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DIARY OF THE  
MORMON BATTALION MISSION

(concluded)

JOHN D. LEE

*edited by Juanita Brooks*

New Mexico, Comancha Nation  
Mon., Sept 21st, 46

Morning clear, W. S. At 4 Tattoo was beat & the roll calld—at 7 the Bat was on the march—traveled over a broken Sandy Deseret, nothing of note transpired, only in the morning Capt Hunt was seen riding with Lieut Smith & was heard to say that he submitted the entire command to him till the Bat came up to Gen Kearney's; that he wished him to exercise his authority, that he had the right given Lee, Pace, & Egan their orders, telling if they did not hold their peace that they would be put under guard—Encamped about 3 p.m., dug & found water. Dis 18 ms. Total 470 ms.

New Mexico, Simeroan River  
Commancha Nation  
Teus. Sept 22nd, 1846

Music call by Revelee was beat at 4 A. M. the Roll was calld & all in motion at 6—The sick call was beat, tune Jimmy long Jo—immediately after the call, the sick are ordered to the Seargeant or Death & Hell, which is represented by the Black waggon which is under the controll of the Black Spirited destroying angel—1st Guard mounting is beat at 7, at this call the guard is appointed together in Co's. 5 m from this call is beat the Adjutant call, when the Adjutant appears before the music followed by the quick step march. At this call the several guards march to their posts on the left of the music in double files. This being done, the A. J. will

say rear rank open order march, 2nd commissioned & non commissioned officers to your Post, march. The officers of the guard is posted in the right of the front Rank & the Seargeant of the guard on the right of the rear rank (who may be 2nd Lieut). The officer of the day may be the Capt or 1st Lieut & has command of the guard. He may be stationed from 6 to 10 paces directly in front. The A. G. will then say about face (to the officers).<sup>55</sup>

New Mexico, Simeroan River  
Commancha Nation  
Wed, Sept 23d, 1846

Morning clear W. S. cool. About midnight Sharp lightning, Heavy thunder, wind high accompanied with rain. About 8 the Bat was on the march. Traveled over a Barren Sandy desert up the Simeroan River—this Stream if a stream it can be called, is a perfect couriosity. It is called in the Spanish language Simeroan, which being interpreted is Lost River & derived this Title from the fact, that it has no fountain or outlet, runs through a desert the distance between 3-400 ms. without a single tree, or very few at least to be seen on it—In traveling up this stream we frequently found running watter—but the greater portion of the rout, we had to dig for water. I have been told by the traders, that water would rise & run from 2 to 3 feet deep in the short space of  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour and would sink again & leave the bed almost dry within an hour & what is still more strange when this water rises up out of the Sand or even by diging till water is found fish are frequently found from 2 to 3 inches in length—About 10, clouds began to obscure the atmosphere. At 11 we discovered the Sculls of 90 mules lying in a row alongside of the road. Our guide Mr. Philip Thompson told us that about a year since Mr. Spires a Sante Fe Trader lost 180 head of mules by the cold wind & snow that drifted to such an extent that it burried up all the animals & but 3 or 4 survived<sup>56</sup>—it is no strange thing for snow to fall in this month to the depth of 18 inches—Equnotical storms are dreaded more than any other storm in this country; the earth is said to be 1400 feet

above the surface of the Sea. While I am speaking of curiosity I will mention of an other, those litle Sante fe Dogs that Burrow in the Earth have for associates a smawl owl resembling that of a Screech Owl & a large Rattlesnake those companions all reside in the same mansion—there are 2 Specia of the reptile or Serpent kind, There is a smawl dark ruff snake about 3 inches in length calld by the citizens or Natives Massasogos [massasaugas] which are verry numerous & poisonous—another kind resembling the rough black lizzard are here known by the name of Sante fe Millions—on account of the immense No that are over the face of the plains.



There is a Specia of the Spider that supass any thing that I ever before saw. They resemble our common black spider—though much larger—some of them are as large round as a common tea Saucer & have a white spot in the forehead & on the back-legs wooly & are said to be poisonous & are called the Tyland Tuly or the Asp.<sup>57</sup> Struck camp about 4. Wind N. W., heavy clouds N. W. & occasional thunder & lightening. Dis 14 ms, T 485 ms.

New Mexico, Commancha Nation  
Simeroan Valley

Thurs, Sept 24th, 1846

Morning clear, W. N. E., mild & pleasant. At 20 ms to 8 the Bat. was on the move Some mules horse or oxen are left either dead or unable to travel daily. Last evening the Orderly Seargeants & Lieut Smith had quite a Spat, (LS) urged the necessity of having all the sick reported to the Seargeon, the Orderleys details the Treatment of the sick as well as the drug adm. by the Seargeont when the Sick is brought. They all agreed that he administerd Calimal for every disease, Rheumatic pains, boils, lame backs &c by G-d said (L.S.) you must be mistaken. Not so replied the orderly, our statements are true. Well Said (L.S.) you don't no what to prescribe, Neither do I & if the Seargeon kills any man he is accountable for that mans life—See here men by g-d was I to report 450 men able for duty & when General Kearney would examine them & find 400 only fit for service I would be put in Irons—then I would put the Ad G. in irons & he the Capts & they the Lieuts & they the orderleys & by g-d we would all be in Irons—the conversation was laughable & gratifying to me to see the offers [officers] stand up for their rights—near 4 we took up quarters for the Night, near a large co of Traders, found water in abundance. Wind E high—strong symptoms of a Storm. About midnight turned remarkably cool, about the same time I was taken verry unwell, Seviere pains through my Bowels. Dis 15 ms, T 500 ms.

New Mexico, Simeroan R  
Commancha Nation  
Friday, Sept 25th, 46

Morning cool & cloudy, wind North, fuel scarce. The country So barren that buffallos scarce could subsist or were hunted out, for the Spaniard & French came even 50 ms East of this to hunt Buffalo; about 8 the Bat. received marching orders—about 11 we left the Simeroan River & on ascending the ridge—Several Peaks &

Spurs of the Mountain hove in sight, I in co. with several of the Bat assended several of those Spurs—on the top of one was a cave the mouth of which was about 3 by 4 feet the stone around the cave were perfectly smoothe, of a sand cast, about the door of the Stone, were a great no. of singular characters—representing the Egyptian Hyroglifics. I would have penned some of them down—but the Teams were on the move—between 2 of those Spurs formed a smawl valley in which was a few Trees; the most beautiful for cottonwood & Hackbery that I ever saw, their green foilage appeared so fresh & tender, that it brought forcible to my mind the sayings of the scriptures—shall flourish like a tree by the side of the fountain that is well watered, the country around is parched up, at this place we haultd to water our teams—Several antelopes were killed & brought into camp, Some few Deer also—traveled 5 ms more & came to the Cold Springs—where we encamped for the Night—feed scarce, Buffallo dung also. Dis 19 ms, Total 519 ms.

New Mexico, Commancha Nation  
Cold Springs, Sat., Sept 26th, 46

Morning clear, but little wind, Frost in the valley. At 8 took up the line of march & traveled over a Much more fertil country than we had the last 200 ms. the health of the camp improving. I have been called to administer to the Sick so frequent, that I became quite feeble myself—calling Father Petigrew Pace & Lyttle to administer [to me] which raisd me up immediately & but rear [rare] that I laid hands on & prayed for the sick of the Bat. without immediate relief—about 10 we met an express from Gen. Kearney to Ft. Leavenworth, also a Co. of waggons—from them we learnd that Gen Kearney intended to leave for California on 25th inst, travel by way of Chewawwa [Chihuahua]—that he expectd the Bat on—At 2 p.m. another Spur of mountains appeared covered with ceder shrubs. At ½ past 4 we reached the valley called the Cedar Springs—but little for so many—it was with much difficulty that water enough could be had to do our

cooking, no feed scarcely. About 7 Leiut. Smith started an Express to Gen Kearney by L. A. Stoner of Co. K. U. S. Dragoons & Mr. Swington a Spaniard—Pres Youngs letter was sent, Quarter Master Gully wrote a letter for Capt H. [Hunt] in behalf of the Bat. requesting instruction, Stating our situation & soliciting the prevelege to winter North of Bent Fort & not going over till spring etc. Dis 15 ms, T. 535 ms.

New Mexico, Commancha  
Nation, Ceder Springs  
Sund, Sept 27th, 46

Morning clear, W. S. E. On the move at the usual hour, traveld the distance of 12 ms. over a broken Sandy deseret. Encamped about 3 p.m. on the left of the road in a flat near a creek called McCleeses Creek.<sup>58</sup> This creek derived its title from 1 of the traders that was killed supposed by the Indians. Water sufficient for the Bat. Dis 12 ms., Total 546 ms.

New Mexico, Comancha Nation  
McCleces Creek  
Mon, Sept 28, 1846

Morning clear, W.S. After ceremony of soldiers were on the move, traveled 14 ms. Through the day sever smawl Mountains were seen at a distance from about ½ to 3 ms in height, 2 of which were rather South of our rout & known by their singularity & calld by the traders Rabbiteers— [Rabbit Ears] Those mounds present a sublime appearance, especially of a clear still day—at the first glance I have frequently mistook those mountains for blue clouds—tinged with red. On these mounds (that is the larger ones) are abundance of game, such as Antelope, Deer, Bear, Foxes, Elk, Hairs, Rabbits, Turkeys &c which come to those mounds or rather resort among the shrubs which is the only growth of timber with the exception of a few scatering Trees & willow brush that appear once in a great while on the ravines & water courses. About 3 p.m.

we came to the fork of the Rabbit ear creek—found abundance of good water & wood—but no feed. Traveled 2 ms S. W. & encamped in the valley of another Smawl Ravine, grass good for a Desert—Some water—could the insects be sepperated from it. Dis 14 ms., Total 560 ms.

New Mexico, Commancha Nation  
Middle Fork  
Teus, Sept 29th, 1846

Clear, W S. W. About 1 p.m. came to the W Fork R Creek, water & wood—but feed scarce, Traveled 4 ms on & encamped on the left at a smawl ravine—feed midling but had to dig for water—land some better. Dis 17 ms, Total 577 ms.

New Mexico, Desert Commancha Nation  
Extra Valey encampment  
Wed, Sept. 30th, 46

Morning clear & Smoky, W. E. Traveled over a roling sandy Stony plain mixed with Iron oar—in the fore noon quarter master Gully killed 3 Buck antelopes, however there is not less than from 10 to 20 of those animals brought into camp Daily—after a travel of 17 ms we stoped, watered our teams & cooked our dinner (4) & at 6 we roled out the distance of 7 ms turned out our teams to graze. Dis 24 ms T 604 ms.

New Mexico, Commancha Nation  
Barron Encampment  
Thur, Oct 1st, 46

Clear, W. S. W. About 5 the Bat. was on the move & at the distance of 3 ms. we came (to) Stillbetter Creek, called a halt, grass good. Orders was given to graze 3 hours during which time our victuals was to be prepared. Marching order was given, traveled



12 ms, Encamped in a valey—that was completely encompassed on the 3 sides with a chain of Rocks—called the Point of Rocks, Water & willow wood, but grazing short. Dis 16 ms. T 620 ms.

