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The Life of Amos Milton Musser

Karl Brooks

Brigham Young University - Provo

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THE LIFE OF AMOS MILTON MUSSER

A thesis presented
to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University

In partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Science

by
Karl Brooks

October, 1961
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Karl Brooks

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CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE

For more than half a century, Amos Milton Musser was a conspicuous figure in the social, religious, and business life of Utah. He was a good penman, and his fluency in address and agreeableness in manners fitted him for business contact in the commercial world. His unusual abilities to gather information relative to the development of the resources in the territory of Utah placed him in positions of prominence both in the Church and state. His natural endowments so well fitted him for business dealings that men in high places were quick to give him employment.

As part of his busy life, he filled two missions for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, was for eighteen years traveling bishop for the Church, served as superintendent for the Deseret Telegraph Office, as fish and game commissioner, as assistant Church Historian and was on the board of directors and secretary-treasurer of several other business organizations. He was one of the original incorporators of the ZGMI, and of the Salt Lake Railroad. Always alert for improvements, he introduced the telephone and phonograph into Utah.
Amos Milton Musser was the second son and fourth child of Samuel and Anna Barr Musser. His father, born September 4, 1800, was the only child of Christian and Elizabeth Musser; his mother, born December 4, 1803, was the daughter of Christian and Susanna Barr, the seventh in a family of thirteen. These two were married on January 27, 1824, and set up their home in Donegal Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where all their children were born.¹

Of Samuel Musser we know little except a brief description written by his wife, Anna Barr Musser. Though she said nothing of his personal qualities, she pictured him as "a slender built man, about five feet eleven inches tall and weighing around one hundred and fifty pounds. His hair and eyes were dark, but his complexion was fair; he was healthy and erect and without a physical blemish. He had a medium-sized head, hand and foot. He had a good common school education and was a farmer by profession."²

No word is said of the type of illness which took this man, who seemed to be such a perfect physical specimen, but it would seem to have been sudden. "My father was taken sick in the year 1832 and died on the 14th day

¹This information, copied from the family Bible, is in a scrapbook owned by Mrs. Gertrude M. Richards, Pleasant Grove, Utah. It gives the birthdates of the Musser children as: Elizabeth, December 7, 1824; Susanna, September 2, 1826; Benjamin B., February 28, 1828; and Amos Milton, May 20, 1830.

²Ibid., hereafter cited as Richards' Scrapbook.
of March, that same year, aged 31 years, 5 months, and 25 days, "A. M. Musser later wrote in his diary. 3

Left alone with four small children, the oldest only seven years old, Anna Musser probably had some financial difficulties. After three years of widowhood, she was married, on May 12, 1835, to Abraham Bitner, a man twenty-one years older than she. These two made their home in the small town of Washington, Pennsylvania, on the Susquehanna River. Here two additional children were born—a son, Brenneman, and a daughter who died in infancy.

During these years the urge to move west in search of land and opportunity was everywhere among the people, and the Bitners decided to try to improve their condition by going also. In 1838 they disposed of their holdings, collected such things as they could take along, and set out for the West, in all probability following the National Road, over which most of the emigration from Pennsylvania passed. Authorized in 1806 by President Thomas Jefferson, and originally called the Cumberland Road, its route lay through the Cumberland from Columbus, Ohio, thence to Indianapolis, Indiana, and on to Vandalia, Illinois. It was to be sixty-two feet wide, surfaced with stone covered with gravel, with stone bridges to span the streams and gentle slopes around the hills, a road on which wagons could travel with safety

3 A. M. Musser, Diary, Vol. I, p. 21. This is in the possession of his son, Burton W. Musser, Salt Lake City, Utah. Hereafter cited as Musser.
and coaches could carry the mail by fast express. By 1838 some of the first sections were almost worn out before the last stretches were completed.

At the best, this wagon trip would require between three and four months, for the Bitners could not travel more than 20 miles a day and must stop often to replenish their store of food and to let their animals rest. A family of six children would mean that they must secure game, wild berries, nuts, or any other provision they could, in addition to what they could purchase in the settlements, sometimes few and far between. They arrived at the Mississippi River in the fall and secured holdings about five miles from the village of Quincy, Illinois, where they took up land for a farm.

They were there only a short time before Mr. Bitner began to have trouble with one of his eyes. They decided that it must be a cataract which was impairing his vision, and since he could get no medical help here and was acquainted with Dr. Atley, an eminent oculist in Pennsylvania, he decided to go back for treatment. Leaving his wife to manage as she could without him, he set out. After several weeks under the professional care of Dr. Atley, he returned to Quincy, only to be afflicted with another cataract on his other eye.

In the meantime, his wife had borne him a third child, a daughter whom they named Martha. Now with the husband's illness growing more acute and with good chances to sell their property to advantage, they decided
to go back to Pennsylvania where their relatives and friends lived. How much they knew of the Mormons with whom they were later to be so much a part, we do not know. Although they might have left before the great influx of the early 1840's when these refugees began to arrive by the hundreds; they must have heard some rumors of the troubles involving the Latter-Day Saints which were going on across the river in Missouri.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints had originated in western New York, but soon was caught up in the westward movement and transferred its center to Kirtland, Ohio, and then to the distant frontier across the Mississippi River in the state of Missouri. Here they settled first in Jackson County and designated it to be the center of the new Zion they were about to establish, but such frictions developed between them and the earlier citizens—frictions which grew out of both political and religious differences—that at last the Mormons were driven from the county. Perhaps nowhere else did they suffer more physical punishment in the form of whippings and tarring and featherings than they did here.

The citizens of Clay County to the north, out of human sympathy for their plight, gave them temporary refuge, but would not allow them to settle in this county either. So they moved on into Caldwell County and made the center of their activity at Far West. Now in the majority, the Mormons decided that they would
strike back at any who attacked them; they would never be the aggressors, but they would defend their rights. With this in mind they formed a military organization which became known as the Danites, or mounted bands of horsemen whose activities called forth increased activity from the Missourians until the whole area was in such a state of civil war, that Governor Lilburn W. Boggs called out the state militia to try to establish peace.

The Haun's Mill massacre and the Battle of Crooked River, followed by orders from the Governor to the effect that "the Mormons must be exterminated or driven from the state," caused Joseph Smith and several of the other leaders to give themselves up to be taken to jail. The Mormon citizens were forced to relinquish all their land and improvements, to give up their arms, and leave the state en masse. In an organized exodus under the leadership of Brigham Young and eighty-four others, they crossed the Mississippi back into Illinois and purchased the area comprising the town of Commerce, near Quincy. This was in the winter of 1838-1839, and within the year following they had established their city, Nauvoo, and applied to the legislature of Illinois for a charter. So moving was their presentation that the law-makers, including the young Abraham Lincoln, who was serving his first term, passed it by voice with little discussion or debate.  

4 For a detailed account of this period see William A. Linn, The Story of the Mormons (New York: The Macmillan
If the Bitner family on the way back home were conscious of this at all, there is no record. Abraham Bitner died November 18, 1841, at the age of 59, in the town of Washington, Pennsylvania.

Now the eleven-year-old Amos had to go to work to help support the family, and was thus prevented from attending school regularly. He had a bright mind, however, and at every opportunity picked up useful knowledge and stored it away in a retentive memory. The exact type of work that he did is not known, but from his age, background, and location, it was probably farm work, or an apprentice-ship of some kind. The fact that his mother did encourage him to read and insisted that he write a neat, legible hand proved to be very helpful to him throughout his life.

During her second widowhood times were so hard that Mrs. Bitner had to ask for help in supporting her children. In the Orphans' Court records of Lancaster County for April, 1844, there is a petition signed by Anna Bitner, widow of Abraham Bitner, of the Borough of Washington, asking for a guardian for Brenneman and Martha Bitner, both under fourteen years. John Neff was appointed guardian. A second petition, made by Elizabeth, Susanna, Benjamin and Amos, children of...

Samuel Musser, deceased, all over fourteen years, asked to have John Neff of Strasburg Township, Pennsylvania, appointed their guardian, which was done.5

John Jeff, born September 19, 1894, in Pennsylvania, was the husband of Anna Bitner's sister Mary, just two years older than she. Neff had become a man of means, so that he was able financially to support his sister-in-law's children, but he was also of a kindly generous disposition which made it easy for them to accept his help. His whole life story was characterized by his willingness to share with the less fortunate, as when he asked only six cents a pound for flour at a time when the market price in Salt Lake City was one dollar a pound, and would sell only to the poor.6

It was through John Jeff that the Musser-Bitner family became converted to the Mormon faith. Before 1840 such elders as Edwin P. Wooley, Elisha H. Davis, Erastus Snow, Lorenzo D. Barnes, and others had been preaching in the neighboring area and had converted many prominent people, among them Edward Hunter. Neff was baptized on February 7, 1842, but decided to go visit Nauvoo before he sold his property and moved west. He arrived early in 1844 and was so much impressed with the Mormon Prophet, Joseph Smith, and with

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5 Richards Scrapbook. This information is typed into the scrapbook, taken from the original petitions.

the progressive, fast-growing city, that he decided to come here to live.

The death of Smith by mob violence in June, 1844, dampened Neff's enthusiasm somewhat, and it took some time to settle his business and prepare for the move. In the meantime, he persuaded not only his own family, but Anna Bitner and her oldest daughter to be baptized before the year ended.⁷ He was not so successful with the other members of his wife's family, not one of whom joined the Mormon church. Anna's oldest son, Benjamin, did not join either, but preferred to remain where he had employment and friends. On March 5, 1846, Anna's oldest daughter, Elizabeth, was married to Mary's oldest son, Franklin Neff, thus uniting the two families more closely. Soon after the wedding, they all left in a train of several wagons, Anna with her children, Susanna and Amos Milton Musser and Brenneman and Martha Bitner, and John and Mary Neff with all of their 9. They arrived at Nauvoo in late August, just as the last of the Mormons were involved in trouble with their neighbors. The Neff group crossed the Mississippi River at once and hurried on to overtake the body of Mormons at Winter Quarters, but Amos M. returned to Nauvoo to see if he could be of assistance to some of the poor Saints who needed help to cross the river.

