeded to the mouth of the Emigration; thence at night on our way and camped at night on the east side of the Big Mountain.²⁰⁵ Our horses were troublesome, and we passed the night without sleep. At daylight got under way and reached Echo Canyon and camped for the night.²⁰⁶ It was Sunday night; we had a meeting and retired to rest, or some of us had when an Express arrived stating that the Troops were approaching rapidly. We immediately got under way

²⁰⁵ The mouth of Emigration Canyon is 5 miles from downtown Salt Lake City. The east side of Big Mountain is between 16 and 17 miles from Salt Lake City. This indicates that these men traveled approximately 15 miles after midnight before stopping to rest for the remainder of the night. Clayton, Latter-day Saints; Emigrants Guide, [568].

²⁰⁶ The camp site in Echo Canyon would have been approximately 40 miles from Salt Lake City. Ibid., [567].

and rode all night. We arrived Cache Cave early in the morning,²⁰⁷ chilled with cold; our guns, stirrups, etc., covered to some extent with frozen mud and ice. Here we stopped a short time, gathered what little fuel we could find, made some fires, those that had no balls,²⁰⁸ run some, etc. Here we left our baggage and everything except what could be carried about our persons and again pressed our way and reached the “MUDDY” after a long and weary march at dark, having traveled 100 miles without sleep on horseback.²⁰⁹ Next morning reached Bridger and found it in possession of a few men that had come out before us.²¹⁰ They received us most gladly, being few in number and being within a few hours march of several thousand disciplined troops in hostile array; here we remained several days. Scouting parties out constantly to reconnoitre the enemy and burn the grass in all directions as near their camp as practicable. I went to Fort Supply with a small company of men to help take care of the crops, and to make ready to burn everything if found necessary, but were soon disturbed by the arrival of an Express from Bridger, ordering everything destroyed.²¹¹ We took out our wagons, horses etc., and at 12 o’clock set fire to the buildings at once, consisting of 100 or more good hewed log houses, one saw-mill, one grist mill, one threshing machine, and after going out of the Fort, we did set fire to the Stockade and grain stacks etc.

²⁰⁷ Cache Cave is 66 miles from Salt Lake City. Ibid.

²⁰⁸ One nineteenth century use of the term ball was to describe something that is clogged or has become clogged with balls of snow. This term was used particularly in connection with the feet of horses where balls of snow would form behind the shoe clogging up the soft bottom portion of the hoof around the frog. Oxford English Dictionary, volume 1.

²⁰⁹ When they reached Muddy Fork, Jesse and his companions had covered 100 miles on horseback in three days. They were 13 miles short of Fort Bridger which they reached the following morning. Clayton, Latter-day Saints; Emigrants Guide, [566].

²¹⁰ Jesse’s unit reached Fort Bridger on Tuesday, September 29, 1857.

²¹¹ Fort Bridger and Fort Supply were burned on the night of October 2, 1857. Fred R. Gowans and Eugene E. Campbell, Fort Bridger: Island in the Wilderness (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 99-100.

After looking a few minutes at the bonfire we had made, thence on by the light thereof.

I will mention that owners of property in several cases begged the privilege of setting fire to their own, which they freely did, thus destroying at once what they had labored for years to build, and that without a word. Thence on the way a few miles we stopped and set fire to the City Supply—a new place just commenced—10 or 15 buildings perhaps, and warmed ourselves by the flames. Thus we laid waste in a few hours all the labor of a settlement for three or four years, with some 500 or 600 acres of land fenced and improved.²¹²