New Mexico, Commancha Nation  
Bason Valey or Point of Rocks  
Fri, Oct. 2nd, 46

Morning clear, W. W. At 5 gard [guard] Montain [mounting] was beat, this call soon put the whole Bat on the march, 3 ms. calld ahault to refresh our teams & men with water which came out at the foot of the Mountain, we were here detained about 1 hour on account of the Stream's not being sufficient to admit of the whole Bat. getting save it were by twos. Bro. Levi Hancock —J King & Session<sup>59</sup> assended this litle Mountain which was about 300 feet in heighth, while on the Summit they saw 36 other little mountains at a distance around them, on the top of this M. they erected a pile of Stone—taking each other by the hands—at the same time offered up a prayre—then called the place 3 Friends—reaching to the taulest cedar broke of a twig—brought it down & gave a twig of the lightest to myself then to Samuel Gully his Friend. At this place the Litle Tyranicle would [be] Lieut Col. commanded Seargeant Jones<sup>60</sup> to take his gun & knock out the brains of every damned rascal that disobeyed his orders—this order was general—Sergeant Corray<sup>61</sup> reported Bro. Wm. Follett<sup>62</sup> to the Litle Tyrant for insulting him, calling him a Negro driver; because of his oppression, having been put on guard 3 days in Succession & ordering him the 4th—& after receiving a Stiff damning from the T [Tyrant] was put under guard, telling him damn him he would learn how to insult his Superiors & that no officer should ever ask a Soldier to do anything but order him & should he refuse to obey the 1st order—shoot him down or report him to me (the Lieut. T.) & have him court martialed for mutiny & should any officer fail to do this, he would shoot their damned brains out. Bro. Wm. Walker<sup>63</sup> was put under guard & drove along before the Point of the Bayonett into camp because he was sick & unable to

walk all day, keep up & drive cattle. The same day in the evening Bro Jacob Butterfield<sup>64</sup> was put under guard by Lieut Oman & Clark, because he refused to get up & travel—saying that he was sick & not able to travel—they however forced him up with their bayonets. Butterfield said that some of our Brethren were a d-d site more tyrannical than the Gentiles were—Clark & Oman then ordered the Sergeants guard to put the lash on him—they instead of obeying, advised him to hold his peace & travel on as fast as he could. This sudden manifestation of Tyranny & oppression, was renewed from the fact that the (L.T.) saw that the leading officers would suffer themselves duped & drove about at his pleasure; & instead of standing up for their rights & that of their soldiers—they would order every man to bear it & be in subjection to their Superior officers, saying it was council from the 12—& that they would endanger their own lives & lives of their officers to resist when they very well knew that there was not an officer in the Bat. that had a right to put any man under guard or court martial him legally—from the fact, that no officer had been sworn into office or recieved him commission since the enrolment, & Lieut Smith himself had not the command of the Bat. legally, not having the vote of the Same. This I learned from Smith at the time when he offered his Servis to Command the Bat. saying that they (the officers) could not draw provisions as they had no commissions &c. & in the 2nd place the little wolfish Tyrant was fully Satisfied that this Bat would give their consent willingly for him to remain their commander & that they knew that the right belonged to them & not the officers alone to Elect the commander of the Bat. to Satisfy himself fully of this fact. Today after meeting a co. of Dragoon on their return from Sante Fe stating that Gen Kearney had left about the 25th Sept with 400 men for California by the way of Chewauwah & that should the Mormon Bat. reach Sante Fe by the 10th that they should follow on, other wise be discharged & they loose (of course receiving 1 yr rashion & pay). The later was rather kept dark from the Soldiers—they were told that if they did not reach Sante Fe by the 10th that would likely be discharged when they arrived without pay or rashions & left to

make their way home that dis of 2000 ms without help, at a time too when those are ever so well rigged [rigged] for traveling, endanger their lives to cross those Deserts & plains, which are from 2 to 300 ms without timber or settlements of any size. This information too true, bespoke in every face, the fears of treachery & oppression which they so much dreaded, notwithstanding the fair promises of the little wolfish Col. This last Scheme however was not resorted to until after the failure an other which I had forgotten to mention in its proper place which was as follows—3 Capt. Said he to some of his wire workers whom he knew would figure with the Bat are now wating the arrival of the Bat. to take command (just before acknowledged that General Kearney was not apprised of the Death of Col. Allen, such report had reached Santeffe but he did not believe it). However this Bat. may retain Smith as their commander if they choose, & thought it would be to their interest to do so—in preference to a man with whom they had formed no character—carrying the Idea that 1 of the 4 [captains] mentioned must be the commander; I replied that the Bat had a right to elect any man in their ranks to take Command. Seeing that ignorance would no longer bear up their impositions—they resorted to this last scheme—which was to reach Santeffe by the 10th under the pretext that if they did not reach there by that time that they would not have the glorious prevelege & honor of being marched to California—through hunger fatigue & cold this winter under the command of a litle Wolfish would-to-be Col.—to be discharged perhaps some 800 ms. from the destination of the church & then be under the necessity of spending a part of their means to take them to their Friends and Families,—when they might just as well had 12 months pay & 6 months Provision, besides having the liberty of assisting & being with their Friends & Families to the place of their destination—which was worth at least 6 mo. pay more—4 of the capts were presant (Higgins<sup>65</sup> yet absent) who cheerfully responded to the little (W T) Sham & said it was firstrate policy. Capt Brown in particular remarked that would be carrying the very things we startd for—Adj Dykes one of the principle wire workers in order to carry out this Scheme

—proposed dividing the Bat., drawing 50 able bodied men from each co—together with waggons & teams Sufficient for baggage—& put them under a force march—in order to reach Santeffe by the 10th to entitle them—as they said—to the liberty of Marching to California—leaving the 11th. Remainder (which is the sick and lame) to come when they can, leaving with them the 1st Lieut of each to take command & the ranking Lieut to command the divisions—6 days rations were arraigned for these that were selected to go ahead. At 5 the division took up the line of March—The feelings on this occasion were almost indescribable. The Idea of being sepperated, leaving the[m] behind—perhaps never to meet again in the flesh was more than many could bear—bursting into tears as they parted with each other—saying that they went; but not willingly for the council of the 12 was to them never to Seperate. Quartermaster Gully begged the liberty of Staying back to take care of the sick which was granted, Lieut Pace—Lyttle—Gully & Clark were utterly opposed to the project—Pace in particular was ready to revoult against such a measure. Many of the brethren came to me saying that they would obey the council of the Church, or loose their lives in the attempt. Come, tell us what to do. I replied, do as you think proper, your officers are over you. Feeling almost over come—with Sympathy—I could no longer hold my peace—Said to Capt Hunt notwithstanding that he and his Capts had barred against me, saying that I had no right to council them & they had got into a bad Snapp, they were the boys that could get out of it &c—yet as a duty that I owe to my Brethren & suffering humanity, I will tell you words by which you may here after preserve the feelings of your Brethren. Keep out, elude, or rather thwart all plans, snares, or Schemes that may be laid for the injuery of this People. 1st when any thing of this kind is proposed—I would as a mater of Policy beg the liberty of a few hours to reflect before giving an answer—then calling all the officers of the same grade—with the old wise men—that hold the Priesthood—making no distinction amoung them becaus of partiality, convene togeather with humble Spirits in prayer before the Lord that his wisdom might be in your midst—to direct you in your delib-

erations—while conferring with each other—never disdaining or considering it condescending to recieve council or wisdom from any one man in the Priesthood; who may advance or propose<sup>68</sup>

at the distance of 20 ms came to Salt Creek [Chico Creek], the 1st watter from the P of Rocks. Traveled 5 ms more, came to red River where we found a part of 2 divisions encamped. We too encamped on the S W ½ ms. from the river—wood scarce, feed good, eveing clear. Dis 25 ms, Total 645 ms.

New Mexico—Red River,  
Commancha Nation  
Sat. Oct 3rd, '46

Morning clear. At day light the Bat. was on the march, traveled to Oho Geauge [Ocaté] the dis of 7 ms—called a halt, watered—cooked & divided the Bat acording to the arraingement. Fri 2nd Started at 5 A M, came to the wagon Mounds, dis 21 ms, found water & grass in abundance—the rear arrivd at 1 morn. Here we came. Left Prices regiment at this Point. Met some Spaniards retailing liquors, cakes &c. The Mounds here are natural curiosity. Some of them resemble waggons covered, another the cuppulow of a Public Building &c. W—high S W, roads dusty, night cool. Dis 28 ms, Total 673.

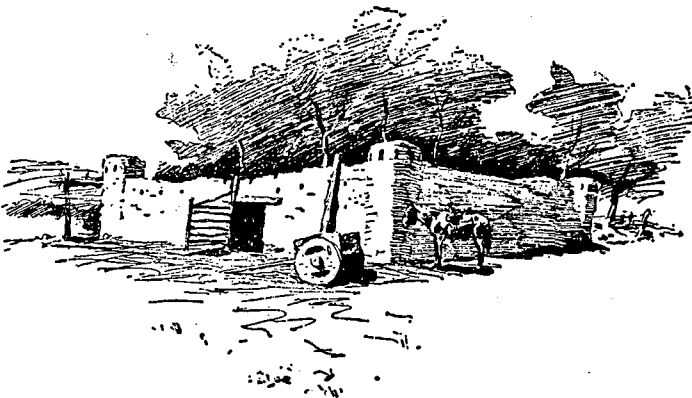
New Mexico, Waggon Mounds  
Wooharapahoo [Arapaho] Nation  
Sund, Oct 4th, '46

Morning clear, cold, W S W. At 7 Guard Mounting was beat at which Signal the Bat. was put on the march—through the day several groves of Pine & Spruce were seen. Traveled the dis of 20 ms & encamped on the East branch of the river Morough [Mora] excellent feed & water. At this is—a singular chain of Rocks & is said to be Mill Stone grit of the best quality, over the face thereof is covered with Santefe Chinchapin Shrubs & Cedars—between sun down & dark 5 or 6 Spaniards came into camp with pies &

cakes—to sell—told us that it was 4 ms to the 1st Settlements on the Moree river. W S W clear. Dis 22ms, T 667.

New Mexico, Warapahoo Nat.  
E. branch of R. Morough  
Mon, Oct 5, '46

Clear, W S W. At 6 we were again on the road—at the dis of 5 ms came the river Morough, a smawl clear river, beautiful flush running Stream fed by springs from the mountains—on this stream large heards of cattle, sheep, & goats princply. Sustained by grazing through the winter, yet it would appear to a traveler a thing in credible—especially one who had been raised in Illinois or Mo. as to me there seemd scarce grass enough in summer season to keep Sheep alive. The grass in this country though Short & dry is remarkably Strong. At this place are a few settlers, one an Englishman by the Name of Jones. all others are chiefly Spaniards—through the [day] we crossed several clear handsome running Streams, Smawl cedar & pine on the mountains & creeks, yet not well calculated for rails or lumber—rather schrubby. After a travel of 27 ms we encampd in a vally near a Spanish town called Bagoes<sup>67</sup> [Las Vegas]—situated on the head waters of the Guiena



[Gallinas] River, good feed. The population of this place is about 500. Their houses are built of a kind of sun dried brick laid in mud sides bottom & top generally 1 story high. The ruff has but little slant & is not raised above the wall. The ruff and outer walls are covered over with a kind of cement made of rosin & sand which is said to be waterproof—the whole city at a glance resembles that of a brick yard—their Houses that of Brick Kilns unburned—only larger. The inhabitants are of a dark, swarthy, dirty, lazy, filthy, indolent, raged & naked, uncivilized, miserable looking beings. However I supposed those living on the frontier are of the lower class, I hope so at least. They raise some wheat, Squaw corn, onions, red Peper Squashes &c. Their fields are without fences—yet they have large herds of cattle, sheep, goats, mules & some horses all of which are hearded day & night to prevent them from destroying their subsistence—Some feed their stock of Nights They cultivate the valley only & are under the necessity of watering all the stuff they raise I am told that there is no rains in this [valley] from about the 10th of Sept till about the 10 of July—leaving them a season of 2 months only for making their crops. To day the face of the country is changed from a plain to a Barren wilderness—Rocks & mountains, but little land situated for cultivation & that is found in smawl vallies between the mountains. Dis 27 ms, T 694 ms.