Details of the frictions which culminated in the

⁷Musser, Vol. I, p. 34.
Mormons' evacuating Nauvoo and setting out across the plains to the Rocky Mountains do not belong here. Briefly, Nauvoo grew to be the largest city in the area, but enemies of the church from without and defectors from within combined to bring about the murder of Joseph Smith and his brother, Hyrum Smith, at Carthage, Illinois. Following this, there was peace for more than a year, but by the fall of 1845 troubles had built up again until armed groups on both sides were challenging each other, and local war seemed imminent.

Mass meetings were held on both sides, delegations met, and alternatives were discussed. On October 2, 1845, the Mormon leaders received a letter signed by state leaders concerning the matter of the removal of the Mormons from Nauvoo, agreeing "to restrain and withhold all further violence, and that you be permitted to depart in peace next spring . . . in the manner you have agreed in your statement to us . . . Should you not do so, we are satisfied . . . that violent measures will be resorted to to compel your removal." 8

During the winter the Mormons worked around the clock in the attempt to prepare outfits for all to move. By early February there were renewed hostilities, so the Mormon leaders proceeded to leave early in the hope that their departure would assure the citizenry of their good

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faith in keeping their promise. So severe was the weather and so muddy the roads that this advance group were almost seven months covering the same distance which latter teams made in seven weeks.

In line with their agreement, the great mass of Mormon migration left in April and May. Major W. B. Warren, with a small company, had been ordered to remain near to keep the peace in Nauvoo while the Mormons left in groups as fast as they could make preparation. To reassure the local people that the pledge was being kept

On May 14, 1846, he sent a dispatch to the Warsaw Signal to the effect that "the Mormons were leaving with all possible speed: that the ferry was crossing them over the river as fast as possible; that an estimate of 450 teams and 1,350 souls had left within the week; that new settlers were taking their places, etc" . . . On the 22nd he reported that "The Mormons still continue to leave the city in large numbers. The ferry at this place averages about 32 teams per day, and at Fort Madison, 45. Thus it will be seen that 539 teams have left during the week, which average about three persons to each, making in all 1,617 souls."9

As another indication of the number of people involved in the move, "Amos Fielding, who returned to Nauvoo this month, counted 902 west-bound wagons in three days."10

By the end of June all who could get away had gone, but nearly one thousand were left for lack of teams and outfits. In July Stephen Markham and others returned to Nauvoo after some Church property, and rumors were


10Andrew Jenson, Church Chronology (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1914), p. 29. This is the first entry for June, 1846.
circulated that he was leading a band of soldiers. Soon thereafter eight Mormon men who were harvesting their grain were caught by a mob and cruelly whipped. By mid-August the citizens determined that all who professed to be Mormons should leave at once, and that they should surrender their arms. The Mormons decided to resist.

Conditions were building to a climax when the Neff company arrived; this was the reason that they did not stop long in Nauvoo, but crossed the river immediately.

There may have been several reasons why the sixteen-year-old Amos decided to return to Nauvoo instead of traveling on with his family. Perhaps he could see that his help was needed, for the number of able-bodied men was small in comparison to the group that were left; perhaps he was fired with the desire to help protect the city, or maybe he was just seeking adventure. Whatever his reason, he did return and participate in a three-day battle which resulted in the death of three Mormons and the injury of at least twelve of the attacking citizens. By his presence and his activity here he became acquainted with men who were later to become prominent in the church and whose friendship was valuable. Among these were Daniel H. Wells, like himself still not yet a baptized member, Alexander McRae, Curtis E. Bolton and Truman Leonard, later to be his missionary company to India. William Anderson and his fourteen-year-old son Augustus were both killed, as was David Norris; several others were wounded. Of this experience Amos wrote:
I think it was on the 12th day of September of 1846 when Bro. Norris, also Bro. Anderson and his son were killed, Bro. Norris was struck with a 6-pound ball, also Bro. Anderson and his son with musket balls. All three died almost instantly, there were others that were wounded but recovered. On the following day peace was declared mutually between the parties.11

The final peace stipulated that all the Mormons should leave the city and go to the banks of the Mississippi River, where ferry boats would carry them across to the opposite shore. This meant that many people walked and carried what they could of their personal belongings or had them hauled to that point. Upon reaching the opposite bank, they set up temporary camps until teams sent back by the church authorities arrived to carry them on to Winter Quarters.

Since Amos was alone and still not a baptized Mormon, he decided to get work in Nauvoo. He knew he could earn enough to support himself and perhaps have some to send to his mother. With peace restored and the Mormons gone, religious beliefs were no longer an issue, and a young man who knew how to keep books and could write a legible hand would have no trouble in securing employment. He was hired first by John and Henry Hartwell, one of whom had been with the mob and the other with the Mormons, an arrangement by which they hoped to get the patronage of both sides. Their business failed,

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however, and the two broke up.

Amos then secured a position as clerk in the store of E. D. Fish, where he had experience in helping with a profitable undertaking. At the end of a year, Fish sent him to assist William Dunlap in opening a branch store at Eddyville, Iowa. Of his experience here he said little except that on September 9, 1850, he was initiated into the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. ¹²

In the meantime the family had done rather well at Winter Quarters, considering the fact that more than six hundred people died there that winter of exposure and malnutrition. The only one of the group to lose his life was twenty-one-year-old Cyrus Neff, whom they had thought was the strongest of them all. He became violently ill and was dead within two days. On the happier side Musser's sister Susanna was married to Elijah F. Sheets, who was also a convert from Pennsylvania, having been baptized by Elisha Davis, the same Elder who later brought the Neffs into the Church. Sheets came to Nauvoo early, was active in work on the temple, married, and had a child. Both mother and child died at Winter Quarters. He and Susanna, married on April 6, 1847, were among the first company to come to the Salt Lake Valley following Brigham Young and the pioneers. They arrived on September 24. ¹³ John Neff and his family followed the same season, when most the


better-to-do Saints left Winter Quarters, arriving on October 2, 1847.

Ann Bitner and her two children did not have the necessary food and equipment, so they remained and joined the community at Kanesville, Iowa. Here she met and later married Jared Starr, a widower, on September 22, 1848. By pooling their resources, these two were able to come to the new Zion the next spring. Brenneman, a boy of only twelve, drove two yoke of oxen pulling a heavily loaded wagon, while Starr drove another outfit. They traveled in an independent company and arrived on October 31, 1849.\(^\text{14}\)

As soon as she was settled in the valley, Amos's mother wrote urging him to leave his work in Eddyville and join the Saints, where there was good associations and ample opportunity. Early in 1851, he decided to follow her advice, so he resigned his position, gathered up his belongings and set out for Kanesville, Potto-wattamie County, Iowa, the gathering point of the western emigration. This was a busy place, especially in the spring as the various companies outfitted for the long journey west. Apostle Orson Hyde presided here.

Before he started on west, Musser was baptized by James Allred and confirmed a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints by Hyde. He traveled

\(^{14}\)Richards Scrapbook, taken from the life of Anna Barr Musser Bitner Starr.
in the third company to leave for the valley that year, with Easton Kelsey as captain, Isaac Allred captain of the first fifty and Lyman Shurtliff captain of the second. Musser was listed as secretary and camp historian. They left Kanesville on April 22, and arrived at Salt Lake City on September 22, 1851.

Many travelers entering Salt Lake City from the east remarked upon the relief of an oasis where men and animals could rest and secure the necessities for the remainder of the journey. Some of the first of the '49ers are said to have wept with joy, others to have shouted and danced at this sign of civilization, while a few dropped to their knees in gratitude. One, looking over the scene was surprised "that this great city, extending over several square miles, had been erected, and every house and fence made within nine or ten months of the time of arrival, while at the same time good bridges were erected over the principal streams, and the country settlements extended nearly one hundred miles up and down the valley."¹⁵

When Amos arrived the Council House had been in use for more than a year, and looked imposing, with its three full stories crowned by a cupola. North across the street was the Tithing Office, with which Amos would yet become well acquainted, and adjoining it the small

¹⁵Edward Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Co., 1885). Tullidge devotes pages 102-110 to travelers' descriptions of Salt Lake Valley.
addition which housed the printing office from which the Deseret News had issued weekly since June, 1850. On the same block the adobe Hall of Science stood, ready for the scientific equipment on its way from France. Long pole fences marked off sections along Main Street; everywhere young trees were growing along the open ditches bordering the sidewalks. Heber C. Kimball's home was finished and Brigham Young's was nearing completion.

Amos found his mother living in a small but comfortable home on the corner of Third East and Fourth South, her husband's shoe shop nearby and his tanning vats and equipment in the back of the lot. Her new little daughter, Anna Starr, was now almost two years old, an attractive and healthy child. Susanna and her husband, Elijah Sheets, lived in the same ward, the Eighth Ward, over which he presided as bishop for many years. He now operated a blacksmith shop, having learned the trade under the master blacksmith, Burr Frost, in Nauvoo. Uncle John Neff and family, including Elizabeth and Franklin, lived on East Mill Creek, where their flour mill had been in operation since 1848. Here they had a prosperous farm and orchards that were beginning to bear.

Since most of his experience had been in clerking, Amos hoped for employment in that field, but there were at that time only two stores in the valley, one on Emigration Street and one on Brigham Street (South Temple). Most of the trade was by barter, since there was little money in circulation. It might have been just a coincidence that Amos succeeded in getting work within three days of his
arrival, and it might have been due to a natural chain of circumstances; Susanna's husband, Elijah Sheets, had been taken as an orphan child into the home of Edward Hunter in Pennsylvania, and had lived there as a member of the family until his maturity, joined the church and came to Nauvoo at the same time. On April 7, 1851, Edward Hunter had been appointed Presiding Bishop for all the church, and needed clerks with just the skills which Sheets' brother-in-law possessed.