Our work of destruction was now finished and we moved silently onward and reached Bridger a little after daylight and found it in ashes, having been fired the night before. We now joined our companions in arms, who, with us, after some deliberation evacuated the place moved back in the brush to await orders on the approach of the enemy. After awaiting some myself and a small division of men with disabled horses etc., left for the main camp in Echo, and again joined Col. Burton's command. We were drilled in climbing the Bluffs and occupying the batteries, going through the manouvers of an engagement, etc. At this time we had about 5000 men in and about Echo watching the movements and ready for any emergency should the troops persist in coming in. All were determined to stop them, and firm in the faith that we could do it and not half try, but we waited and waited in vain. No enemy approached; express after express arrived stating that the troops were moving around Ham's Fork, and it was supposed that they intended to go down the Weber and enter the Valley that Way; we expected to be called to go around and stop them. At length we got an express stating that they were going

²¹² Jesse's account of the burning of Fort Supply has been widely quoted. Gowans and Campbell also quote from a letter written by a grandson of Jesse in 1930. From a careful reading of this letter, it is clear that no substantive new information is added to Jesse's account. Fred R. Gowans and Eugene E. Campbell, *Fort Supply: Brigham Youngs Green River Experiment* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 65.

down Ham's Fork again; our scouting parties were then all the time watched and reported every move, and occasionally drove off what cattle and mules they could which came to our camp, and thence on to the Valley to amount of 1000 or thereabouts in all. The Troops fired at our men several times, but the fire was not returned, strict orders having been given to that effect.

At length the rear companies having come up they took the common trail for Bridger, and after two or three days spent in getting ready for fight, reconnoitering the place etc. They came up in order of battle and deliberately shot some old clothes stuffed with straw stuck about, finally took possession of the desolate stone walls of Bridger and went into Winter Quarters. When this fact was ascertained most of our troops returned home and finally all, except a few companies that remained till spring. I was out some four weeks and returned with Col. Burton's command. On our arrival the people came out in groups to welcome us home; and all were glad to get home, and the excitement gradually subsided.

December 15th, 1857. Joseph was born;²¹³ the winter was spent agreeably in usual avocations. Many social dances were indulged in throughout the country; and but little was said about the army, although they were encamped within 113 miles from us, all was strife and bitterness with our enemies, who must have passed a very unpleasant winter as their animals nearly all died from the severity of the winter and the poverty of their stock as they were very late, near the first of December when they arrived at Bridger.

President Young sent them a load of salt on hearing they were out but they would not receive it, and our men scattered it in the snow outside their guards, and returned home. Salt was sold at Ten Dollars per handful.

²¹³ Joseph Crosby (1857-1896) was the fourth son of Jesse and Hannah.

President Young caused it to be published that all who wished to go to the army should have an escort and a carriage to ride in. One woman only expressed a wish to go there, although the Army was sent to rescue the oppressed.

During the winter Dr. Osborn²¹⁴ arrived from Washington via California, as a Peacemaker, and finally two gentlemen direct from Washington—McCulloch and Powell²¹⁵ arrived with a Proclamation from President Buchanan to the Mormons—An Oracle to Govern them. Proclamation consisted of a routine of slanders and abuses, and finally granting us a full and free pardon—unasked for on our part. The object of this seemed to be to justify the administration in their blunder and the world believe they had committed no blunder. Yet, it was easy to see they felt whipped and anxious to get out of the scrape. After two or three days council with the leading men of the Church all was settled, and an Express was sent to Camp and to the States with the tidings of Peace. Governor Powell and President Buchanan would give more to hear of peace being made with the Mormons than any other one thing in the world. All this about nothing. For there was no war, only on their part.

Before it was known how the thing would terminate, the Saints were counselled to move south some time in March, and the move commenced about the

²¹⁴ Thomas L. Kane (1822-1883) approached President Buchanan in December of 1857 and offered his services as a mediator for the Utah War. Because Kane was a well known public figure and because Kane had the confidence of Brigham Young, Buchanan accepted the offer. Kane sailed from New York in January 1858 accompanied by a black servant named Osborne. Appropriating his servant's name, Kane traveled as a Dr. A. Osborne—a botanist. Sailing to Panama, Kane and his servant crossed the Isthmus and then sailed up the west coast to California. Upon his arrival at San Bernardino, two Mormon families provided him with supplies and arranged for transportation to Utah. Kane arrived in Salt Lake City on February 25, 1858. By dealing directly with Alfred Cumming, the new governor, Kane was able to reach a settlement that prevented bloodshed. Hafen, *The Utah Expedition 1857-1858*, 263-93; Leonard J. Arrington, "In Honorable Remembrance": Thomas L. Kane's Services to the Mormons" in Brigham Young University Studies 21(Fall 1981):389-402; Dictionary of American Biography, volume 5.