N M, Bagas or Spanish Town  
Tues, Oct 6th, '46

Morning clear, Frost (Black) as there is but litle dew in this part of the world. W.W. Traveled over a broken Mountainous country—about noon we came to the Town of Taucaulute [Tecolote], dis 12 ms. This town was about the same size of Bagus, traveld 6 more ms & encamped in a vally at another smawl settlement. This evening on the Top of the mountain—where we decended to encamp—we met Mr. Simington with 25 yoke of oxen from Santefe sent by Gen Kearney for our assistance,—he also brought a dispatch to Lt Smith saying that Gen Kearney had not heard of the death of

Col. Allen before the express came—only by rumor—that he left for California on the 20th of Sept—leaving orders with General Donethan [Doniphan]<sup>68</sup> the commander at Santeffe to have all troops that should arrive by the 10th to follow on his trail to California—as he would be detained in cutting a way through the mountains at a certain Pass—which would make it much neyher [nigher] to California than the usual travel—about sunset wind blew strong from the W which brought up quite an angry cloud rain commenced about 30 mi to 8. It is now 9 & I am in Adj. Dykes Markee bringing up my Journal. Dis 20 ms, T 714 ms.

Spanish Settlements N M  
between the Mountains  
Oct 7th, 1846

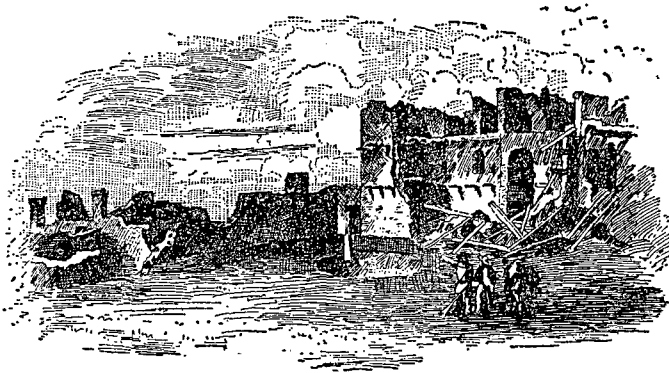
About 4 faired away. W. still W, quite cool. Started about 7, traveled between the Mountains all day—about 10 we discovered large beds of snow at the dis of 80 ms or more—we were told by our guide that those bodies of snow were seen all season of the year. Through the day I made it to have a conversation with Adj Dykes, Lieut Smith & some others as a mater of warm familiarity, the better to carry out the thot that I fell upon to prevent the Bat. from being divided. Passed through St Magill [San Miguel] (a Spanish Town) about 11, dis of 3 Or 30 miles from Taucaulte or 45 from Santeffe. At this place I traded some calico for corn—on entering the village I saw about 5 Spaniards engaged in hauling wood, they had 2 yoke of oxen hitched to some thing resembling what is by backwoods setlers in Ill. called a wooden go cart, the wheels were not more than quarter round—their oxen were riged with a pole fastened to the back part of the Horns by Straps raw [hide] tugs—their manner of driving was still more strange to me—one man stood at the head of the catle with a stick perhaps 2 feet in length & gave the word of command, 2 more men were placed on each side with a pole in their hands, Something smawler than a common rake handle, & were made some what pointing at the end which they used as we would Spears; this However was



more than an ordinary circumstance, the load was remarkably heavy & road bad. Their ploughs are made entirely of wood yet not resembling any thing that I ever before saw. In this village is a regular built Catholic Chappel & the only resemblance that I saw was the cross on one of the cupeloes—as there was one on each corner fronting to the East. All buildings here are built of untempered mourtars. Arround the chapel, the Priest residence, & some of the Public houses were enclosed by mud walls from 10 to 12 feet high—their Pounds or enclosures for their stock, when penned are built in like manner—There is certainly less enterprise, industry, or economy manifestd among these beings than any others, who pretend at all to civilization—Their principal way of conveyance is upon Mules asses & smawl horses—it is truly astonishing to see the immense loads that are carried by these beasts of burden. It is nothing uncommon to see a barrel of salt or whiskey beside other loading fastened upon one of these animals, the barrel is placed on a frame made for that purpose & set lengthwise on the back. When ever we would halt near their settlements (as they all settle in villages) our lines would be filled with them coming to trade—their principle trafic to travelers is corn (which in their tongue is Mice [maize])—onions, Peper, Squashes, whiskey, apples & mellons & in fact they will trade any thing they have—nothing is measured among them but Whiskey & a quart with them is but little more than a pint of our measure—at 5 we encamped at one of their settlements at a beautiful stream of water 1 mi North of the Road. Evening clear & cool, W S W. Dis 20 ms, T 734 ms.

Spanish Settlements, River, N M  
Thurs, Oct 8th, 46

Morning clear, W S W. The Bat was on the march in due season, at the distance of 13 ms came to first rate Spring of water that gushed out of N bank of Paco Creek (which is the name of creek that runs between the mountains—on our route). Arround this Spring are Silver ore in abundance—near the same Stands the



walls & many of the rooms of a large ancient Mexican or Nephite building—built entirely of clay, sand & rosin cemented together. Some of the walls were about 50 feet in height. I should think there were about 40 rooms & apartments. The most of the [wood] work were carved & exhibit far more art & ingenuity than the present race who now inhabit those regions can produce. I was told by the Pilott (who has been in the Spanish trade for 25 years) that this building was discovered about 250 years ago—which was about the time Santefe was Setled—the whole structure at a glance exhibits great antiquity.<sup>69</sup> We traveled 2 more ms stopped & fed, & while my mules were eating improved the time in writing. Along in this valley are additional growths of timber the Palm trees & the Balm of Gillead or rather Satefe [*sic*] in this valey—while I was sitting here an Express passed from Gen Kearney instructing the Mormon Bat. that as soon as he heard of the death of Col Allen—& that Lt Smith was at their head he appointed Capt Cook to the office of Lieut Col. to take command of the Bat & to lead them on to California as soon as they would reach Santefe<sup>70</sup>—This information struck Lieut Smith and Adj Dykes as well as many others of the officers almost speechless as they had been anticipating some thing verry different, yet it was just what I predicted to Capt Hunt & the officers of the Bat. when they refused

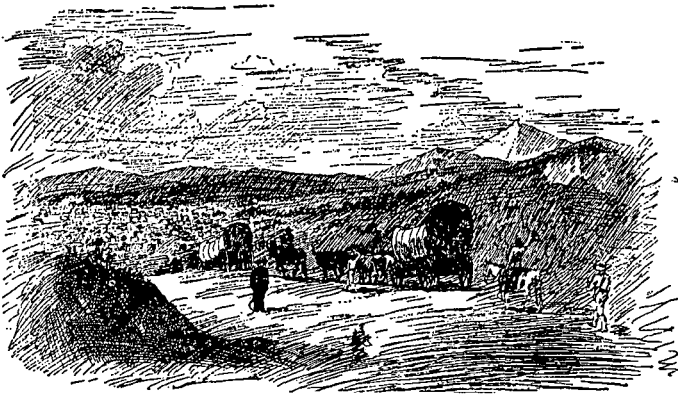
to send Pres's Young's letter immediately to Gen Kearney apprising him of the Death of Allen & of his pledge to the Bat.

What favorable impression might have been made in time—but instead of doing this—I was overruled & the letter was delayed untill Smith's Express reached him & in fact it is doubtful whether Kearney has yet received the letter referred to. Kearney is now about 150 ms from Santeffe & I look for nothing else than to see the officers to the present arraignments without ever ascertaining whether Gen Kearney was apprised of the pledges made by Col Allen. About 5 the division came up & encamped for the night. Dis 15 ms, total 749 ms.

Spanish Settlements, N M  
Valley of Repentance<sup>71</sup>  
Friday, Oct 9th, 1846

At 4 morning Revellee was beat that all might be up & make an early start in order to reach Santeffe before night. Cloudy & warm, W S. at 31 mi to 6 the Bat received marching orders—at the dis of 6 miles we met an express to Ft Leavenworth under the protection of 15 men having in co 2 baggage waggons—this move I considered to be a peculiar manifestation of the Kind Hand of Providence especially should we be so fortunate as to accomplish our mission in time to fall in co with them. About noon we came to a beautiful spring at the foot of the Mountain—in this & the water that runs from the Spring are smawl particles of gold apparently thick—5½ ms further we came to another, where we saw quite a no. of Spaniards collected &—5 ms from this to Santeffe—about 3 P.M. the city hove in view—& as all other villages in the Spanish dominions resemble Brick Kilns—Santeffe is immediately situated in a valley or Basin, Surrounded on the E N & W by a chain of Mountains. The valley is quite narrow & runs a S W direction & immediately around the city—on the south especially—is a broken Barrow covered with Pine & cedar Shrubs for the dis of 8 ms. In those mountains are found a superior quality of Marble in large bodies—on entering the city we found a part of 3

divisions encamped. The American coulours were seen waving over the city at a considerable distance. The Bat marched into the Town in Military order & encamped on the East boundary of the Main encampment—Gen Donethan received us with peculiar friendship—which was a rear thing to the Bat. for the last 6 weeks. Wood, feed & provisions were hauled to our quarters immediately which once more revived the spirits of Desponding Brethren hoping that there were better times ahead. About 3 P M just before the Bat. arrived we had quite a heavy storm of Hails which lasted about 30 mi. The valley in which Santefe is situated runs down to the River Rio de Grand which [is] about 25 ms distance from Santefe—& is by some [said] to be the line between Texas & N. Mexico. A stranger at the first glance would conclude that there was [not] a room in the Whole city that was fit for a white man to live, but to the contrary some of their rooms are well furnished inside—Floors excepted—The Population is about 25000<sup>72</sup> about 300 of that No. left the city & fled with their governor Armeho at the time General Kearney entered the city.



About 1½ ms North of the main tracks about 6 ms west of what is called by the guide the Point Rocks & 620 ms W of Ft Leavenworth & 150 ms E of Santefe Stands an ancient Nephite building<sup>73</sup>—built of stone & cement 198 feet in length & 138 feet in width with a hall of 6 feet running through lengthways on the N Side, at the E end are 2 columns about 6 feet square— the North wall is about 6 ft thick & from 9 to 12 feet high & from the amount of stone that is heaped up on the North wall which once stood erect—I would suppose it to have been some 45 or 50 feet in height, for the rubble was about as high as the present wall. The whole constructure represents that of a Fort or a strong Fortification—from the fact that on the North is another strong enclosure—enclosing about 3 acres of land. The N wall of the Edifices above spoken of—compose a part of the South wall of this enclosure. The highest part of this last wall is about 3 feet, the remainder having crumbled down—From this building to the enclosure is gate or entrance about 10 feet in width. The structure strongly insists that it was erected in a day when art & science was known, ingenuity—Enterprise & industry was encouraged, though many a century has doubtless passed & fled away since, leaving the ruins or remains of this monument to testify that once this country was inhabited by an enlightened race of beings that far surpassed the present.