To signify his re-dedication to the cause and in harmony with a custom which then prevailed, Amos was re-baptized on September 28, 1851. Thus began, when he was twenty-one years old, his service in the Church, which from that day until the day of his death made a large claim on his time and attention.¹⁶

His work at the Tithing Office was exciting, for it was the center of the greatest activity in the city, the point to which all newcomers gathered. Saints were arriving in large numbers from different parts of the world; emigration toward the goldfields of California was heavy. Everyone wanted information. He must be able to answer questions as to roads, routes, distances, watering places. He must know of the climate, the soil, the opportunities of the different settlements, who presided in each, and the general make-up of the population. He must be able to make exchanges of tithing stores of

food and grain for such items as he could exchange again to local people—implements, tools, animals, household items, or valuables of any kind.

In this position young Amos M. Musser came into close contact with many of the leaders of the church, mature men with long years of service and devotion, men who had sacrificed for the cause. He felt an especial kinship for the Presiding Bishop, for they had come from the same section of Pennsylvania; they had known the same Elders and the same terrain. Like John Neff, Bishop Hunter had joined the church a wealthy, middle-aged man, and had given liberally to the Prophet at Nauvoo. Another favorite was Bishop Alexander McRae of the Eleventh Ward, who had been an active leader against the mobs at Far West, who had surrendered himself with the Prophet and others and had endured five long months on the damp stones of Liberty Jail, who had written down the "Epistle" from the lips of the Prophet that was to become Sections 121 and 122 of the Doctrine and Covenants. True, McRae's version was poorly punctuated and full of spelling errors, but it carried the stirring message. Young Musser had stood beside this same man during the battle of Nauvoo. From such men as these, he became more aware of the history of the Church in which he was now a member.

In line with his awareness of the importance of

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the Church, he received his endowment\textsuperscript{18} on December 17, 1851, and on March following he received his first Patriarchal Blessing under the hands of Patriarch John Smith. In April, 1852, he was ordained to the 7th Quorum of Seventies by Joseph Young, and made its clerk.

In this vigorous, yeasty community, there was opportunity for varied activities. The legislature had authorized the founding of a University and had appropriated five thousand dollars toward its operation, but as yet there was no real school. There were several musical groups, bands, choirs and choruses; a lyceum was organized by young men who wished to improve their ability to speak in public. Musser became active in the latter of these, and was among the charter members of the Salt Lake Dramatic Company.\textsuperscript{19}

In accordance with the counsel of the church leaders, he began to keep a diary. These people thought that they were making history, and that their daily doings were important enough to be a matter of record. His first entry was on July 24, 1852, when he gave a detailed account of the celebration—the parade, the order of the march, and the program. From that date on we may follow

\textsuperscript{18}The Endowment is a ceremony, preformed at that time in the Endowment House and later in all L.D.S. Temples, in which the recipient promises to honor his church, and to maintain high personal standards of life, obedience to which carry the promise of blessings on earth and in eternity.

\textsuperscript{19}Andrew L. Neff, \textit{History of Utah 1847 to 1869} (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), p. 603.
the activities of this young man and know much of his inner life.

After just one year of employment, he was called to go on a foreign mission. In those days the call came as a surprise, the first notification being when the young man heard his name read from the pulpit before the assembled congregation. Available young men verily occupied an anxious seat in the assembly of the Saints at every annual or semi-annual conference.
CHAPTER II

MISSION PREPARATIONS

From the time of the organization of the Church, it was generally taught that the Mormon faith should eventually be carried to every "nation, kindred, tongue, and people." During the first years the word was carried by converts to their neighbors and friends, and by voluntary missionaries who were so full of zeal that they went on short trips to visit relatives who, they felt sure, would be glad to hear their message. With the organization of the first quorum of Seventies on February 28, 1835, the duty of spreading the gospel was given to a special group, and when the second quorum was organized on February 7, 1836, this calling was made more definite. Even then the place of the mission and the length of time to be spent was sometimes left to the individual missionary. Often a man would go out for periods of about six months, returning for a short time to care for his family and business, and then go back to complete his mission.¹

The first foreign mission was established in 1837 with the departure of Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde,  

¹Linn, The Story of the Mormons, p. 228. 

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Willard Richards, and Joseph Fielding from Kirtland to England. A number of factors combined to make the work in this area so successful that literally thousands were converted within a few years. Other missionaries followed, the people were encouraged to gather to Zion, and the returning Elders acted as sponsors of companies. The first emigration began in 1840, when a total of 241 people came to Nauvoo. By 1841 it had increased to 962; in 1842 it reached a peak of 1,614; in 1843 it was 771, or a total of 3,588 in the four years.\(^2\)

In 1844, when Joseph Smith declared himself a candidate for President of the United States, he called one hundred experienced elders to go on six-month missions to proselyte for the church and campaign for him. After his death, all the elders were called home and missionary work was sharply curtailed, and during the time of expulsion from Nauvoo and the exodus to Utah, few were called. Now by 1852, with the western colonization well under way, the authorities again decided to reactivate the original plan of carrying the gospel to all the world, even the most remote of foreign nations.

No doubt one reason for the increased missionary activity of 1852 lay in the fact that now at last the Mormon Church was ready to announce to the world its doctrine of "Celestial Marriage." Kept secret from even

\(^2\)Jenson, *Church Chronology*, pp. 18-28. These figures were culled from the reports of the steamships and the emigrants carried by each during the years listed.
the lay members until the fall of 1846, it was now
practiced openly in Utah, but had not been officially
presented as doctrine. Diarists rarely fail to mention
its presentation. Lorenzo Brown's entry is typical:

29 (August, 1852) Sunday conference A M sermon by
O Pratt on Celestial Marriage PM A revelation read
concerning more wives etc given to Joseph Smith July
12, 1843 It was listened to with profound attention
as it was supposed to have been destroyed by Emma
Smith soon after it was given.3

Hosea Stout was more enthusiastic on the subject,
perhaps because he had practiced plural marriage since
1845 in Nauvoo and knew how difficult it had been to
keep a secret. He was one to receive a mission call at
this conference, his assignment being to China. He
wrote:

Sunday 29 Aug 1852, Attended Conference to day.
Orson Pratt preached to day on the subject of
Polygamy or plurality of wives as believed and
practiced by the Latter Day Saints.
In the after noon the Revelation on that subject
given to Joseph on the 12th day of July 1843 was
publicly read for the first time to the great joy of
the saints who have looked forward so long and so
anxiously for the time to come when we could pub-
licly declare the true and greatest principles of
our holy religion and the great things which God has
for his people to do in this dispensation.
I feel that the work of the Lord will rool (sic)
forth with a renewed impetus. The nations of the
earth will be wakened up to an investigation of the
truth of the gospel and the nation that has driven us
out of their midst so unjustly and unlawfully will
have to again investigate our principles and thousands
among them will yet be brought to an understanding
of the truth by virtue of this revelation.4

3Lorenzo Brown, Diary, Vol. I, p. 108 of the typed
copy in the BYU Library.

4Hosea Stout, Diary, Vol. V, p. 51, of the type-
written copy in the BYU Library, hereafter cited as Stout.
Musser was concerned chiefly with his own assignment. He made no mention of the revelation, but told only of his mission.

This morning our special conference commenced, opened with prayer and singing and after a few good remarks by Bro. H. C. Kimball, there were 107 elders chosen for missions to nations of the earth, to preach the gospel. Eight others with myself was chosen to go to Calcutta East India. The following are the names. N.V. Jones, S.A. Woolley, Richard Ballantyne, T. Leonard, W.Fotheringham, R. Skelton, R. Owens, W.F. Carter, and myself A.M. Musser.5

Since the mission call came in August and the group would not leave until October, Amos continued to work at the tithing office and made such preparations as he could for his mission after hours. He sold his cow for thirty dollars, and purchased clothes, a watch, a pen, and several other items that would be useful in his new assignment. He went again through the Endowment House on the 30th of August, 1852, and was set apart as a missionary on the 16th of October. The groups who were called on missions met several times for instruction and discussion of problems of transportation and supplies, and agreed to travel in wagons, four men to a mess, four horses to a wagon, each outfit to carry its own provision, bedding, and utensils.

With all preparations finally made, he bade his family and friends goodbye, and October 19, in company with Nathaniel V. Jones, Truman Leonard, and Samuel Amos Woolley, set out on his journey. At the point of the

mountain they all stopped to look back at the city, of which Hosea Stout, following two days later, wrote: "At noon we found ourselves on the point of the Utah mountain where we took our last look at Great Salt Lake City. A light fog rested on it, in which we could see President Brigham Young's house, like Solomon's Temple in the midst of the glory of God." From this point they all sent messages back by friends who accompanied them, and Amos, wishing to travel literally without purse or scrip as did the apostles of old, sent both his purse and the four dollars it contained back to his mother.

Since three men were to be closely associated with Amos Musser for the next months, a short biography of each follows.

Nathaniel V. Jones, acknowledged leader of the group, was thirty years old; he was born in Brighton, New York, on October 13, 1822. He joined the Mormon Church in 1839 and came to Nauvoo in 1840, where he became a Lieutenant in the cavalry of the special life-guard battalion of the Nauvoo Legion. The appointment suggests that he was large of stature, strong, fearless, and wholly dedicated to the Mormon cause. On March 13, 1845, he married Maria Rebecca Burton, and the next year they joined the saints in the exodus from Nauvoo. When the call came for men to join the Mormon Battalion, he enlisted as a sergeant in Company D. After they had arrived in California, he was chosen as one of the guards to escort Colonel John C. Fremont, then under arrest, to
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and on being released from there in August, 1847, he returned to join his family at Kanesville. He arrived in Utah in 1849, and in 1851 was made an alderman in the first municipal government of Salt Lake City. At the time of this mission call he was bishop of the Fifteenth Ward there, a man accustomed to leadership.  

Truman Leonard was born September 17, 1820, in Middlesex, New York. He was baptized into the Mormon Church on March 25, 1843. He worked on the Nauvoo temple almost continuously for two years, and then was married in it to Ortentia White. He did not leave Nauvoo with the first fugitives, but remained and participated in the Battle of Nauvoo; in fact, it was he who cared for the bodies of the two Andersons who were killed there.  