²¹⁵ Lazarus Whitehead Powell (1812-1867) former governor of Kentucky and United States Senator was selected by President James Buchanan to serve as one of two commissioners appointed to help reach a solution to the Utah War. The other commissioner was Ben McCulloch (1811-1862), a resident of Texas who joined the Confederate army in the Civil War and was killed at the battle of Elkhorn Tavern. Dictionary of American Biography, volumes 6 & 8; Roberts, *Comprehensive History of The Church*, 4:411.

1st April [1858], about 600 loads daily moving from the north around the point of the mountains, separating Utah and Great Salt Lake Counties. This continued two months or more. Night and day the roads were thronged with wagons and loose herds. To guess from what I saw there could not have been less than 75,000 wagon loads, it might even exceed 100,000 loads of grain, goods and household furniture, etc, taken south during the "Grand Move"²¹⁶ of all the moves of the kind since the world was: So that when the army came in the entire people except what was called the "detailed guard" to which body I belonged, and was in the City when the army came in and passed through the city with their big brass cannon, ammunition, wagons, shining sabers, and rifles, all passed harmlessly on to their camp, disturbing nothing, and paying a big price for all they got of us. They moved on to Camp Floyd—40 miles south west of the City and there took up their abode.²¹⁷ When this was done permission was given for us to return to our homes and a complete rush ensued. Salt Lake City and the Northern settlements were soon thronged with their former inhabitants. A Gentile paper was started in Salt Lake City.²¹⁸ Freight wagons to the amount of 4004 came in during the fall with five or six yoke of oxen to a wagon and bringing all sorts of supplies to the amount of 60 or 70 hundred to the wagon;²¹⁹ this beside the supply wagon sent out in 1849 with

²¹⁶ Eugene Campbell recorded that perhaps 30,000 Latter-day Saints were involved in the move south. Eugene E. Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847-1869* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 246-250.

²¹⁷ Camp Floyd was the permanent army encampment established as part of the negotiated settlement to the Utah War. It was established in the Cedar Valley, near present day Fairfield. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of The Church*, 4:452-54.

²¹⁸ The Valley Tan, published from 1858-1860, was the first gentile paper in Utah. It was published at Camp Floyd. pp. Monte Burr McLaws, *Spokesman For the Kingdom: Early Mormon Journalism and the Deseret News* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977), 172-173.

²¹⁹ It is difficult here to tell what these numbers indicate. What is clear is that Jesse witnessed a tremendous expansion of freighting and merchantile businesses after the arrival of the army and the establishment of Camp Floyd.

the troops, some of which our men burned to convince them we were in earnest. Thus terminated the first and second year of this war of words wherein the nation was impoverished and the administration disgraced, while the Mormons were made rich by this useless outlay of money—millions.

Thus the Lord can make the wrath of man to praise him and the remainder of wrath He will restrain.

While the troops were at Bridger the excitement throughout the states was immense, and all sorts of speculations was indulged in with regard to the issue. Yet many are and have been laboring to keep up the excitement and bring about the destruction of the Mormons.