Santefe, N M  
Sat, Oct 10th, '46

Morning clear & cool. The first thing when I arose was to urge the payment & get that matter on foot—Capt Hunt & Hunter went immediately to see the Paymaster & Gen Donethan, learned decidedly that Gen Kearney had appointed Capt. Cook the ranking officer of that Grade to take of the Bat. without the knowledge of Col Allens pledges to the Bat. as the letter had not reached him before the appointment of Capt Cook; that Maj McCloud was appointed paymaster of the M Bat. & that he would pay the soldiers in checks for the term of 1½ months, the officers for 2½

—all in checks with the exception of clothing—money—& that would be done as soon as the rear of the Co would come up. Through the day Lieut Lytle & myself walked around the city & was in some 25 or 30 stores, purchased 3 Mexican blankets & some other articles for our Journey. While standing on the walk an other curiosity caught my attention, I saw 4 Gennys drawing wood,—the manner in which they were rided for buisness was the Rick. Each ass was loaded Sepperately and apart with 12 poles about 10 foot long with the buts of each fastened across the weathers on a fraim made after the manner of a Saddle with straps around the breast to draw by. The top ends were dragging on the ground. They were driven by one man without bridle or lines. Around the walks in all public places are found Pine nuts, apples, peaches, pears, large grapes, bread, onions, boiled corn, mellons &c sold by Women & girls—goods are sold remarkably cheap in this city on account of competition running so high among the Sutlers & Traders. About 4 P M the Command of Col Mitchell arrived & encamped on our left. The following day they received orders to march to Touse for winter quarters. Several of the Bat. were on a spreys [sprees], some were put under guard, others in the caliboose. Some of the Mo. cos determined to release their comrades, broke down the guard house. In the struggle one of the sentinels fired and killed 2 of them—evening cool—I paid 1.00 for a pint of whiskey to put biters in—

Santefe, N M  
 Sund, Oct. 11, 46

Morning clear & cool, W S W. About 9 I had my mules shod by Bro Chapen<sup>74</sup> the price of shoeing Mules here is about 4.00—a great many of Co D for the want of proper instructions went to the setlers [sutlers] & took up all their wages, for fear it would be sent back, partaking of the same Spirit of C. Canfield<sup>75</sup> the acting Capt. I conversed with some of the Boys & advised them to send or lend to those that would send back—they readily consented.<sup>76</sup> About 5 eve an express arrived from Gen Kearney. Capt Hunt,

Hunter, Brown, Lieut L. Clark, Egan & myself visited Lieut Cook who received us with much courtesy & conversed freely—read us the express from Kearney which was as follows in substance, Having learned by private Per. Col Price, of the death of Col. Allen & that the Mormon Bat. is on their way to Santeffe—there to await my orders, reposing Special trust & confidence in your courage, good conduct & ability, I therefore appoint you Lieut Col in place of Col Allen to take command of the Bat. when they arrive at Santeffe—Fit them out with 60 days provisions—not to encumber your selves with baggage as a part of the route will be difficult for the passage of waggons & follow on my trail—Mr. Fitz Patrick<sup>77</sup> the Pilot that I sent will conduct you to the Pacific, where you will wait further orders & if necessary I will have a vessel meet you to convey the Bat to Monterrae—as their probable destination will be the Sacramento Valley, which is probably 1000 ms distance from this place,—I have sent Mr. Fitzpatrick (the bearer of this) who will conduct you through. He was with Capt Fremont as a pilot through his exploring expedition. The American Flag has been hoisted & the American coulours waving over California for the last 3 months. Capt Fremont by the assistance [of] American Man of Warr subdued the whole county & Fremont claims to be governor of that province. Until my arrival Gen Donethan & Col Cook proffered to Send all the sick the Women & children of those belonging to the Bat.—to Touse<sup>78</sup> (where there is a branch of the church) there to winter under an escort of our Brethren & in the spring intersect the main body of the church & go with them at the expense of government. This I considered to be a fair & liberal proposal, for I was well persuaded that neither the Sick, Women & children could stand the fatigue & exposures of the Journey to go around with the Bat. Returned to our quarters about 9—eve. cloudy & cool, much more so than what I expected to find in this part of the world.

Santefe, N M  
Mon, Oct 12, '46

Morning cool & clear. Early in the day I went with a French Bro. Markse Mcwell<sup>79</sup> & procured about 3 bushels corn—for our Journey. Corn is worth from 6 to \$10.00 per bushel. Bro Alburn Allen<sup>80</sup> browned and ground our coffee while I brought my Journal. Bro Egan was walking about to the groceres with some of the officers—apparently unconcerned about the things that I thought should immediately concern us both, but I submitted the whole arraignment to him that rules the destinys of men. At ½ past 2 P M the rear of the Bat. that was left back—arrived with much rejoicing—part of our divisions met them at the edge of the city & escorted them in—We were escorted by a Horse Co. of Mo'ians [Missourians] when we entered—I must say that I seldom saw the same No. of men greet each other with the same warmth of feelings as did this Bat. Every Spirit was elated with the hopes that the dark cloud of gloom that had hovered over the Bat & threatened them with despairation was about to be blown over & that the Smiles of Freedom would again gladden the hearts of the oppresd Sons of Liberty, but alas in this we were Sadly disapointed—the Serpent (that little Wolfish Lieut Smith) which the officers contrary to the wish of the Bat. took into their bosom as a counsellor to lead them to Santefe—Some of the officers were not satisfied with the sting of his enmity allready endured by the Lord's anointed or many of them but worked the Wires secretly—in behalf of this Serpent until they prevailed in removing the Most active & true friend to suffering Humanity, that the Bat. could afford,—a man who had in his station the good will & confidence of 9 tenths—of the Bat. & loss of his service is sorely lamented (as well as being sevierly felt).<sup>81</sup> Two of the most bitter enemies to our people now are appointed & the Bat. must take them in exchange for a man whoes real work & worth but few ever realized.



Santefe, Teus, Oct. 13th, '46

Morning clear, W E. At 10 A M the Bat. was called together to lay before them the proposition Gen Donethan, with reference to the Sick and the Laundry women of the Bat. which as a general thing met the feelings of the Bat.—Capt Hunt also laid before them the propriety of Sending back all they could [their pay] to the Poor of Iseral—as it would probably be the last opportunity that would present. Also to assist those men to return home—The Bat. almost unanimously consented to the above propositions. At 6 eve the Bat. was again calld together & Adj Dykes read the appointment of A. J. Smith to the office of commissary & quartermaster & Lieut Stoneman assistant of Subsistence. Our little new Wolfish commissary was present—so drunk that he couldn't stand alone—evening clear & pleasant.

Santefe, N M  
Wed, Oct. 14th, 46

Morning clear & pleasant. At 6 I traversed the city in co with Br R. Stephens<sup>82</sup> in search of my Mules that strayed of—found them with one of their hobels broken or taken off—also the Haulters—returned about 10—assisted to draw up a petition to lay before Lieut Col. Cook and Gen Donethan, showing the pledges of Col Allen to the Bat. & begged to have Samuel Gully reinstated to his former office—as he was appointed by Col Allen—after which I was confined to my waggon—bringing up my journal—through the day. Br Allred<sup>83</sup> presented me a flannel shirt.

Santefe, N M  
Thur, Oct 15th, '46

Morning clear, pleasant & calm. We are yet detained and how much longer we will have to wait the slow operation of the officers I no not—Last evening 9 of the officers received their pay—at Night the Capt's & Lieut all but G. [George] W. Rosecrance of Co C Lieut [Sylvester] Hulett of co D & Lieut Pace, Lytle &

Gully of co E & Adj Dykes went to a ball that was got up by some of the Spaniards & Mo volunteers. About  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the Bat. also attended. The bill was \$2.00 per Head—I had several invertations to attend & have my bill Paid—but I refused—on the grounds that our covenants to the House of the Lord prohibited me at least from associating with unbelievers, much more to take the Daughters of Zion in among prostitutes—& to mingle in recreation with men whose hands & garments are stained with the blood of martyred Saints in Mo.<sup>84</sup> I consider it a disgrace to the Priesthood for the Saints of light to mingle with the children of darkness—saying nothing about \$1000 spent foolishly—which had better been sent to the poor in Iseral. Some of the Brethren considered the council good & proposed sending the amount 2.00 that others spent extra to the Poor in Iseral & risk the consequences—Capt Hunter & Hunt & many other officers said there was no harm in the Soldiers going into any thing that their Capt's encouraged—as they had power to control the Spirits—Lieut Barnes & Omen were as drunk as sots. Oman acknowledged to be at the gambling table, said that he won \$5.00 gave me 50¢, said it was his tithing—sat down to eat—but was so far gone that he could not desern between his waiters finger (a little boy), & a piece of meat plunged his fork through 1 of the little fingers into the table. After dark Br. David P Rainey<sup>85</sup> & Wm Hyde<sup>86</sup> and myself walked down thinking to look on privately but could not get within 10 feet of the entrance for the throng of ruffians that stood around using the most vulgar language—we were soon Satisfied so returned with disgust from the scene—About 50 of Co H Mo volunteers some of our old Friends (mobbers) composed a part of the party—The Capt of Co H said that it was with much difficulty that he could keep his men from kicking up a row. Said that the Mormons had the same oppressive spirit that they had in Mo. No more than what would be expected when Lambs fondle or play with Wolves—the commanders said they took this course to gain friends, but I am certain the Bat. lost ten lbs of influence to where they gained one ounce of credit or pleasure.

Santefe, N M  
Friday, 16th, '46

Clouds rising from the East, accompanied by wind. Last evening about 25 persons were brought up into the ranks, condemned by the Dr & ordered to be discharged—forthwith—contrary to their wishes—without even the privileges of conveyance back to the States or pay for their enrolment. This move certainly mortified my feelings as much if not more than anything that was got up before. I told Adj Dykes that I would consider it more honorable to command those men (sick) to be shot & thereby put an end to their Suffering—than to discharge and leave them here to rot among prostitutes—without a friend to assist them & that the man who raised his voice or assented to this move would have to atone for the sufferings & lives of those men—I also went to the Capt<sup>87</sup>—the thing was soon carried to Gen. Donethan—who upon the honor of a gentleman & Philanthropic went immediately to Lt Cook & countermanded the order—saying that Gen Kearney would never discharge a man under like circumstances—to perish—and ordered them to be sent to Perbelo—with the other sick & Laundry women with an out fit—set the time of their enrollment. Said if the Pres. wished to discharge them he might—when he learned their Situation—About 9 a guard was placed around each tent to keep all within the guard intill a Search could be made for the Pilot's Gold watch worth \$180, also the old Dr's, worth \$300, which was stolen out of his trunk the evening before,<sup>88</sup>—no discovery was made—Shortly afterwards Capt Brown's Co was organized & ordered to march on the 17th to Purbeloe. About 2 P M Seargeant Major Ghlines was removed from office & reduced back to the ranks.<sup>89</sup> I made a request of the Capt's for 2 men on detached Service—to return back with us. Day after day passed away without effecting the object I desired—Said I to adj. Dykes & some others of the officers, I shall be under painful necessity of saying to the Council—that the Bat. at the time I left it,—had not power or influence enough in it to command or controle one man as a messenger on detached Servis—on business of the greatest

importance & benefit to the Bat. without breaking him of his commission. However this I hope will be a schooling to the officers of this Bat. & will learn them never to harbour a serpent in their bosom or take the Devil for a counsellor. Evening cold, W N E.

Santefe

Sat, Oct 17th, 46

Cold & cloudy. Ice about an inch thick. Santefe I am told is a remarkable cold Place, More so than many deg. further N. Last evening I conversed with the Pilot—he said that he conclud'd to winter in Santefe—thought it unsafe to venture through the desert at so late Season. This morning, got the promise of having Br Roswell Stevens return back with us. Fortunately through stratagem having on the sick list to go to Purbelo—which throu [him] out from under the command of the Devil—I spent the major part of the day—in making out a roll of the Bat., regulating their checks. to send back. Most of the day Lieut Rosecrans, Thompson & I left quarters. Just before super I arranged my things in the waggons, filed in a bill of an outfit. Rec'd about 100 letters & several litle Preasants from the Brethren. G. W. Rosecrans Liet. presented me \$5.00 in gold—the Brethren are very liberal in assisting us to what ever we asked them—it is now about 9 & I have just closed my Journal for the day. Evening cool, clear.