Leonard came on to Winter Quarters, where both of his children died during the first winter. He came to Utah as captain of a group of twenty-seven wagons, arriving on September 23, 1850, and settled at Farmington, Davis County, where he was living when he was called to take this mission.

Samuel Amos Woolley was born September 11, 1825, the youngest boy in a family left orphans when he was two years old. His older brother, Edwin D. Woolley, was largely responsible for his rearing. He was baptized October 7, 1840, at Nauvoo; he became one of the

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7Jenson, Historical Record, pp. 850-857.
'whittlers', a group of teen-age boys who followed undesirable characters around and whittled at sticks with their long knives to persuade the visitor to leave.

At the age of eighteen he had a long and serious illness, during which he had what he regarded as a miraculous manifestation of the truth of the law of 'Celestial Marriage' the story of which he gave in for publication to Andrew Jensen in 1887, so that for him the public announcement in the 1852 conference had special meaning.

At the age of 21 Woolley was married to Catherine Elizabeth Mehring in Nauvoo, in 1846, and came to Utah with the mass emigration in 1848. In 1850 he was called to Parowan to help establish the settlement there, but returned late in 1851 and was in Salt Lake City when his mission call came.8

Thus it is evident that Amos Milton Musser was traveling with three men, all of whom were older than he in years and more experienced in service for the church. All were married men; all had served on missions before; all had lived through the turbulent days at Nauvoo when defense of the church implied physical danger.

At Sänt Creek (Payson) the advance wagons waited until those who left later came up, and on October 24 the camp was organized. Hosea Stout was made Captain; Jones, Chaplain; Burr Frost, Sergeant of the Guard; and Musser,

clerk for the company. Their route lay roughly over the present U. S. Highway 91. At Fillmore they found Anson Call in charge of a small colony, many of whom were working on the new territorial capitol, now just getting under way. At Beaver there were only seven families.

Parowan, the last settlement on the road, was always mentioned by travelers, who generally spoke of the cleanliness and beauty of this small enclosed town, with its ditches, flower gardens, and vegetable gardens, and of the friendliness of its citizens. This was all borne out by the treatment they accorded this group of missionaries. Knowing they were on the way, the citizens prepared a welcome: "Nov. 1 Proceeded to Parowan, where we found President George A. Smith and nearly all the people of the place waiting our arrival who received us under the American flag, which proudly floated over us while we corralled under it." 9

To entertain thirty-eight missionaries for a week must have been something of a drain on the food supplies of the little town, but they themselves had sacrificed greatly in the move to this place and they were glad to help others who were willing to give years to the service of the church. They held several meetings, so that every missionary had a chance to speak; they had programs and parties and dances. President George A. Smith suggested that they retain their original organization, and at their

9Stout, Vol. 5, p. 69.
last meeting addressed them and gave them great encouragement.

In the evening G.A. Smith delivered an address specially for the missionaries, in which discourse he delivered the following prophecy which however is only an extract of what he said viz: Speaking to the Missionary Elders present. 'Every people to whom they preach, their words shall tingle in their ears, every language they shall engage to learn, they shall learn it, and they shall learn it quicker than any one who has learned it hitherto--and they shall, many of them, be called to stand before the kings and princes of the earth, and shall bear that testimony to them which will bring to pass the saying that kings shall be their nursing fathers and Queens their nursing mothers, In the name of Israel's God--Amen.\(^{10}\)

When they were ready to leave, the clerk wrote the statistics of the company as follows: 38 missionary elders, 3 other men, 1 woman and 1 child, 15 wagons, 46 horses and mules. He explained that the three other men, the woman and child and one wagon were traveling with them only as far as the Iron Mines, one day's journey.

The group had followed the well-marked road up to this point; in fact the last twenty miles into Parowan had been leveled and straightened, the gullies bridged and mile-stones placed to mark the distance. From here on, it was possible, but rough, past the Iron Mines, through the Mountain Meadows, down the steep gully to the Santa Clara Creek, and on past the Beaver Dams to the Virgin River. They followed the river bed down, crossing now at low water many times, winding back and forth along the sand bars on one side or the other.

The ascent from the river to the top of the Mormon

\(^{10}\text{Ibid.}, p. 71.$
Mesa was one about which all travelers had warned them, but the reality was even worse than they had anticipated. They were a full day getting the fourteen wagons up the last steep incline, with twenty men to a wagon to help the extra teams pull and others behind to steady the load and block the wheels at the stops.

At this point N.V. Jones became very ill, and in spite of all their remedies and prayers, seemed to grow worse. Although it was mid-November, men and animals suffered for water before they reached the springs at Las Vegas. Here they rested for two days to give the animals a rest and to wait for a change in Jones's condition. By the second day he was improved enough that they set out. Three days later they overtook Henry G. Sherwood's company enroute to San Bernardino, and as they visited briefly, Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich approached from the other direction on their way to Salt Lake City. With them were Elders B. F. Grouard and John Murdock, who were returning from missions, the first in the Society Islands and the second in Australia.

It was so good to have so many friends together that they all agreed to stay over an extra day to exchange letters, visit and hold a meeting. From this point they had a long journey to the top of the Cajon Pass. Because the men and animals were so exhausted, their food gone, and snow had begun to fall, it was a task to make it across the mountain, but by continuing, they straggled in, a wagon at a time, in the evening of December 3, 1852.
San Bernardino was a Mormon settlement of considerable size and importance. "Somewhat more than a hundred families occupied the fort, besides quite a number of men without families. There were at least one hundred fifty able bodied men. Their organization was military with Jefferson Hunt as senior Captain." The land surrounding the fort was fertile and plenty of water made it excellent for farming. The area contained within its boundaries about 80,000 acres of excellent land.

For men who had been travelling for about six weeks, the sight of such a settlement as this was indeed a welcome one. When they arrived, the city assembled and made provisions to give them shelter; and they were taken away, one or two in a place, by the people of the city. The plan was to spend several weeks here to arrange for the final details in their last part of the journey.

The group left San Bernardino on December 17, passed through Los Angeles and arrived in San Pedro on the 22nd, where they waited for passage to San Francisco.

It was the 29th of December before they were able to obtain it. They went on the ship "Fremont" at a cost of seven hundred dollars for the forty persons in the group. Musser and some of the others were able to work on board the ship to help defray the expense. All the members of

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the party suffered from seasickness.

The "Fremont" landed at San Francisco on January 9, 1853. At this point the members of the party had to solicit funds to pay the rest of their passage to the various assignments. The approximate cost was broken down as follows:

Australian Mission . . . . . . . . . . $1250.
Calcutta . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1800.
Sandwich Islands . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1000.
China . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1000.
Siam . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1200.
Total cost for transportation . . . . . $6250.

They spent nearly three weeks trying to collect money, but had accumulated a total of only $150 in donations from non-members of their church and about the same amount from members. Then John M. Horner, a wealthy member of the Church, contributed nearly $6000 toward defraying the expenses of these missionaries.

Here the missionaries must separate to secure transportation on different ships to their various fields of labor. Those going to India and Siam secured passage on the sailing ship "Monsoon", under the commanding officer, Captain Winsor. The nine men going to India, besides Jones, Leonard, Woolley and Musser, were Richard Ballantyne, William Fotheringham, Robert Skelton, Robert Owens, and William F. Carter. The four going to Siam were Chauncey W. West, Elam Luddington, Levi Savage, and Benjamin F. Dewey.

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12 The Alta (San Francisco), January 10, 1853.
13 Jenson, Church Chronology, January 29, 1853, p. 47.
They boarded the ship on the 29th of January and departed the following morning. Seasickness plagued the travelers, but the ship made good time and on February 9, 1853, Musser reported: "We passed the Island of Owhyee of the Sandwich Islands".\textsuperscript{14}

Musser, being very good at keeping books and writing, was asked by the Captain to help keep the ship's books and records. In doing this he became a good friend with the Captain, something that was to pay big dividends later.

During the course of conversation with the Captain, the missionaries learned that the ship had left Boston on the same day they had received their mission call, August 28, 1852, and that both ship and missionaries had arrived in San Francisco on the same day. Therefore, they concluded, this ship had been sent especially by God, who would also bless them with a safe journey.\textsuperscript{15}

On March 21, 1853, they entered the straits of Malacca just north of Sumatra and on the 27th of March they came into the Bay of Bengal. The ship landed on the Hooghly River on April 25, and prepared to start up river to Calcutta.

\textsuperscript{14} Musser, Vol. II, p. 22. In this journal Musser would record seeing other ships, islands, fish and take other notes of interest. He gave daily mileage traveled, distance from San Francisco, and the latitude and longitude of the ship at noon each day. This he took from the ship log.

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., p. 14.
Apr. 25, p.m. we arrived opposite Ft. William about 6 o clock the beauty of scenery surpasses anything I ever before beheld on both sides of the river as we passed along its shores, about noon we took a customs house official aboard, the tide has been in our favor, its assistance in addition to a smart wind enabled us to make our destined haven before the tide commenced to recede, my feelings while beholding the beautiful scenes as we passed along the muddy channel of the Hoogly, which presented themselves as I stated before is indescribable.16

As the Ganges River nears its mouth, it divides into several channels, each with a different name. The Hooghly is the most westerly and commercially the most important channel by which the Ganges enters the Bay of Bengal. It takes its distinctive name near the town of Santipur, about one hundred twenty miles from the sea. From Calcutta to the sea, about ninety miles, the river is navigable by ships of considerable size.17

Their arrival here concluded a voyage of eighty-six days, nonstop, and covered 10,976 miles from San Francisco. This had been a real experience for all the elders, especially the youth of twenty-two.18

16Ibid., p. 51.
CHAPTER III

MISSION TO INDIA

The nine missionaries who left the ship on April 26, 1853, were met at the boat by Mrs. Henry F. McCune, a member of the church whose husband was in the service of England. In this strange land, this crowded, different city, it was a great relief to be taken to lodging among friends. For these were not the first Mormon missionaries to labor in India. Two years earlier, Lorenzo Snow, in charge of the European mission, was given permission to enlarge the scope of the work as he saw fit and to extend missionary work to all the world. As a result of that liberty, he sent several elders then in Europe to more distant outposts.