In 1859. More supplies arrived. Whole [acres] of big wagons are to be seen here and there in the City and camp. Of all crusades against any people since the world was, this is the most singular wherein the power of God might see his work and acknowledge His care for His covenant people. But it is written: “The righteous shall understand but the wicked shall none of them understand.” And thus it seems, for our enemies are not satisfied but still seek to stir up new subjects of strife and fill the papers with lying slanderous abuses to excite people. Some excitement continued at Camp Scott²²⁰ supposing the Mormons might suddenly attack and destroy them. But on our part all have attended to their own business, except a few who have partaken of the spirit of the Army and its followers and are converted to the habit of swearing, drinking, stealing, etc.

When it was known that the Army was to be set here, the Elders abroad were called home, and but few have been sent out since; yet the gathering has continued, and thousands of Elders have continued to preach the Gospel to the Nations of the

²²⁰ From the context of the paragraph, it would appear that Jesse was writing about Camp Floyd, not Camp Scott. Camp Scott was the winter bivouac for Johnston’s army in 1857-58. It was located on Black’s Fork, two miles above Fort Bridger. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of The Church*, 4:313-314.

Earth, notwithstanding the jarring elements; and the faithful Saints have been able to see most clearly the hand of a kind and merciful God in turning the evil designs of our enemies into good insomuch as they have supplied us to overflowing with good mules, oxen, wagons, and iron in abundance, and money to purchase them with. Big wagons that cost \$150.00 have sold here from ten to forty dollars each, oxen, mules, wagons and etc., for half of the first cost. Money which was very scarce when the Army came in was soon so plenty that any men with industry could fill his pockets with gold. This done, a general sale of mules was ordered, and our people bought themselves good mule teams at half or less than the first cost. Iron which was hard to get at \$10 per hundred weight was now offered at \$2.50 and much less than that. In similar ways has the Lord sustained this people from the beginning and it is indeed mysterious to all beholders, and as wonderful as the leading of Israel in ancient times.

The Nation seeing that they had accomplished nothing by this vain endeavor to civilize the Mormons, new subjects arose. The U. S. Judges tried hard to bring prisoners at their courts, and many were taken to Camp Floyd the head quarters of the judges and their associate, their families, etc., who came to civilize or destroy us, but after trying in vain they began to leave. Towards the close of the season of 1859, Judge Eccles²²¹ alone remaining to do what he could among us by releasing prisoners convicted by the Probate courts for stealing, etc., not acknowledging the jurisdiction of said court. Several individual encounters occurred—one in which a Sergeant was killed, in open daylight by a young man who enquired his name, and

²²¹ Delany R. Eckles was appointed Chief Justice of Utah Territory by President Buchanan and arrived in company with Governor Cumming. Eckles was openly antagonistic towards the Mormons and was universally despised by the Saints. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church*, 4:454-58.

then shot him.²²² This caused a great excitement at camp; they mustered ground their swords and made ready to come to Salt Lake City and kill the Mormons, but General Johnson²²³ quashed the move. The Eastern papers team with reports from lying scribblers at Camp Floyd. The sutlers²²⁴ and other Gentile merchants fanned the flame to keep up the excitement and cause more and more money to be expended here, but the administration determined to remove the troops as it threw money into the Mormon's hands and done no good as nothing was accomplished. Orders reached us some time in March of 1860:²²⁵ For the removal of the troops [to] New Mexico, and other points except ten companies.

The great Mormon War which with the subject of Slavery has occupied the public attention since 1847. But now seems to be winding up it is said, at a cost of \$20,000,000. At the meeting of the Congress in December 1859 the House spent about eight weeks quarreling and disputing before the House was organized by choosing a Speaker.

The Harper's Ferry affair seemed first in their minds, and Mormons and "Polygamy" next. This Harper's Ferry came up in the Fall of 1859 and was led by

²²² Sergeant Ralph Pike was shot and killed by Howard Spencer, son of Orson Spencer, on Main Street in Salt Lake City in August of 1859. Spencer apparently killed Pike in retaliation for Pike's assault on Spencer the proceeding March. Pike had been indicted for the assault and had come to Salt Lake City for the trial when he was killed. This incident did much to further damage the relationship between the Mormons and the soldiers at Camp Floyd. Roberts, Comprehensive History of The Church, 4:503-505.