Santefe

Sund Oct. 18th 46

Morning cool. Frost. This morning I was closely engaged assisting Lieut Samuel Gully close his accounts. The night previous we wrote till about 2 morn—about 10 A M Capt Brown with his detachment left—for Purbeloe, there to take up winter Quarters. Adj. Dykes reported Seargeant Major Glines to the Col for not handing up his sword & other equipage of his office, whereupon Col Cook sent a file of men after them—or rather took them from him & ordered him to be marched to Bents Fort under guard. Sgt

D has succeeded in running Seargeant Major from his office as well as the Quarter master or Commissary on whom he for a long time looked with a jealous eye—because they were friends of the Bat. Not yet being satisfied he is trying to reduce Lieut Gully to the ranks—in this however he will doubtless fail, as Bro Gully by my council proposed—agreed to take \$250 for his office—from Edward L. Brown<sup>90</sup>—for the remaining term of 9 months & presented his resignation the following morning. This we did for the reason that the Bat. had not retained influence enough among the officers to detach a man on Servis—without braking him of his commission—no matter how important the case might be. It is now 12, air chilly.

Santefe

Mon, Oct 19th, 46

This morning is quite a bustle in camp. The Dr Riding Mule is Missing. About 7 the commandants of Co's together with the commissioned officers, that is, those that were opposed to carrying out the Pres council—came to my quarters, wished me to report the amount of money that I had raised from the Bat. as donated—I told Capt Hunt, Hunter & co—that I received nothing from them. Rosecrans, Brown & Lytle Presented me \$5.00 each—that the Brethren drew but little money but out of that they were liberal—when I say Brethren I dont mean Puffed up officers—I told them that I called on no woman in the Bat. for money, neither was that my object. I came because the [Lord] sent me & if he has opened the way before me I am thankful—they then withdrew & sent me a Note—authorizing us to use for our out fit of the money sent back & to make due return to the council of the 12—this however was entirely useless—as that I should have done if necessity required. About 9 the co began to move of the ground for California. Adj. Dykes remained on the ground for fear that I should get something that belonged to Uncle Sam & to satisfy him with the delay I remained some 2 or 3 hours longer. Bro Steavens started the previous evening, Bro. Gully finding it too great a

task to wind up his affairs alone in time—requestd me to wait till morning & assist him—which I did—Bro Egan remained in the city around grogshops till after midnight—came to our quarters about 1—found Bro Samuel Gully & my self writing, asked for a place to lie down. We fixed a bed for he & Bro. Clift.<sup>91</sup> Soon after laying down he vomited like a sott. It is now 1 and I am just closing my journal for the day—3 more men were buried just before Sun Set, one of whom was murdered in a Spaniards House the night before—which has made me somewhat uneasy. . . .<sup>92</sup> for fear of his being robed [robbed] while I am yet writing I . . . [heard] the feet of horses—arose from . . . in co with Bro Gully went out . . . that it was Lieut Canfield & Bro . . . who had come to bring my . . . mule. Also brought a horse for Lt. Clift to ride back into camp. I went to the waggon to wake up Lt Clift, found Egan was gone which caused a search to be made. Found him lying in the midle of the street flat on his [back], hat & shoes off unable to help himself. I picked him up in my arms by the assistance of Bro Layton,<sup>93</sup> carried him to the waggon, put him in bed—Now I thank the Lord for sending those messengers back—for had it not been for them—he probably might have been Robbed and murdered without our knowledge & I am obliged to acknowledge the hand of the Lord in all things. Messengers returned at 2 morn.

Santefe

Tues, Oct 20th, 46

. . . daybreak, we riged up the mule . . . Lt. Rosecrans & Layton brought. . . in the night . . . placed Bro Egan . . . his back but was unable to ride . . . he [the mule] bounded like an antelope [throw]ing the rider twice. He however took [the mule] some 3 miles distance and secreted him in a private place till we came up. This we had sooner than difficulty or trouble. The mule was honestly mine, but Capt Hunter was disposed to cheat us out of him.<sup>94</sup> About 4 P M we left the city of Santefe—traveled 12 miles—& encamped at the foot of the Mountains under a large pine—an at-

tempt was made through the night to robb us by 3 men but was detected by Little Trip who gave us timely Notice to be ready for what might follow. Dis 12 ms.

Foot of the Mountains, N M  
Wed, Oct 21st, 46

Morning clear. By sunrise we were on the road—the day was warm & fine. About 3 we came up with Capt Browns Mormon detachment—learned that Bro R Steavens was expecting us—left them in good spirits—traveled 3 ms East of St McGill & encamped for the night. Dis 38 ms, Total 50 ms.

Near St. Magill, N Mexico  
Thur, Oct 22, '46

Morning fine. About sunrise, fearing that something had befallen Bro Steavens, Sent Bro Gully back & we went to the foot of the Pilot Mountain (which can be seen 50 ms), Stopped, fed & got Brakefast & brought up my Journal—About 10 Bro Gully & Steavens came up—which again gladdened our hearts & made us think of home notwithstanding a journey of 1000 ms was before us & that almost a wilderness waste—at ½ past 10 started—passed through the town of Tauculute about 2 P M, & about 4 we came to the town of Bagas where we laid in our corn for the journey—traded them Larriets, old clothes, sackses &c for corn, onions & eggs & the addition of 7 sacks of corn made our load quite heavy. Traveled 4 ms (after cooking our supper in Bagas—while trading) & took up for the night after a distance of 43 ms, total 73.

N.M.  
Fri. Oct. 23, 1846

Morning clear, warm & fine. About sun rise we resumed our travel. Came to the river Moroe about 11 oclock & fed & cooked—Here we made a raise of a firstrate mule<sup>95</sup> which will doubtless facilitate

our journey as 2 of our mules were rather thin in order & much impaired from traveling. Reached the Waggon Mounds about 9 where we had a good range, but with much difficulty we could find the place where we intended to encamp from the darkness of the Night & threatening Storm—at this Place we found a Train of waggons belonging to Mr. Armeho a Spanish trader. They were quite Friendly to us & afforded us all the assistance they could about camping—about 11 oclock we had quite a heavy rain which made it bad traveling the next day. I am told that it is very unusual to have much rain at this season. Dis 47 ms, Total 120.

N. M. Waggon Mounds  
Sat, Oct 24th, 1846

Morning cloudy, bough [rainbow] in the west. At 9 we startd but owing to the rain we were unable to make much headway—about 2 P M we had a shower of Hail & about 4 followed by another—after the last shower, 2 beautiful boughs [rainbows] appeared in the East as an indication of fair weather—about Sun set we reached Red river where we encamped. Dis 26 ms, Total 146.

N M, Red River  
Sund., Oct 25th, 1846

Morning clear & pleasant, though heavy frost. From a seviere cold my Health was much impaired, but felt some better after having drank a cup of Pepper Tea. About 8 we were traveling—after a Travel of 25 ms came to what is calld the Point of Rocks or the 3 Friends, here we discovered Indian [tracks] just made & from the appearance I should judge there must have been 100 or more, the most of them having left the road in all probability to secret themselves to attack us—I at this moment was alone—the remainder of the co stopped back on a chase of some antelope—Traveling on slowly took out my Shooting Irons and prepared for an attack—at the dis of 2½ [ms] we discovered 4 Horsemen & Pack Mules



—Both Parties called a halt & prepared for battle—supposing each to be Indians—by the Time the rear came up we saw by means of our Spy Glasses—that we were under a mistake—when we drew near we learned that it was Col Thompson & 3 of his guard—having left the remainder of the co & waggon in the rear—to travel on to Sante Fe—there to take command of the Bat. Told us that he had been appointed by the Pres of the U S to lead them to California & see them settled in Peace. Asked us if we thought the Bat would receive him. I told him if he wanted to carry out Col Allens Pledges to them they doubtless would.<sup>96</sup> After a short consultation both parties concluded for safety to encamp together for the Night. Accordingly we selected a high spot, the better to observe the moves of our Wild Savage Red Friends. Picketed down our mules, placed out a guard & waited the result. However I had no fear on my part—as the Lord had said that we should go & prosper & return in safety—that he would not let us fall in the hands of our enemies. Soon after dark the wind came from the North like a Tornado. A more sudden & severe change is very uncommon. We gathered our mules around our waggons & Tents to shield them from the chilling blast. In the morning all was safe—the Indians no doubt had as much as they could do to keep from freezing to death. Dis 28 ms, Total 174.

United Encampment,  
Mexican Desert, Shian Nation  
Mon, Oct 25th, 1946

Morning clear, high wind N, remarkably cold. At 6 we put ahead,—at the dis of 8 ms met the rear of Col Thompsons co, at the dis of 21 ms fed our animals, made coffee & took some refreshments—travelled on to the loan Mound & encamped for the Night. Dis 31 ms, T. 205. Evening quite mild.

## Round Mounds, N M

Tues, Oct 26th, 1846

Morning clear, mild & pleasant, gentle S W. At day break we were traveling—at the distance of 8 ms reached the Extra Valley, fed & took brakefast. Here we met Capt Woods & Campbell with about 800 head of beef for Santefe—at the dis of 16 ms fed & took supper—Here we met Capt M M Bynum with a train of 21 waggons loaded with Government Provisions. Capt B took a cup of coffee with us & manifested much anxiety to have us encamp with them—but the length of our Journey was so great that we durst not consent—Traveled to McCleeses creek, dis of [16] ms. Encamped with Capt Mills & J D Bradsley's co of 26 waggons—Provision trains—gave them a way bill of the rout. Evening Pleasant. Dis 40 miles, T. 246 m.

## McCleeses Creek, N M

Wed, Oct 27th, 1846

Morning pleasant, though cloudy—About 10 wind from S W started. At 20 mi to 8 traveled to the Ceder Spring, dis 12 ms. 2 ms beyond we met Capt Gipson with a Train, 31 waggons, from F.T. Gibson. From him we learned that the Indians had made 2 attempts to robb Dr. Penn<sup>97</sup> & co but failed—on the upper Cime-roan once at the willow bar & that Gipson sent 19 of co back which were robed of all their blankets, guns, provisions & even took the clothes of their backs—all but 2 sick men that were lying down—if I mistake not 2 of the no. escaped with their horses—after robing them the chief & brave shook hands & left them—there was about 150 in No.—the last robbery was committed about 25 ms beyond the crossing of the Arkansas—the 2 men that made their escape followed up the Trains of waggons to report their defeat. About 7 ms E of Ceder Springs we met Capt Belle's Train. By some of the co we were told that 9 Indians were seen 1 mile back only—they also told us that we would Stand but a slim

chance among them (the indians). This was idle stories as I told them that we would go in safte. At the Spot where the Indians were seen but a few moments before we fed, boiled coffee, & Eat Supper. About 8 it commenced raining lightly till 12 which was the time we took up for the day. The most dangerous and suspicious places we passed of night or hours when least suspected & always encamped from the road—Spreading our tent we put in our saddles & coutrements & kept them safe from rain. 5 miles beyond the cold Spring we left one of our horses as a Peace offering to the Red Men or cousin Lemuel.<sup>98</sup> After lifting up our hearts in Prayre the boys lay down to rest while I watched our animals till near 3 morning. Dis 40 ms, T. 286 m.

Commancha N.

Near the head of the Cimeroan

Thurs, Oct 28th, 46

At the hour of 6 we fed & was on the road—morning warm & cloudy. At the distance of 8 miles met Capt Overfelt with his Train of 25 waggons loaded with Provisions for the Mor. Bat. From them we got some pork & exchanged coffee for sugar. Fed & took breakfast at the crossing of the Cimeroan—traveled about 10 ms more & fed, took supper. About 6 started, traveld till 39 minutes to 10 when we took up for the night. Evening cloudy & warm. About 25 ms out of the 30 of the travel to day the road was a solid Bed of Sand—which made it very Slavish on our teams. I must confess the hand of the Lord in providing, Protecting & Sustaining us. Our corn holds out like the widows oil that Elijah blessed. Dis 30 ms, T 317.