Elder William Willis was sent to Calcutta, where a few days after his arrival he baptized nine natives of the East Indies. Subsequently he baptized nine natives, and raised up a branch of the church among the Europeans of over forty members... a little later Elder Joseph Richards was sent to the assistance of Elder Willis at Calcutta.¹

Musser gives no description of the home to which he was taken, no detail of food or quarters, but reports that they all stayed with Mrs. McCune until the branch could be reorganized, for some past members had become


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disinterested and others had been cut off the church. He
did report that the weather was warm and sultry and that
cholera was killing from seven to eight hundred people a
day in India. Five thousand had died in the month of May
in Calcutta alone. Such news as this could not boost the
morale of the new arrivals.

Only three days after their arrival, a meeting
was called to reorganize the branch. Musser reported,
"Matters concerning the church affairs rather discourag-
ing as about all members have apostatized. Six or eight
left out of about 180."^2 However, the work of reorganiz-
ing was completed, and N. V. Jones was chosen as President
of the Branch. Young Musser was to remain in Calcutta as
his companion and the other men received their assignments
as follows:

Ballantyne, Skelton, Owens . . . . . . . Madras
Carter, Fotheringham . . . . . . . . . . Dinapore
Leonard, Woolley . . . . . . . . . . . Chinsurah

The missionaries were to deal only with the English
speaking people in India. There were many people of
European extraction in India at this time because of the
trade that was being carried on between India and England
through the British East India Company, and also because
of the necessity of maintaining troops in this country to
defend it against invaders.

The city of Calcutta had about one million inhabi-
tants, about four thousand of whom were Europeans. Of the

native inhabitants and a normal day at the market, Musser had this to say.

The way all their trading is conducted, the noise and confusion that is there cannot be compared to anything I ever before beheld, the nearest I could come to making a comparison would be to compare them to about 10,000 geese and ducks all striving to outdo one another in noise.\(^3\)

In their work with the Europeans, things didn't go too well for the missionaries. "Most of the white inhabitants of Calcutta belong to some popular church and are very aristocratic, insomuch that they will not admit a person ordinarily dressed inside of their house; and if such a person approach, the servants have strict orders not to admit him."\(^4\)

The missionary work went on with each elder doing his part to make a success out of the work. In Calcutta, Jones and Musser carried on contracting, and meetings which were usually attended by a few strangers. Enough success was met to keep the men interested. "Brother Arthur McMahon, his wife and two little daughters requested baptism and were baptized on May 22, 1853, the first fruits of the missionary labor."\(^5\)

The missionary headquarters were set up at James Meike's home at Acra, a suburb to Calcutta. Meike was a

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 56.

\(^4\)Letter from Musser to Brigham Young, May 28, 1853, Journal History of the Church, a scrapbook of Church historical events located in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah, same date, p. 2.

member of the church and very helpful to the members of that area. While they were set up at this place a bitter anti-mormon pamphlet, *Mormonism Unveiled*, was printed and circulated by a man named Saunders. When Jones and Musser received a copy of this work they immediately set about to write an answer to the charges it contained. The writing was done at Acra, and their new member, McMahon, provided the necessary financial help. It took several months to prepare the answer, with Jones and Musser combining their talents in composing and Musser using his writing ability, but on July 9, 1853, the work was finished and sent to the publisher. The completed copies were then distributed in the country, and cities of India. It was entitled *A Reply to Mormonism Unveiled*.  

After the answer was completed, the men continued to perform their duties as missionaries. Since they were traveling without funds, they had to depend on members of the church or sympathetic non-members for their living. They received cash donations in small amounts, meals and places to stay, and because of cheap labor and living they

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6William Fotheringham, *Travels in India*, *The Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XII, p. 136, adds these particulars: "On the 11th of May, Elder Skelton and myself accompanied Brother Meike to Acra, where we found Elders Jones and Musser, who had been there for several days, writing a reply to a trashy pamphlet called 'Mormonism Unveiled' the title and contents of which were garbled and borrowed from a similar document published long ago in the United States and Great Britain, (in order to militate against the work of God in the last days) and dished up in Calcutta by one named Saunders, placing it upon the public as something original, which was easily swallowed by the Christian people of India."
were able to get along fairly well. Prices were very low as reported by Musser, "Paid washman for one month work 1 rupee, about 48c." Their lack of clothing also helped make life very difficult.

The wardrobe of the elders was very scanty. We had but two changes each, and we were obliged to wear our shirt collars folded down sailor fashion two days, then stand them up a convenient length of time, so that the clean side might appear. It was neither pleasant nor comfortable to be in this condition, as we had to associate more or less with those who were well fixed and could appear to advantage. They would view us with jealousy and distrust, on account of the unpopularity of the doctrines we had to promulgate at the same time our meager wardrobe did not come up to their standards.

In spite of the odds, the men continued their calling, and were happy in their work. In August, three additional people were baptized, Charles Booth, his wife and his mother.

In an attempt at self-improvement, Musser taught himself the art of phonography (Pitman shorthand), and for practice he would write each entry into his journal twice, once in longhand and once in shorthand until he mastered it fairly well. He also began to take lessons in Persian. He and Jones received formal instructions from a native for several months until they could both read and write it quite well. In the course of their conversations with their teacher they discussed religion. Although he was never baptized, he did at one time confess that he firmly believed that Joseph Smith was a prophet.

Musser and others attended many of the native ceremonies and religious rites which he described as beautiful, but difficult to tolerate. Almost every day the men were accosted by prostitutes in the streets, and occasionally one would even come to their home to offer her service. Musser speculated that these women were being sent by people who were trying to get the elders to yield to the temptation, so that they would have another point on which to attack the Church.

Mail from home came regularly, and copies of the Deseret News and Millenial Star, although about six months old, were received with much enthusiasm. After Jones and Musser finished reading them, they forwarded the papers to the missionaries who were inland.

We have visited about 130 houses and distributed about 200 tracts in all . . . on Iliots, Park, Wellesley, Royd, and Circular Roads, besides in several lanes. All the houses we visited as often as twice, and some as often as four times.9

This entry summarizes the work that Musser took part in while he was in Calcutta. It was November 6, 1853, when he and Truman Leonard were assigned by Jones to go to Bombay, India, and assist Hugh Findlay in the work there.

It was difficult to obtain passage that was in the price range of the two men, but by offering to assist as crew men, they were able to get passage to their new destination on the ship "Niobe." The weeks were spent

in preparation and continued work. Just before he left, Musser had himself weighed; his weight was 10 9/14 stone, or 149 pounds. Although he was only twenty-three years old, he had grown a beard that gave him the appearance of an older man.

Musser spent the 29th of December in bidding his friends in Calcutta goodbye, and on the 30th, he and Truman Leonard boarded the "Niobe" in the Hooghly River. The ship was not due to leave until January 2, 1854, but being part of the crew, the two men had to help prepare for the journey. They left on schedule bound from Calcutta to Bombay.

Musser carried a letter of introduction which he had received from a friend of his in Calcutta, to H. St. Amour in Bombay. With this letter the two men expected to get help in getting located. The voyage from Calcutta was pleasant enough but it took forty days; they arrived in Bombay on February 9, 1854.

They were met at the harbor by D. M. Davies, a Mormon, who took them to his home, where they met Hugh Findlay who at this time was ill with the fever. Mr. and Mrs. Davies were the only L.D.S. people in Bombay besides the missionaries.

Musser took his letter to St. Amour, who received him very warmly, and offered any assistance he could give. From him Musser learned that Bombay contained about 3,000 Europeans and also that cholera had been very bad that year.
Musser and Leonard had been in Bombay just ten days when Findlay suggested that they go to Karachi to preach the gospel. With the help of Mr. St. Amour and by Musser selling his watch, the two men were able to obtain passage on the steamer "Bombay". It was February 23, when the two men, with their lunch prepared by Mrs. Davies, left Bombay. The boat landed at the boat landing, about seven miles from Karachi, on February 26, 1854.

The city of Karachi had a military base or cantonment, in which many English military personnel and other Europeans lived. Since these were the people among whom they hoped to proselyte, the men wanted to live as near to it as they could. In searching for a place to stay, they met a man named Anderson who lived on the base. He said they could live with him free of charge. He gave them a room adjoining his house, that was six feet by twelve feet and had a dirt floor, but they were happy to get anything, especially on the base.

On March 19, for no apparent reason, the owner of the house insisted that they leave, giving them only until the next day to be out. They found a larger place which they rented for 48 rupees a month, one which was large enough to hold meetings in. They had been at this place only four days when,

One of the policemen called by to get our names which we gave him on paper. The following notice or order we received. 'The presence of Truman Leonard and Amos M. Musser is required at the Police Office immediately. Signed Geo. E. Ashburner, Capt. of the Police.'

On our arrival at this office he was not in,
keeping us waiting over an hour for his return, after which he called us. On appearing he asked, 'by what authority are you in camp?' Before we could explain he ordered us out. He asked two policemen to help us. We had transgressed no law and had no chance to explain. The police helped us pack our belongings, and went with us to the camp limits. We went to a native town 3 miles distant and rented a room for 2 rupees per month.10

The men protested, but were powerless to do anything about what had happened, because the officers wouldn't listen to their arguments or allow them back in camp.

Their orders were not to come back to the base at all, even on a visit. At first the men refused to obey these orders, but would sneak back under the cover of darkness, and in spite of the constant fear of being discovered. This made their work with the Europeans so difficult that they met with little success. They next turned to visiting the natives. Young Musser had learned enough of Persian in Calcutta, and of the native Indian idioms to carry on conversations with them, but the difference in living standards made association very difficult for the missionaries.