²²³ Albert Sidney Johnston (1803-1862) was a graduate of West Point. A career officer who served in the armies of the United States, Texas and the Confederacy, Johnston was killed at the battle of Shiloh. Johnston was the commander of the expedition sent to Utah by President Buchanan to suppress the "Mormon Rebellion". Dictionary of American Biography, vol. 5.

²²⁴ A sutler is a merchant who lives in a garrison town or follows an army to sell supplies to the soldiers, especially food and drink. Oxford English Dictionary, volume 10.

²²⁵ Mary Elizabeth Crosby was born 27 September 1859 and died as an infant 22 November 1860. This is the first child whose birth Jesse fails to record in his history. Two subsequent children of his marriage to Hannah were born after Jesse discontinued his "History and Journal". Hannah Ann Crosby, an infant daughter who was born 22 June 1861 and died 20 October 1862, and Joshua Alma Crosby (1863-1909), their youngest son. Jesse also fails to record the death of his second wife, Ann Shelton, on 24 June 1860. It is interesting that the end of the "History and Journal" essentially coincides with Anne's death.

one John Brown,²²⁶ a Northern man, who with a few followers undertook to liberate the slaves of the South. He privately conveyed arms and ammunition to this place and got possession of one of the U. S. Armories, and could not be dislodged till the U. S. Marines came down from Washington City. He was then taken prisoner, and with those who were not killed was afterwards hung. The affair cost Virginia a deal of trouble and expense, and has been among the most interesting topics of this day. congressmen have several time come near a general fight.

Some time in April [1860], one Lovejoy²²⁷ from Illinois got so excited over the subject of Slavery in his speech that he pronounced it the leading sin in the world, and advanced to the opposite side of the House with double fists. A general row ensued, and the most bitter language made use of. The Polygamy bill was also warmly discussed,²²⁸ and finally passed supporters being Methodist preachers.

²²⁶ John Brown (1800-1859) seized the U. S. armory and the bridges at Harper's Ferry, Virginia with his army of 21 men on the night of October 16, 1859. On October 18, U. S. marines under the command of Robert E. Lee assaulted the armory. Brown and ten of his men survived the assault. Brown was convicted of treason and murder. he was executed on December 2, 1859. Dictionary of American Biography, volume 2.

²²⁷ Owen Lovejoy (1811-1864) was an Illinois Congressman from 1856-1864. He was the minister of the Congregational church at Princeton, Illinois for seventeen years. Lovejoy was an outspoken abolitionist and a strong supporter and defender of Abraham Lincoln. Dictionary of American Biography, vol. 6.

²²⁸ Vermont Congressman Justin Morrill introduced an anti-polygamy bill into the 1861 session of Congress. Meeting with very little opposition in the heavily Republican Congress, Lincoln signed the Morrill Act into law in July of 1862. Morrill began submitting this legislation as early as 1856, but he was unsuccessful in his efforts until after the southern Democrats pulled out of Congress in 1861. Jesse is likely referring to one of Morrill's attempts to pass this legislation. He may also have been referring to hearings held in 1860 by the House Judiciary Committee on the anti-polygamy legislation and the issue of Utah statehood. Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 10-11; Gustave O. Larson, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1971), 58-59.

William H. Hooper,²²⁹ our delegate inquired if this Congress was prepared to enforce the bill in case it becomes a law as the entire people of Utah would refuse to allow Congress to meddle with their affairs.

²²⁹ William H. Hooper replaced John M. Bernhisel as Utah's delegate to Congress in 1859. With the exception of 1861-1863 when Bernhisel was returned to office, Hooper served in this position throughout the 1860s. Lyman, *Political Deliverance*, 11-18; Larson, *Americanization of Utah*, 8-9; Roberts, *Comprehensive History of The Church*, 4:501-502.