Cimeroan

Frid Oct 29th, 1846

The last watch about 30 mi to 6 calld up our co which soon put all in Motion—at 25 mi past 6 started, clowdy or rather remarkably dark & foggy—though comfortably & warm. Traveled till

about 10, fed & Brakefastd—hard to make a fire as all the chips in this part of the plains are wet. At 4 P M Adams & Harry trading co of 11 waggons—from them we were told that 25 ms would take us of the Cimeroan & that 1 man from Overfelts co was shot through the back of the head—fell dead instantly. Another ball passed through a man's coat collar. after fireing 5 shots, the cousin Lemuel Skulked off without receiving any injury [from] their white Brethren. Evening cool, Strong wind S, look verry much like snow—traveled till ½ to 12 & took up for the Night. Roads firstrate, W South cloudy & warm. Dis 50 ms, Total 367 ms.

Simeroan River Sat Oct 30th 46

Morning cloudy, W S. About 6 we started & about 8 it commenced raining which soon made the going verry bad as well as disagreeable to both ourselves & beasts—Came to the last point on the Simeroan & struck up camp—took the springs out of our waggon to burn as the buffalo dung was too wet. About 1 P M Capt Hall, Coulbourn & C. (Santefe Traders) with 26 waggons arrived & encamped—still raining. Left Ft Leavenworth on Oct 1st, met with no accidents on their way. When they found that we intended to lay till morning, they improved their opportunity in writing to their Friends. Mr. Norris Colbourn has been in the trade for Several years & I would judge from actions & appearances that he is a Philanthropic, Sensitive to the feelings & rights of others—lives for to benefit all good men, doubtless considers that others have right to some Smawl Portion of comfort & Enjoyment & while in persuit & accumulating wealth & gain of this world. Seeing that we were wet & exposed to the cold & likely without Spirits—Brought us a botle & after drinking told us to keep the remainder that it might be acceptable again in a storm—& that he had enough left. Prepared a good supper & came in Person & took us to his Table where we partook of the rich Festaval—consisting of Chocolate, Biscuits, butter, Cheese, beef & Pork, pepper sauce &c. After Supper he gave me a box of Sardins & about 4 pounds of chees. The next morning sent us down another boiler full of hot

chocolate to refresh us for our Journey. In return for this act of Kindness & liberality I pray my Heavenly Father to let the light of Heaven lighten his way & the Spirit of Truth never cease to operate on his mind untill he may be brought to the knowledge & light of the New & everlasting Gospel of the Kingdom & may we be so unspeakably happy as to sit down at the Table of the Lord & partake together. Rained all day—in the evening we tied our mules in their carel which broke of the storm. Dis 6 ms. Total 373 ms.

Lower Simeroan  
Sund, Oct 31st, 1846

Morning cloudy, wind down. At ½ past 8 we were moving—traveled 20 ms, stopped & Refreshed & fed in a basin which I called Trip's Defeat on account of his being overpowered by 6 large wolves. Wind high, S W, blows bleak & from all appearances bespeaks that cold weather is not far off. Started again at 4 & traveled till 11. As night approached the wind increased until it got amost incredibly cold. We blanketed the poorest of our mules & by means of ropes waggon covers & Pins we succeeded in getting in a comfortable shelter where we slept till morning in safety. Dis 40 ms, Total 413.

Desert Encampment  
Mon, Nov 1st, 46

Sun came out warm & pleasant—but little wind stirring. At 8 we were again moving & at the dis of 8 ms took coffee & fed. At 5 evening we reached & crossed the Arkansas & encamped. Here we found Capt Hornback & McLevain with a Mule Train (30 Waggon government Provisions) Capts Man—Yates & Buchannon were also here but their Trains of 40 men was 30 miles back where they on the 28 of Oct were attacked by 300 Pawnees—about 10 in the morning. The fire lasted 4 hours when Yates, Mann & Buchannon & their co retreated with the loss of one man

wounded. The Indians lost one of their chieives—took about 160 mules—some blankets & clothing—burned 1 waggon loaded with Bacon & Flour—after making this raise they soon toddled. On the 31st a co of 160 Shians came to the Trains encamped at the crossing—told them that the Pawnees bad Indians will shoot Chemuck-aman [?] & started on in pursuit of those Pawnees to give them Battle. The co—that was defeated—said that the Pawnees were the most Noble and best looking men that ever they saw—scarce a man under 6 ft. It was not the intention to take life—mules were their object, but when one of their chieives fell it was with much difficulty that the chieives could keep their braves from falling on & massacring the whole co (as the co returned after they first retreated). Dis 25 ms, Total 433 ms. passing our old camp ground we saw the grave that contained the body of Br Alvah Phelps was dug about 4 feet by the wolves, almost reachd the body. Capt McLevain sent back teams to bring up the rear of Capt Mann's waggons.

Crossing Arkansas  
Shians N., N. M.  
Tues, Nov. 2nd, 46

Cool, ice about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick. At sunrise we were jogging. Previous to starting we took some 10 or 12 letters for Capt Mann, McLevain & co. They in return manifested the warmest feelings, gave us what Bacon & Molasses we wanted without price. At the dis of 10 ms we met Capt Mann's co. They told us that we doubtless would fall an easy Prey to the Barbarity of the Savages—that they had been followed by about 160 Indians of the Shians, that they were not more than 6 ms distance back at that time, also about 27th Oct that Quarter Master [name omitted] was met by a war party of Commacha's & robbed of 8 mules & contents of 1 waggon, probably loaded with dry goods. After hearing what our Friends had to say we bid them the time of day—flinging our selves on the broad basis of the Mercy of God we pursued on our Journey—traveled 3 ms, left the road & struck through the desert

which seemed to be the Mind of the Spirit,<sup>99</sup> the river we left on our right where we supposed the Indians to be—at the dis of 20 ms—fed in the open desert 3 P M & about 9 evening we struck down to the Arkansas R. Watered & filled our vessels & at 10 we passed the Battle Ground where Capt Mann, Yates & Buchannon with 40 men were defeated by a party of from 3 to 500 Pawnee's only 3 days before—Our mules snorted when they smelt the Blood and Powder apparently Sensible of what had taken Place & about 2 ms distance from the Batle ground we left the Main Road—traveled through a Desert which is about 30 ms nigher but without wood & water—leaving the A. River on our right we made our way as sly as possible—travelled about 6 ms & took up camp. Dis 37 ms, T 450 ms. 12 oclock.

Messengers fair, N M, Shian Indians  
Wed, Nov 3rd, 46

Morning clear. Started at 5.—traveled ms., fed & boiled coffee—& at the distance of 15 ms more fed again. Here we found a good young mule with the Harness & rigging on which had doubtless ran off in time of Mann's engagement—She came in good time.<sup>100</sup> We hitched her in the waggon & traveled 10 m & took up camp. Dis 35 ms, Total 485 ms.

Camp of Necessity, N.M., S. I.  
Thurs., Nov 4th, 46

Morning dark, wind South, high. Having about 20 ms yet to go before reaching wood or water we started at 7 & at 9 we had quite a little squall of snow—at 1 P M we reached the Pawnee Fork of Arkansas River where as Providence has always before at all dangerous points, placed a co of whites. Capt Bulliard Russel & co (Santefe Traders) with 30 waggons & 50 men were encamped. We here fed & watered our mules, having traveled 100 ms without water. Traveled 15 ms & encamped for the night. Evening stormy—dis 33 ms, T 518 ms.

Pawnee Rock, N M., Pawnee Nation  
Friday Nov 5th, '46

Cloudy though pleasant. Started at 7, drove 8 ms—where we discovered 5 mules with ropes on<sup>101</sup> that had been taken by the Indians from Capt Bulliard & co 2 days before—This certainly was ram caught in the thicket as 3 of our mules were about past traveling—the 5 mules just made us a change all round, which when we had done we thanked the Lord for this peculiar manifestation of his good will & went on our way rejoicing—Seeing that all things worked for our interest & good—When we reached Walnut Creek we saw a large No. of poneys which indicated that Indians were near—we felt some what cautious tho not alarmed. Before we reached the ford 2 young lads came up on the lope, offered their hands as a token of Friendship. Passing the ford about 1 mile we stoped & fed and coffered—before we were done 5 of their No. was up with us—we delayed as little time as possible—gave them to eat & some little presents—which seemed to please them verry much—one of them could speak English—told us that we were good men—we gave them bread to eat—that many Indians were Encamped arround & some should they know that we were here that they would steal our mules—and probably do us harm—but should the Pawnees come they would give them batle & would protect us. They wanted to swap their Poneys for our Mules—one of them followed us some 3 ms. Told him to shoot me a buffalo & I would give him 2 yards of calico—which he readily took—dropped his blanket & prepared for the chase—his horse was with out a bridle but perfectly understood what was wanting, runing up to an old Bull's side haulted instantly when the rider fired, wounding him mortally—& while the Indian was reloading—the horse was under the lope heading & driving back to the road. When he came up within a few rods of the road he again haulted when the 2nd fire brought him to the ground. The horse then walked up to the carcas & smelt of it, apparently proud of the victory. We took from the animal the tongue, & about 50 lbs of the best [parts]. The remainder were left to feed the wolves—



This indian Said on the Morrow they were to start back to Kaw River some 200 miles on our road. I told them that we were Mormons & friends to the Red men—they would have gone with us for protection should we required them to do so—fearing the Treachery of Indians we traveled some 20 ms—before we stoped which took us till midnight—encamped near Big Cow Creek. Dis 36 ms, Total 554 ms.

Big Cow Creek, Osage Nation  
Sat, Nov 6th, '46

Morning clear & warm, heavy dew. At sunrise we started, traveled 1 m, cooked brakefast & some Buffaloo meat to do us through the day as we only cooked once a day. While at Brakefast 2 of the Kaws came to us very Friendly & sat down & eat. About 30 mi to 12 we started but before we had traveled 5 ms Some 8 or 10 more came full tilt on their Poneys. Wanted to swap for mules &c. Those Natives certainly are the greatest Pests—when they take a Notion to any thing—of all others. After a travel of 33 ms, eve we encamped in the open Prairie 11 oclock. Stopped at the Litle Arkansas, fed & took supper—about dark. Here we left one of our mules, tired out, unable to go further without rest.<sup>102</sup> The distance of our journey—the scarceness of our feed, together with the probability of being caught in a storm & Perish in the Desert, advised us not to wait for tired Mules—We therefore made an offering of him to cousin Lemuel. Evening fair. Dis. 33 ms, T 587.

Arkansaw Desert, Osage Nation  
Sund, Nov 7th, 46

Cloudy, W S, high. Started at 7, traveled 8 ms & brakefasted. Passed Mormon Creek about 4 when clouds began to abscre the atmosphere. Took up at 6 as it became so dark that it was not safe to travel, found some wood that had been left at an Encampment—being out of danger from Indians, made up a fire,

baked bread, boiled a Buffalo's tongue for the morrow. About 11 a shower of rain from the South. Dis 32 ms, T 625.

Near Turkey Creek, Kaw & Osage Nation  
Mon. Nov 8th, 46

At 5 we took the road. Left Bro Gully & Egan to look up 2 of our mules that was out of the way—traveled 5 ms, came to the Cotton Wood Fork—at which Bro Gully & Egan over took us with the mules—from here took wood and water traveled 10 ms —& fed and Brakefasted—morning cloudy—occasional showers (light)—then pushed to the Diamond Spring, dis of 27 ms, where we encamped, 6 evening. The roads fine—truly we can say that the Lord has highly favoured & prospered us while on this mission, the co's that are just forward of us have not only met with Trouble from the Indians but have had Mud, rain, storm & water to wade through—the heaviest rains has been ahead of us which has broke down the teams of those co's refered too—while we have evaded all these difficulties & are now within 15 ms of Dr. Penn, who left Santefe 10 days before us. Our mules are in first rate plight, all but 1 & a horse that we left. Dis 36 ms, Total 661.