Words are inadequate to describe the way and manner in which these natives live. The filth in their narrow lanes and huts. In fact I have seen hog cotes in America that would be considered a palace by the side of some of these native huts.11

Living with such poor people made it difficult for the missionaries to obtain enough food, so Musser agreed to teach English to the daughter of a wealthy native family in return for food. The personal discomforts suf-

10 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 52. 11 Ibid., p. 55.
fered by these men were very great. In addition to the hot weather, filthy village, and poor food, they were occasionally stricken with the fever of diarrhea. In spite of the difficulties, they continued to work with the natives to try to convert them first to Christianity, and next to Mormonism.

While in Karachi, Musser was called on to answer many attacks on the church and himself personally, which were printed in a bitter anti-Mormon newspaper in Karachi. He was able to answer all the questions asked him but sometimes he met with difficulty in getting the letters published because the newspapers feared being called defenders of Mormonism.

The elders continued to work all summer, but it was not until August 8, 1854, that the first baptism in Karachi was reported. During this month two men were baptized to assist the missionaries in their work. This gave the missionaries added encouragement to see some success in their work.

It was also during August that Musser appealed to the commander of the camp again to see if he would rescind the order and allow the missionaries to return to the base to do their work. He received in return,

I have received your note of the 10th inst. and now repeat that I would on no account whatever permit you to come within the limits of these contonments. No reprobation of your pestilent doctrines, that I have seen exceeds the condemnation that I myself think they deserve. I hope that you are laboring under a false delusion, and not willingly and knowingly propagating falsehood and deceit. I pray that this may be removed
and that you may return to the way of the truth and see your errors and repent and obtain pardon.

I am yours faithfully,
T. C. Parr, Commander, Camp Karachi.12

Shortly after this time a new commander was put in and Musser appealed to him. The commander referred the letter to the Chaplain of the camp who wrote the following to Musser.

Sir: It appears by your letter, which I received from the General, he requires my approbation before he will sanction your holding what I refuse to join you in calling religious meetings within the Cantonment limits. Such approbation I will never give . . . To admit one of your Saints to teach within the limits of my charge would be for a sheep dog to admit a wolf into the fold.

Your obedient servant,
R. E. Tyrewhite, Chaplain Camp Karachi.13

The way Musser felt at this time is told in the Lectures he gave of his experiences, after he returned to the United States. "I saw at a glance that this charming epistle afforded me a splendid opportunity to administer a rebuke which I felt he richly deserved. It may be said that my reply was a little too robust, but when it is remembered that at that time I was living on black bread and water; the first I was forced to secure from the Cantonment after nightfall, running the risk of police detection and imprisonment, and that in every possible manner these Pharisees employed every device and intrigue known to the craft, to hedge up my way, even going so far as to send a beautiful young Cyprian to my room to destroy

12 From the original dated August 12, 1852, now in possession of Burton Musser, Salt Lake City, Utah.
13 From the original n.d. now in possession of Burton Musser.
me, and a blind Hindoo to be restored to sight; I felt I would be wholly justified in grilling this Anglo-Indian hypocrite to a finish."

Musser wrote the following answer.

Sir: Referring to your snappy answer to my respectful note to the General, it is very kind in you to attempt a description of the people and church I have the honor of representing in this distant land, but whom you seem to know as little about, as you appear to be ignorant, inferentially at least, of the origin and headship of your own church, whose local lambs you seem to be so anxious to fortify against the truths of the gospel as taught by myself and brethren. Your self-confessed personal relation to your church as a sheep-dog not a shepherd or flockmaster, it is at least of mutton chops and fleece taking, and in view of your arbitrary treatment in barring me out of the cantonment, it inspires the thought that you are also 'a dog in the manger' and one of the sort of dogs, no doubt, Jesus exorciates in the following blister 'Woe unto ye scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for you shut up the kingdom of heaven against men, for you neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in'. And as Isaiah puts it, 'His watchmen are blind, dumb and greedy dogs, shepards that cannot understand which can never have enough. They all look to their own way, everyone for his gain from his quarter.'

The contemptible efforts of yourself and conferees to hedge up my way here in Karachi, is in exact fulfillment of these trenchant references by the Great Master to your ancient prototypes, the Pharisees . . . . I will not subscribe myself 'your obedient servant' especially in the empty manner you closed your letter to me, until you repent of your sins and apply for baptism to one divinely authorized to immerse you. Then will I be glad to serve you and other self confessed sinners who may be induced to follow your wholesome example.

Respectfully,
Amos Milton Musser.15

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14 Amos Milton Musser, "Around the World Without Purse or Scrip". Manuscript copy of a lecture Musser delivered in several cities in Utah. Copy now in Richards Scrapbook.

15 Letter from Musser to R. E. Tyrewhite, Camp Chaplain in Karachi, n.d. copy of the original now in Burton Musser's collection in Salt Lake City, Utah.
Needless to say, the authorities of the camp refused to allow the missionaries to come into the limits of the camp.

The missionaries decided to spend more of their time with the native people. Up to this time they had dealt only with them as secondary. Now they decided to reverse the order and try to convert them first and the English second. They agreed to separate in order to increase the number of people they might contact. It was decided that one should go to Hyderabad where about thirty English families lived, on the Indus River about one hundred twenty miles by land from Karachi, and the other would remain in Karachi. Leonard concluded to go and departed on August 23, 1854, leaving Musser with his two new converts in Karachi.

Musser appealed to the English officials for permission to pass into the camp again but he was refused. He then rented a larger room near the base where he would be able to hold meetings for those who were interested. The room was fifteen feet square and was fine except it had no benches in it. Because of this Musser decided to go to work to earn money to buy benches, and furnish his room to make the meetings more comfortable for those who attended. In accordance with this plan, he wrote a letter to M. R. Taback of the Bombay Steamer Company in Karachi, requesting work. Taback, impressed by his handwriting, offered him a job at thirty-five rupees a month. Musser was to be a clerk, his hours from ten A.M. until
four P.M. This setup was good, because it gave him time to do missionary work morning and evening, and also would provide the money necessary to furnish his room. He might also now enjoy other necessities he had sacrificed, "Had some butter with my bread, the first I have had for months."¹⁶

Musser worked daily at his job, the thought of getting benches for his room uppermost in his mind. On December 11, 1854, the benches were delivered to him by the carpenter. A total of eight benches cost him 10 13/16 rupees which he paid for out of his wages. This made his meetings much more comfortable and often he would record the visit of several interested strangers in the audience. The meetings were very small, but Musser remained optimistic.

This feeling was reflected by the fact that he did not quit his job when the benches were paid for, but continued to work with the thought in mind of building a chapel. At this time there were only three members of the church in this entire area, but still, "for several weeks I have been planning and doing the head work toward building a chapel, and now I only lack the ground."¹⁷

The problem of the land was solved on January 10, 1855, when Captain J. B. Dunsterville measured off a piece of land nearly sixty-five feet square and gave it to Musser, who had only to pay the annual tax of one

rupee. The same day he got the land he bargained with a contractor to have the building constructed.

This morning I closed the bargain for the house . . . . The House is to be 20' by 26' in size, one story 10' high (the sides from the foundation to the roof) and at the ends 15' high. The whole is to be properly covered with good white tile. There is to be 3 doors and 4 windows, the latter with shutters on the outside. The walls are to be 1½ feet thick with a good foundation and the whole will be plastered on the inside and out and then whitewashed. He is to complete the whole even to a new mat by the First of February, 1855 for the sum of 100 rupees and for everyday after the specified time he forfeits one rupee. (one hundred rupees=$48)

Received title to my lot. A man has agreed to plant a hedge around it for one rupee.18

Several changes were made in the original contract and the work went more slowly than he had planned. Because the building was a little larger, the price was a little higher. The clause stating the forfeiture of one rupee for each day over the specified time was also stricken out.

Work on the chapel continued until he wrote, "June 2, 1855, it is with deep regret that my chapel is not yet finished. The contractor is certainly a lying dog."19 The building was finally finished and the first meeting was held on June 20, 1855.

While the chapel was being constructed, Musser received the following letter in March.

Dear Bro. Musser,
I asked the President this morning if he had anything to say to you or those elders in East

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18Ibid., p. 12.
19Ibid., p. 35.
India. One thing he said was, I will dismiss them from there just as quick as they like to come.' Enough—in a hurry—no time. Above acceptable.

Written by request of Pres. Brigham Young
Yours, T. W. Ellerbeck.

At this time Amos Milton was just getting his chapel under way, and had no desire to leave, although this letter was considered the official release. Others of the missionaries in this area had become disgusted with preaching to the natives and had decided to abandon this mission.

Of the work with the natives Jones had this to say.

The natives are a God forsaken race. I have not seen one in India worthy of the blessings of the Gospel. Without exception they are a nation of thieves and liars. It is a waste of time to have anything to do with them, for I do not believe that one full blooded native will ever see the valley. Such is my faith and I think I am guided by the Spirit of the Lord. . . . We told them positively that they could not be hired to serve in the Kingdom of God. When they became convinced of this, they turned away with apparent sorrow, for they were evidently disappointed in the object of their search. They said 'how can you expect us to leave our religion and go to another if we are not paid for it?' One stepped up and said 'I am getting 8 rupees a month, and if you will give me ten, I will go with you.'

In June Leonard returned to Karachi and the two men continued their work, until July 1, when they got word of a speech given by Brigham Young in Salt Lake City to the effect that if no success was being achieved in the

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20 Letter from Ellerbeck to Musser, n.d. original with Burton Musser.

various missions the elders were to leave the people and come home bringing with them any converts who would come. It was at this time that Musser and Leonard decided to seek passage home separately. Musser had to dispose of his building, which he was able to do "after a sacrifice of about 69 rupees and a great deal of bother." It was September 23, before he left Karachi for Bombay, where he had to wait two months before he found passage to Calcutta. Although he continued to preach and do the tasks that had carried him so far away from home, he was always looking for a way to Calcutta. It was November 28, 1855, that he left on the ship "Lancaster."

January 13, 1856, Musser made his way to McMahon's place in Calcutta, to try to find a way to the United States. While here he met an old man who was looking for someone to travel with him to the United States, and offered to pay the passage for Musser if he would go with him and look after him. This was the very thing he wanted and needed, so he quickly accepted. Musser took the job of finding passage, "Feb. 5, 1856, I have this day succeeded in obtaining passage for Brother Adams and myself on the "Viking." She sails on March 4 for London. 600 rupees first class. This is about one-half price." Musser was busy making plans, when on February 18, Adams died, leaving Musser without passage money.

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23 Ibid., p. 87.
Wondering what to do, Musser went to the ship to tell the Captain what had happened. The happy denouement was reported in a letter:

Dear Mother, In haste I drop you a line to inform you that I am well and expect to sail from this country tomorrow A.M. on the fine American Clipper ship 'Viking' Capt. Winsor, the old Captain we all came to this country with is commander. I sail for London. The captain without solicitation offered me free first class passage.

Amos Milton Musser.24

No doubt Musser left this conversation with the Captain feeling much elated. He completed his preparations and on March 6, 1856, aboard the "Viking", left Calcutta bound for London.

A brief overview of the mission to India is given in the Comprehensive History of the Church, and will be included here for clarity and as a brief summary of this whole undertaking.

Hindustan--Elders. . . arrived at Calcutta and held a conference there April 29, 1855. The Hindustanee missionaries extended their labors throughout India, as the way opened; but finding the Hindustanees destitute of honesty and integrity insomuch that when converted and baptized they would for a few pice join any other religion, and finding the Europeans so aristocratic they they were hardly approachable, they left the country, after having traveled to all the principal British army stations in India, where frequently they were ordered out of the Contonments and had to sleep in the open air, exposed in that sickly climate, to poisonous reptiles and to wild beasts. . . . I interrupt this series of quotations from the church historians compilations of data respecting the founding of these missions, to say that there is nothing more herioc in our church annals than the labors and the sufferings of the mission to India. In the main they journeyed to the British Army Contonments, and sought a hearing among the English officers, soldiers

24Letter from Musser to his mother, March 5, 1856, Salt Lake City, original now in Burton Musser collection.
and camp followers. This method of procedure in fulfilling their mission took them to many parts of the interior of the great land of the east, but as their message was but indifferently received by the English at the British Garrisons, they turned to the natives into whose country they had penetrated, but with little success, except in the coast towns and even here the work among the natives could not apparently be established on any permanent basis because of the instability of the native character. 25
CHAPTER IV

RETURN TO THE VALLEY

The "Viking" was a full clipper ship, 225 feet long, 41½ feet wide, with a capacity for 22,800 pounds of cargo and a forty man crew. Where on his voyage out to the orient Amos M. Musser had been one of a group of thirteen elders, he was now the only Mormon on board, but as the private secretary to Captain Winsor he enjoyed all the privileges of a first class passenger. He kept the records, balanced the accounts, wrote letters, and generally made himself useful and agreeable, so that he shared such luxury as the ship afforded.

With his leaving, only one Mormon Elder remained in India--Robert Skelton--who followed him two months later after appointing James Patrick Meike to preside over the local Saints.¹ Nathaniel V. Jones and William Fotheringham had left together on March 5, 1855, more than a year earlier, sailing for San Francisco; Truman Leonard had sailed for England on November 25 following. Robert Skelton landed in Boston, so that he as well as all the others arrived in Utah ahead of Musser.

The course of the "Viking" lay in a southwesterly

¹Jenson, Church Chronology, p. 56.
direction from Calcutta toward the Cape of Good Hope. On April 5, 1856, they passed the Equator, and on 24 the Island of Madagascar, where they had some bad weather. Musser recorded such daily occurrences as seeing a whale or a school of flying fish, while the passing of another ship was always occasion for comment.

They first sighted the coast of England on July 16, and landed after a voyage of 138 days. As soon as possible, Musser made his way to London, where the Millenial Star notified its readers:

Arrival--July 19, Elder Amos M. Musser arrived in London from the East Indies, per ship Viking, Captain Winsor. . . with considerable difficulty has succeeded in getting thus far on his way home to Zion; but being too late to complete his journey this season, we have appointed him to a field of labor in England, where we trust, through the blessings of the Lord, he will be enabled to do much good, and become refreshed and strengthened in his own spirit.2

From the time that the first Elders landed in Great Britain in 1837, the Church enjoyed a phenomenal growth, with a very heavy emigration of saints. For 1856 it included the following ships, all sailing from Liverpool.

Feb. 18 The ship Caravan with 454 Saints under Daniel Tyler.
Mar. 23 The Enock Train with 534 Saints under James Ferguson.
April 19 The Samuel Curling 707 Saints under Dan Jones.
May 4 The Thornton G. Willie.
May 25 the Horizon 856 Saints under Edward Martin.

This made a total for the spring travel of 3,315. On Novem-

ber 18, 1856, the ship Columbia set sail with an additional 223 Saints, which brought to 3,538 the total for the year. Most of these companies made the trek across the plains by handcart, the Willie and Matta Companies suffering heavy losses.

Since Amos had arrived too late to go with the spring emigration, and had expressed a desire to continue his missionary work here, Orson Pratt gave him an official notice of appointment to act as a missionary. During the remainder of July and through August he traveled about a great deal, not staying long in any city, but lecturing to groups about his experiences in India. Much of his travel was on foot, since the cities were not far apart. He went from Coventry to Leamington to London, stayed there one day and set out for Hartlespool and from thence to Trimdon, where he remained a week.

On September 30, 1856, the elders gathered for a social. Since this was his first experience of the kind for four years, he really enjoyed himself. There were songs and music, riddles and rhymes, and each person proposed a toast, each showing his own originality and wit. The account in his diary reflects his great pleasure in mingling again with people of his own race, religion, and general cultural level.

For the next six months, Amos was happily engaged in missionary work, for the contrast was great compared to

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3Jensen, Church Chronology, figures were compiled from pp. 55-57.

4Original letter of appointment, n.d., is now in possession of Burton Musser.
his experiences in the Orient. Here he spoke before large, responsive audiences, he pronounced blessings, he wrote for the Millennial Star, and felt a degree of success in all that he undertook.

Early in the year 1857, the Reformation was begun in England. For all the year previous, it had been carried on in Utah, with assigned elders visiting all the families, catechising them, exhorting them to better living, and usually re-baptizing them. "On February 4, 1857, Orson Pratt and E. T. Benson led out in being re-baptized followed by a general renewal of the covenants throughout the mission," the history states. On March 21, Amos Musser received the ceremony, and shortly after he was released from his mission.

He went at once to Liverpool to arrange passage with Saints who were traveling under the Perpetual Emigration Fund. On March 28, they set sail in the "George Washington," 817 Saints and thirteen other missionaries, under the leadership of James P. Park. As was the custom, the people were divided into five wards, with a Bishop over each. A general Presidency was also appointed, with Amos Musser as the secretary for the ship.

The L.D.S. paper in New York City, The Mormon, carried this about the nature of the voyage:

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5Jenson, Church Chronology, p. 58.

6Original paper of release now owned by Burton Musser.
Over 800 Saints arrived in Boston on the George Washington from Liverpool on the 20th day of April, after a pleasant trip of 23 days. There was one birth, and four deaths on board the ship. Elder James P. Park was President of the company and was assisted by counsellors Jesse B. Martin and Charles R. Dana and Secretary Amos M. Musser, who speaks of the Captain, J. S. Cummings, and the ship surgeon, Dr. Greeley, in terms of high commendation. Capt. Cummings in reply to a complimentary note from President Park and his counsellors and secretary, states, 'I feel free to acknowledge that on no previous voyage have my passengers conducted themselves so orderly and peaceably as those in your charge; cleanliness, morality, sobriety, reciprocation of favors and general good behavior were preeminently conspicuous in their conduct and their character.'

From Boston, the group divided, with 420 going to Iowa City and St. Louis, in preparation for crossing the plains. One hundred and forty-three went to New York, and the remainder scattered in several directions. Musser stayed in Boston to take care of the unfinished business of the Saints until Tuesday, April 28, 1857, when he took the magnificent steamer "Connecticut" for New York.

Amos went immediately to the headquarters, where the Mormon was being published by T. B. H. Stenhouse. Although this man was later to leave the Mormon Church and to write bitterly about Brigham Young in his book, Rocky Mountain Saints, he was at this time a faithful and efficient missionary. After noting Musser's arrival, the editor added that "... we had the pleasure of this gentleman's visit on Wednesday. He was full of business and anxious to get en route again for Utah. He left

7Journal History, April 20, 1857, p. 3.
early on Thursday morning for Albany, where he would take the express train for Iowa City."8

From Albany he went on to Chicago, and then quickly on to Iowa City, arriving May 2, 1857, and going on to the place where the Saints were camped two and one half miles beyond. In addition to the group who came on the "George Washington", there were 554 Saints, mostly Scandinavian, who sailed from Liverpool April 25, 1857, on the "Westmoreland". These were under the direction of Matthias Cowley. Most of these people went on to Utah by the handcart. A third group of thirty-six on board the "Wyoming" did not get away until July 18, so could not get on to the valley during the year because of the movement of the Utah Expedition, which will be mentioned later.

Musser's description of the railroads and transportation of the day bears repeating:

The roads are very dusty, the dust flying in great profusion into the cars. . . . The rails are very unevenly laid, which causes much jolting within. . . . The first class cars alone in this country are to be preferred to those in England but with this exception the remainder of the arrangements are not nearly so complete.9

In Iowa City John Taylor and Erastus Snow were busy organizing and outfitting the Saints for their overland journey. When Musser arrived, they asked him to assist in this work and to remain until the last company

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8Ibid., April 30, 1857, p. 2.
9Musser, Vol. VI, p. 81.
left for that season. He was happy to comply with the request, and was assigned to a warehouse where he distributed foodstuff and other goods to the emigrants en route for the valley. A letter to the editor of the Mormon explains:

My Dear brother Stenhouse, Brother Little writes me that the first hand cart company left Iowa City on the 22nd, and the remainder will move as soon as possible. The grass is very short indeed for the season of the year. The price of cattle, provisions, and everything is high. All these measurably militate against our emigration. Prest Snow has gone to visit the camp. I shall leave here tomorrow with some of the handcart saints and a large invoice of supplies, all for Florence. I shall remain at that point to assist in settling up the business after the saints have all passed.