Diamond Springs  
Hunting Ground of the Kaw & Osage Nation  
Teus, Nov 9th, 1846

Morning fine. At 5 we were moving along—in the night the Lord warned me in a dream not to stop at Council Grove—for there was evil plotted against us—Awoke just at 4, told the Boys my Dream—harnessed & started reached C Grove at 10—where we all called a halt—for the grass was good on the bottom. Soon after we stopped we heard several guns near by—I told the Boys that we had better go on further or we certainly would get into trouble accordingly we harnessed up as fast as possible—& rode out to Big John Springs—found grass good, fed, cooked & rested

3 hours—2 indians came to us at this point but were friendly—after a travel of 32 ms Encamped in the Prairie 2 ms East of Hensler's Creek—our object for camping in the Prairie was to guard against cousin Lem's tricks—evening fine. Dis 32 ms, Total 695 ms.

Near Hensler's Creek, Indians Land  
Wed Nov 10th, 1846

At 30 mi to 3 morning we were up, boiled the coffee Pot, & at 4 we resumed our travel intending to pass by Dr. Penn while encamped, notwithstanding he left Santeffe 11 days before we did—heavy fog. At the distance of 21 ms we reached Dr. Penn's Encampment about 30 ms after he left. Traveling about 3 ms more when we came in sight of his co—but finding our mules were tired & some of them verry weak—and only one feed left, we concluded to divide that, rest our animals, Slack up our travel & not attempt to reach the Settlement on the day following, as we would probably do our mules more harm, by rushing them than what the storms & want of feed one day longer would. Stopped in the Prairie near Gullys Creek, where we cooked & rested our Mules 3 hours. Day fine, wind South—at 25 minutes past 2 we again bent our course homeward—and at 6 evening passed Dr. Penn who had just Struck up for the Night on the 110. Traveling 1 mile further we Encamped in the Prairie. Dis 42 ms, Total 735½ ms.

Creek called One Hundred & Ten. Indian Lands  
Thurs, Nov 11, 1846

At 4 morning after eating we were traveling—at the dis of 8 ms fed on Rock Creek. Started at 9—about which time commenced raining & Dr Penn hove in sight, perhaps for the last time in this world or worlds to come. Rain continued all day, which made the traveling bad. About 1 m East of Hurricane Point we took up for night Quarters, & would have stopped sooner could

we have found unburned Prairie. It is 8 & so dark that we could not see a mule 10 feet off—only as it lightened—still raining, blowing and thundering—about 12 wind shifted East—cleared off and turned cool. Dis 36 ms, T 77½ms.

Hurricane Point, Shawnee Nation  
Friday, Nov 12, 1846

Morning cool, W E. About 6 we faced the wind traveled 1½ ms to an Indian Planter (Shawnee) by the name of John Fish—bought of him 2½ bushels corn & some Potatoes—paid 75¢. Also bought a fat goose—paid 37cts. Here we had a general feast for both our animals & our selves. Weather soon moderated, day fine. At 2 we crossed Kaw River & traveled to the Stranger (a creek) where remained till 4 the following morning. Dis 17 ms, T. 78½.

Stranger, Delaware Nation  
Sat, Nov 13th, '46

At 3 Bro Egan & my self was up, prepared brakefast, fed the mules, at 4 we all started. Day fine, reached Ft. L. [Ft. Leavenworth] about 3 P M, dis 25 ms. Crossed the Mo. River about 1 hour after—Bro Gully & Egan whom I sent ahead with 4 of the mules to look out Lodgings—reached the Town of Weston about 7, staid over night with Bro Edward Miles—Blacksmith—who received us with Peculiar warmth of Friendship—So did Bro Robert M King—here we heard from the camp good news—all was going on well. Dis 31 ms, T 820 ms.

Weston, Platt Co, Mo.  
Sund, Nov 14th, '46

At 5 we took brakefast with Bro Miles & King—at 30 mi to 7 we started—drove to the shop where Bro E Miles put on a band & washer on the fore ex of my little waggon free of cost & may

the Lord reward him for this good will toward his Servants. Morning clear. At noon we bought 18 sheaves of oats—fed & eat dinner—about 4 commenced raining. Reached St Joseph about 6, dark—stopped at Bro Ghean & Smith's. Bro Ghean had just returned from the M. camp & was quite unwell. Bro Jacob Peart brought us feed for our mules—prepared supper for us—Bro E & Gully went & lodged with him—but to my little waggon I staid close by till I saw all things out of danger—& slept in every night till I reach home—should the Lord permit. Rain all night. Dis 30 ms, muddy roads, T 850 m.

St Joseph's Buckhanon Co, Mo.

Mon, Nov 15th, 1846

Raining. Bro Stevens & my self Brakefasted at Bro John Gheens & took dinner at Bro Peart. Spent the day in trading at Mr. Smith & co—in fact did not get through till 11 the day following when I closed my account Paid out \$2.25. Paid Bro Gheen \$1.00 per cwt for hauling 1500 lbs. At the close of our deal he presented us 3 botles of Madeira Wine & gave me an extra Botle of Brandy. At 1 we left the city, traveled to Savanah, Andrew Co. At Mr. Abbots we staid over night—fed our mules with oats at 20 cts per dozen. Dis 14 ms T 864 ms

Savanah Andrew Co

Wed, Nov 17th, 1846

Morning cloudy—cool, spitting snow. The dis of 13 ms we stopped at Mr. Allaway's. Charged us 50 cts for corn. Here we met Bro Mathews & several Brethren. We were detained by 2 hours by an accident that happened. Bro Matthews accidently ran his waggon against one of our hind wheels—& broke the axletree—this is the 3rd axle tree that we have put in our waggon since we started—but fortunately we had with us a new axletree that we brought from Santefe. Crossed the Nodaway at Lackeys Ferry, traveled 12 ms across the Prairie to Mr. Gillespie where we took up for the Night. Dis 28 ms, T 892.

Andrew Co., Mo  
Thurs., Nov 18, '46

Morning clear, hard freeze which made the road rough. Here we bought some sweet potatoes—started before sun rise—traveled to Lindon, the co seat of Atchison. Staid at Mr. Wolf. Dis 36 ms, T 930 ms.

Lindon, Atchison Co, Mo.  
Friday, Nov 19th, 1846

Morning clear—heavy frost—ground hard frozen. Eat breakfast at light, paid 13 cts each. Crossed the Nishnabola at Moerlan's Ferry—paid 40 cts. Here I met with Sister Nancy Dayley<sup>108</sup> an old acquaintance who wept with joy. I presented her a handsome stran of Mexican Beads as a token of Friendship.

## NOTES

55. Lee's detailed description of the military procedure here is evidence that some attempt was being made to transform the volunteers into soldiers and to establish a military decorum. "The battalion were never drilled, and, though obedient, have little discipline; they exhibit great heedlessness and ignorance, and some obstinacy." P. St. George Cooke, "Journal of the March of the Mormon Battalion of Infantry Volunteers." Senate Document 2, 31 Cong. Special Sess., p. 3.

56. Practically every diarist wrote about the row of mule skeletons which were passed this day. ". . . passed by bones of upwards of 100 mules all within a few rods of travel. Our pilot Mr. Thompson told us that he had sold the mules to a company of traders and they were catch'd in a snow storm in September last, the mules froze to death in a few minutes in consequence of their being so weak." Golder, p. 167.

57. The preceding description beginning with "while I am speaking of curiosity . . .," is reproduced almost verbatim in the Journal History of the LDS Church, but without Lee's name attached. Lee's record, in fact, is the basis for much of the Santa Fe Mission as given in the Manuscript History of Brigham Young also. The living arrangements of the hawk, prairie dog, and snake are similar in southern Utah, where the

burrowing owl and prairie dog bunk together. Snakes have also been found in the same underground house, but whether as regular tenants or as foraging for food has not been determined. The large black spider is clearly a tarantula.

58. The handwriting here is almost illegible, but on his return journey Lee writes it clearly as McCleeses Creek. He is referring to McNees Creek.

59. John H. King, a private in Co. B. There are three men named Sessions—John, Richard, and William B.

60. Nathaniel V. Jones was first sergeant of Co. D. Born October 13, 1822, at Brighton, New York, he joined the Mormons in 1842 and came to Nauvoo, where he became a lieutenant in the cavalry of the Nauvoo Legion. Large of stature, strong, fearless, and wholly dedicated to the Mormon cause, he filled many posts of leadership. He left his wife and two children behind to join the Battalion; he would be placed in charge of the guard that accompanied Col. John C. Fremont to his trial. Arriving in Utah with his family in 1849, he was made a bishop of the 15th Ward. In 1853 he went on a mission to China; in 1856 he was detailed to mine lead at Las Vegas, Nevada; he was an officer in the Mormon War. He died February 15, 1863, a comparatively young man. Extracts from his Journal are in USHQ, vol. 4, pp. 3-24.

61. William Coray, first sergeant in Co. B, had his wife and her mother along, so went with the group to Pueblo.

62. William A. Follett was a private in Co. B.

63. William H. Walker, a private in Co. B.

64. Jacob Butterfield was a private in Co. A., with Lt. George W. Oman over him.

65. This is Nelson Higgins of Co. D., who on September 15 had taken a group of sick and women to Pueblo. ". . . 10 men detailed to go with the families up the river to Bent's Fort and Cap Higgins of D. Co. and Quartermaster Seargeant Shelton also, their families being along . . ." Golder, p. 164. Higgins had his wife and four children along; another was born at Pueblo during the winter. A folder of miscellaneous papers at Utah State Historical Society shows that this man later pioneered San Pete County, Utah, was sent to settle in Carson Valley, Nevada, returned at the call of the Utah War, and later was sent to preside at Richfield.

66. The rest of the page is blank. Apparently Lee was interrupted and did not complete the entry.

67. The description which follows is condensed in the Manuscript History of Brigham Young, p. 377, and quoted by Golder, p. 169 n.

68. General Doniphan had participated in the Mormon troubles at Far West, Missouri, in 1838, but refused to carry out orders to execute

Joseph Smith. When in 1846 he was put in charge of this section of the Army of the West, the Mormons felt that they had a friend.

69. The ruins of Pecos pueblo which was abandoned about 1838. It is now a National Monument. The term "Nephite Building" comes from the *Book of Mormon*, which speaks of ancient cities on this continent.

70. Capt. Philip St. George Cooke and his Co. K were a part of Kearny's expedition of 300 dragoons toward the Pacific, from which he was called back to Santa Fe to take charge of the Mormon Battalion.

71. Lee evidently blamed himself for his failure to carry out Brigham Young's orders, hence his "Valley of Repentance." All the conditions they specifically ordered have been set aside: the Battalion will not be led by one of its own men, the group has been divided and separated, the Priesthood is not supreme.

72. Lee has added one too many ciphers here. "The population is from two to four thousand, and its inhabitants are, it is said, the poorest people of any town in the province. The houses are of mud bricks . . . generally of one story, and built on a square. The interior of the square is an open court, and the principal rooms open into it. They are forbidding in appearance from the outside, but nothing can exceed the comfort and convenience of the interior. The thick walls make them cool in summer and warm in winter." Emory, p. 60. Slightly more detailed is Doniphan's description: "Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico, occupies the site of an ancient Pueblo, and contains an estimated population of six thousand. It is situated on Santa Fe creek, a beautiful, clear stream, issuing out of the mountains toward the east, having its source in a lake. From this creek various canals part, above the town, and lead through the fields, gardens, and orchards, for the purpose of irrigation. . . . Their houses, generally flat-roofed, and one story high, are built of sun-dried bricks, called adobes. . . . In the city there are six Catholic churches but no public schools, the business of education being intrusted to ecclesiastics. The streets are crooked and narrow. The whole presents very much the appearance of an extensive brickyard. The public square is about ninety yards, from north to south, one hundred from east to west. The governor's residence, or palace, is situated on the north side of the Plaza. The architecture is of the rudest order." John Taylor Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition, . . . An Account of the Conquest of New Mexico . . . the U.S. Army Operations in the Great American Southwest* (Cincinnati, 1848. Reprint Chicago, 1962), pp. 90-91.

73. Lee is taking time to enlarge upon notes taken earlier. See p. 288, *supra*. Tyler (p. 162) also mentions this ruin: "About noon on the 1st of October we passed within half a mile of the walls of an ancient structure



situated on the north side of the road. There were two solid walls about four feet apart running parallel nearly due north and south. The total length of these walls was about one hundred and ninety feet; for one hundred and thirty feet they were intact. The rock was laid in cement, which had become solid as the rock itself. Whether these had been partition walls of a castle or some large building, or part of a fortification, it would be difficult to determine. . . . There were numerous canals or channels where large streams had once run, probably for irrigating, but which were then quite dry." Lee's description is more detailed, since he evidently took time to make a longer visit and careful notes. According to their itinerary, the location appears to have been northeast of Wagon Mound, east of the Canadian River.

74. Private Samuel Chapin of Co. E.

75. Cyrus C. Canfield is mentioned often by his companions. He filled many difficult assignments on the Mormon frontier.

76. This section has been copied almost verbatim into the Manuscript History of Brigham Young, p. 386. It is quoted in Golder, p. 175.

77. This was one of the best known of the Mountain Men, Thomas Fitzpatrick, called by the Indians "Broken Hand." He had been one of the William H. Ashley group of 1822, and from that day on had remained on the frontier. See L. R. Hafen and W. H. Ghent, *Broken Hand. The Life Story of Thomas Fitzpatrick* (Denver, 1931).

78. Lee is wrong here. Not knowing his geography he calls the place Taos instead of Pueblo, where the Mississippi Saints and the sick detachment of the Battalion would spend the winter.

79. Since Lee calls this man "a French brother," we assume that he is a member of the Battalion. The only one enrolled who might be mistaken for a Marks Mcwell by pronunciation would be Maxie Maxwell, of whom we have as yet found nothing. He was a private in Co. A.

80. Albern Allen and his son James were both privates in Co. A.

81. The man who has lost rank here is Lee's good friend, Samuel Gully.

82. Lee has persuaded Roswell Stephens to manage to return to Winter Quarters with him because, carrying as much money as he has, he wants a reliable guard. Stephens was three years older than Lee; the two men had worked together in the guard at Nauvoo. Stephens had left behind a wife and five children, so was glad to return. The next year he went with the pioneers to Utah, and, returning in August, was assigned to care for the families of the absent Battalion men. After living on many frontiers in Utah, he died in the village of Bluff, San Juan County, May 4, 1880.

83. Redick N. Allred had been an associate of Lee in Nauvoo. Here he was third sergeant in Co. A. James S. T. Allred and Reuben Allred had their young wives along; Redick left his family behind. A 17-page typescript, "Mormon Battalion Experiences," is in the manuscript files of the Utah State Historical Society.

84. Lee's attitude here is characteristic. Years later he refused to join in a dance where there were men who had spoken disrespectfully of Brigham Young.

85. David P. Rainey, first corporal of Co. B remained with the Battalion until they were mustered out, and then returned to Winter Quarters.

86. The family have printed *The Private Journal of William Hyde* (Salt Lake City, 1962). He returned to Utah, was active in the Church, established a village called Hyde Park, and had a family of five wives and twenty-seven children.

87. John Steele felt as Lee did. As he tells his story: ". . . I went to all the men who had wives, and asked them to go along with me to see Col Cooke, . . . At last I found John Hess . . . We went and found him in a long low cellar in company of about 30 officers. . . . Col. Cook . . . arose . . . about 6 ft and 4 inches. I told him I . . . would like the privilege of either having my wife go on to California with me or going back to Bent's Fort with her. He spoke very saucy and said he would like to have his wife along with him (but he never had a wife.) I told him very likely his wife was in Washington or some other good seaport among her friends, while mine was in Santa Fe among her enemies, and to have left her there with only a guard of sick men, I would not stand it; and the more I talked the more angry I got until at last I could have thrashed the ground with him. Colonel Cooke . . . said that he would go and see General Doniphan. I said I would go also, and he walked as fast as his long legs would carry him, but I kept alongside of him and the faster he walked the faster I walked. . . . I stopped outside when he got to General Doniphan's door. They had a small consultation, and in a few minutes Col. Cooke came out, looking altogether another man, and asked me very politely to call his orderly, . . . I did so and the Colonel told him to go tell the adjutant to stop making out the returns, and come down to him immediately. Then I knew I had gained my point." USHQ, Vol. 5, p. 11.

88. Writing of this nearly thirty years later, John D. Lee said, "While we were in Santa Fe the Doctor was robbed. His trunk was stolen, carried out of the camp, and broken open. Two gold watches and some money were taken from it. Two mules were also taken the same night. I knew nothing

of this, nor who did it, until long afterwards. After we had started home Stevens had the mules. He brought them to camp and said they were his. I think Stevens and Egan robbed the Doctor, but they never acknowledged it to me." Lee, *Confessions*, p. 187.

89. Of the Glines demotion Tyler gives only a copy of Orders No. 9, dated Santa Fe, October 15, 1846. "(1) Sergeant Major J. H. Glines having been reported incapable of performing the march to California, he is assigned to company A, and will be borne on the rolls of that company accordingly." Tyler, pp. 167-68.

90. There is no evidence that this deal was consummated, for Edward L. Brown was one of the group who re-enlisted on July 20, 1847, for an additional six months' service. He was first sergeant in that group.

91. This is Robert Clift, third lieutenant in Co. C.

92. Pages 167 and 168 of the original are damaged. This is the reason for the omissions at the end of this entry and the beginning of the following one.

93. Christopher Layton, private in Co. C.

94. Of the difficulty in securing animals to make the return trip, Lee later wrote: "I remained in camp ten days to recruit my animals, because I could not purchase an animal there for use. The army had taken everything fit to ride or walk. . . . General Doniphan said I should have a guard with me, . . . but animals could not be procured. I then took the necessary trouble and procured as good a team as I could to start back with. With the consent of the General I got a large mule, after much trouble, to work with one of my own." Lee, *Confessions*, pp. 186-87.

95. Of his getting this mule, he wrote: "At Moro Station, on the Moro River, the last camp we would find until we reached the eastern side of the plains, we found a large, fat mule, that belonged to the government. Lieutenant Gully gave the station keeper, a young man, a receipt for the mule, and we took it with us, as we were, in one sense, in Government employ. We were carrying a mail, and on general business for the Government. This was a large, fine, gentle mule. I called her Friendship. When the other animals grew weak, I fastened the double-tree back to the axle, and thus Friendship hauled the wagon at least three hundred miles." *Ibid.*, pp. 187-88.

96. This is confirmed by a letter written to Hyde, Pratt, and Taylor in England, dated January 7, 1847: ". . . Instead of the officers sending to us for council they wrote to the Pres. of the U. S. to appoint a commander, the Pres. informed them that was not his privilege, that the command devolved on the rank, but in as much as they made the request, he dispatched Capt. Thompson from Jefferson Barracks to take command, if the Battalion wished it. Brother Lee met Capt. Thompson learned his

mission was pleased with the man and wished him to go forward, thinking that the Battalion would be benefited by the exchange, and that the choice would be with the Battalion, not with the officers alone." LDS Journal History. In order to show how close the official account is to the Lee Diary here, we include the following: "On this day [Oct. 24 (?) 1846] John D. Lee and company reached the point of rocks, where they discovered many Indian tracks. Two and a half miles further they discovered four horsemen and pack mules. Both parties called a halt and prepared for defense, each party supposing the other to be Indians. With the aid of glasses they discovered their mistake. On approaching, Lee learned that it was Colonel Thompson and three of his guard. The Colonel had left the remainder of his company and wagons in the rear to hasten on to Santa Fe to take command of the Mormon Battalion. He informed them that the President of the United States had appointed him to lead the battalion to California and see them settled in peace. The Colonel asked Lee if he thought the Mormon Battalion would receive him. Lee said, if he would carry out Col. James Allen's pledges to them, they doubtless would." Manuscript History of Brigham Young, p. 424. The above items are quoted in Golder, pp. 153-54. Colonel Thompson never did overtake the Battalion.

For a number of reasons this incident seems open to question. That the President of the United States should take action to settle the problem of leadership in the Mormon Battalion after the military commander had done so seems quite improbable. That Lee was alone when he received this word might also color the story; that the officer is called Capt. Thompson in one place and Col. Thompson in another; that no first name or initial was given so that the man cannot be positively identified—all add to the general feeling of distrust. Lee did not say that the officer was from Jefferson Barracks—that information was written into the letter after he was back at the camp at Winter Quarters, so he might well have reported it orally. That this man was going to lead the Battalion to California and "see them settled in peace," would indicate that up to this point the Mormon leaders were not certain of their final destination.

97. This man might be Dr. George Penn, surgeon for the 1st Missouri volunteers.

98. Lee frequently refers to the Indians as "Cousin Lemuel." This comes from the *Book of Mormon*, where the descendants of the rebellious son Lemuel were cursed with dark skins and became the American Indians.

99. Writing later, Lee says he was directed by an audible voice and led on by an invisible power. He followed down a deep wash and "came to the very spot where the Indians had attacked Captain Mann that morn-

ing. Fragments of the train lay scattered all over the plain. Our mules were much frightened, perhaps at the smell of blood. We watered our animals and filled our canteens with water. . . . We traveled on until near midnight." Lee, *Confessions*, p. 190.

100. Lee continues: "The next day we found a large, fat young mule, with all its harness on. It had evidently been frightened during the battle and broke away from the command. It was fully forty miles from the battle ground. I was much in need of fresh animals, for mine were nearly given out. The finding of this mule, as we did, gave me renewed confidence in God, and strengthened my belief that he was leading me." *Ibid.*

101. Again Lee embellishes the story of finding the five mules with their ropes and staking-pins dragging. His animals were all worn out. He prayed for help and guidance and dreamed that he was very hungry and was handed five ears of corn. One was red, one was yellow, one was jet black, the others regular; all were sound, full ears. He told Gully his dream and that he felt that they would find help that day. After their morning prayer, "We made about six miles, when we saw fresh tracks made by shod animals, that appeared to be dragging long ropes and pins. The tracks were following the road, going the same direction that we were traveling. We had a long down grade before us. The plain was dotted here and there with herds of buffalo. I . . . took up my spy glass, and took a careful survey of the country . . . a number of mules, feeding among the buffalo . . . We called a halt, turned our mules loose, then took out the oil cloth that I had to feed the mules on, and took a little of the grain we had left, and put it on the cloth. The strange mules saw it and came running up to us to get a feed of grain. We got hold of the ropes that were on the necks of four of the mules, and tied them together. . . ." The fifth, a black mare mule, was vicious, and fought him, but once she was conquered, he managed her. "I then hitched this wild mule to the side of Friendship. We all then had fresh riding animals, and turned our jaded ones loose. . . ." *Ibid.*

102. According to Lee, this is the mule that he managed to get in Santa Fe. "It drank more of the alkali water than was good for it, so we left it on the plains and went our way. We saw so many fresh Indian signs around there that we knew we had no time to stay attending sick mules." *Ibid.*, p. 194.

103. This is Miss Nancy Dayley whom Lee had converted in Tennessee. When his friends in the area contributed to furnish him with a new outfit, Nancy Dayley gave him a pair of socks.