In haste and brevity, with kind love, I remain yours truly,
A. M. Musser.10

He made one trip to St. Louis to purchase supplies. Later Snow and Taylor left, placing him in full charge of all the work. His organizing and bookkeeping experience was no doubt a great help to him in this capacity. The first company he sent out was a Scandinavian company numbered about 330 souls, 68 handcarts, 3 wagons, and 10 mules. Captain Christianson, a Dane from the Valley, was deputed to conduct them to Utah; they left on July 7, in good spirits.11

As the last group prepared to leave, Musser began to get his own belongings together for the journey to
Utah. It was now July and with the season coming to a close, their time was limited, so they made haste in their work.

After working hard days and greater parts of nights, I am ready to start on the plains with my brethren for Zion. I have four female passengers with me. The Lord has blessed me with a good Chicago wagon and two good yoke of oxen and many things that make me comfortable.12

Another letter written by Musser was published in the Mormon and added information given on the start of the journey:

On the 8th inst. the freight train under the guidance of Elder W. G. Young, came in with several accessions at Florence. This company numbers fifty-five souls, nineteen wagons, eighty-three oxen, four cows, and one mule. I have the honor to be numbered with this train. On the 12th instant we left Florence and are now five days from that place. Our company is the last on the plains. We have a thorough organization; Bro. J. A. Little, Pres.; W. G. Young, Capt.; Henry Lunt, Chaplain; Albert P. Taylor, Sergeant of the Guard; and your humble servant, clerk and historian.13

The trip across the plains was not difficult for this last group. It was accompanied by the usual hardships, but there was no severe trouble or complications.

As to the year's emigration in general, Musser wrote:

By recapitulating, we find that there are now on the plains one thousand two hundred and fourteen souls, eighteen mules, seventy five cows, nineteen loose cattle, and ninety-seven handcarts; add to these the isolated emigrants in company with brother Taylor and others, and you will have the sum total of this year's emigration; which, I believe, have been as well fitted out, and are under as prosperous circum-


13 Letter from Musser to Stenhouse, July 17, 1857, printed in the Mormon, August 15, 1857.
stances, as our emigrants have been preceding year.\footnote{Hafen, Handcarts to Zion, p. 160, quoting the Millenial Star, August 22, 1857.}

In Utah in the meantime there was great excitement. Word had reached the state on July 24, that an army was on its way out to put down a rebellion. President Brigham Young immediately said that, "With the help of God, they shall not come here," and all the other authorities also favored making a determined resistance. With this in mind, word went out for all missionaries to come home; far flung colonies such as the one at San Bernardino and all those in Nevada along the Humboldt were commanded to move in to help with the defense of Zion.

Even the companies on the plains had heard of the trouble, and shared in a small way in the excitement. Musser made a significant comment on August 17, 1857, when he wrote:

Genl Harney the Great man eater, who gained noteriety some time since in massacering squaws and decrepit Indians near ash hollow and who was appointed by Govt to head the soldiers deputed for Utah, has been fighting a duel with one of his Lieutenants & shot him. He has been arrested and remained to await a trial. GOOD.\footnote{Musser, Vol. VIII, p. 9.}

A few days later he commented that

Emigration from Europe is stopped for a season. All this trouble and annoyance is occassioned by the ingress to the Valley of the soldiers ordered by the Genl Govt. . . . The news from the Valley is most cheering. Bros. Brigham and Heber have come down upon the United States authorities like a 1000# of bricks for stopping the mail and sending troops to Utah.\footnote{Ibid., p. 10.}
On August 15, Colonel Robert T. Burton and James W. Cummings had left Great Salt Lake with a troop of seventy mounted men, for the purpose of protecting the emigrants and observing the movements of the army. Traveling ahead of the troops were the supply wagons, 328 ox-drawn outfits owned by Russell, Majors, and Waddell, and 160 other wagons loaded with camp equipage and other necessities. On August 20, John Pulsipher reported that the Burton command, of whom his brother Charles was a member, were at Fort Bridger. On the 26 Musser entered this item:

This day drove about 25 mi. and camped on Deer Creek. Here we met a no. of Valley brethren, amongst whom I found the familiar faces of Bros. N. V. Jones, Wm. Fotheringham and others. The brethren arrived at this place about 2 months ago and have done since then a very great deal of work. They have an excellent correll and have commenced a hewed log fort laid out and planned most admirably. They also have made much ditching for irrigation and have planted 7 acres of corn.17

In this, Musser does not have his facts straight. The Burton command were not building nor planting; they were out to "harass the enemy, stampede their cattle, burn their supply of wagons, but not to shed blood." The building had been done by an earlier group. On September 2, he noted that "a number of brethren deputed by Bro. Brigham had come out to see the emigrants in safely and keep their weather eye open for "Black Sam's" soldiers."18

17Ibid., p. 11.
18Ibid., p. 12.
On September 8, Captain Van Vliet, hoping to contract for supplies, arrived in Salt Lake City.

He had left his own escort at Ham's Fork, 143 miles distant. Ignoring the warning of mountaineers, met at Green River, he accepted as guides Bryant Stringham and Colonel Nathaniel V. Jones, of Gen. Burton's command, who gave him safe conduct to Salt Lake City.19

President Young had a group of his most ardent men together to meet the Captain. No, the Mormons would not sell supplies to the army; they considered it only an armed mob. On the contrary, they would defend their homes, by fortifying all approaches; they would retreat inch by inch; they would burn all before them. But they would not submit again to such indignities as they had suffered in Missouri and Illinois. The young officer, deeply impressed, carried word back that the Mormons were preparing for armed resistance.20

On September 15, Brigham Young, in his capacity as Governor of Utah Territorial, issued a formal declaration stating that "We are being invaded by a hostile force" and declaring martial law in the Territory.

When on September 26, Musser's company drove into the city, he remarked that the place had changed until he could hardly find his way around. So many large homes were up—The Beehive House, Daniel Wells' two story, double porched home, and Heber C. Kimball's spacious one.


20Ibid. p. 270-1.
The Social Hall had been in use since 1853, Livingston-Kinkead had a large store, adjoining which was a saloon, while the five years' growth of trees also helped to change the appearance of the place.

He found changes in his own family also. His mother was widowed again, Jared Starr having died in July, 1855. His sister Elizabeth, wife of Franklin Neff, had also died in 1853, leaving 1 child. She was not yet thirty years old.

Musser had been in town less than a week when President Young "sent for me and placed me in charge of the Church Store. . . . He told me I may get a companion." Musser seemed to take some satisfaction in the fact that the position was offered him, instead of his having to ask for it. A young man who had made his way unaided around the world, had held secretarial positions of some importance, and had handled much of the business of one season's emigration might expect some recognition. As for getting a companion, at the age of twenty-six, he would probably need very little encouragement.

Now that he was permanently established, he decided to be independent of his relatives, so on October 13 he recorded that "I commenced boarding with Sister Jos. Caine at $4 per week." Three weeks later he moved to the Globe, a boarding house where several other young men lived. In addition to his work, he noted the movements of the army. On October 25, he wrote that the news
"from our enemies is favorable to us. Snow is coming
down on them. I guess they're getting somewhat sick of
their job and would gladly let it out to Sub-contractors
if they could."

In his position at the Church Store, he issued
supplies to the boys who were called into the canyons
to defend the city, but he knew little of the hardships
which they suffered. John Pulsipher, who was just his
age, but a seasoned frontiersman, wrote a vivid and
detailed account of the Mormon soldiers in the "Echo
Canyon War", of which the following is a brief excerpt:

On Tuesday the 10th (November, 1857) upwards of
2,000 men were on the move to stop the invading
army. A regular mountain snow-storm set in, which
made it rather hard for men that had been used to
good beds in warm houses. A baggage wagon was
taken for each ten men, but snow was so deep not
much load could be taken & climbing the mountains--
men had to carry the baggage up and go back and help
the teams with the empty wagon--truly this was work.

To see the long train climbing the snowy mountains
made me think of Bonapartes Army crossing the Alps
in winter.

When we got the wagons up it was dark & awful cold
night & we on the summit of the Big Mountain in deep
snow. A few of us went ahead with axes & cut &
carried wood for fires, as it was some distance up
the mountain & snow to our armpits--made the fires
on the snow as it was too deep to allow us to get to
the ground either for the fires or for our beds.

This was the third night--three days hard work to
get 20 miles. . . .

Sunday 15 was spent chopping & hauling firewood.
A number of men were sent home--badly frozen--some
were sent back with frozen feet before we ever got to
Big Mountain. I could not get a pair of new boots
in the city so I came with the old shoes I made of
some boot legs.

Monday 16 . . . joined the largest camp under command
of N. V. Jones 1600 men now at this place. 21

Musser's observation, written on November 29, said:

Our enemies are now at or about Bridger. It is supposed that Cummings & Cook have come up. They will soon have to do something, either go into winter quarters or try to force their way into the Valley. We have about 2000 brethren in the mountains who will receive them very warmly if they endeavor to come into this Valley. This war proves very expensive to us. Perhaps 8 or 9000$ are daily lost in the operation. 22

On Tuesday, December 1, Pulsipher wrote that

"General Wells gave us our orders to pack up & go home--except a small number that were to stay as guards," and by December 5, Musser noted that "Our brethren are called in. About 50 persons remain to watch the enemy." Edward W. Tullidge not only stated that "a picket guard, consisting of fifty picked men under command of Captn John R. Winder" were left, but he included the full letter of instruction to them from Lieut. General Daniel H. Wells. In this, orders were explicit as to keeping the horses out on good grass, feeding them two quarts of grain daily, boiling up the beef bones for soup, using the hard bread and saving the flour, keeping fat and ashes out of which to make soap for the washing of their clothes, as well as examining all persons on the road, taking prisoners, shooting if they must, and sending in a weekly express to the city.

But the same snow that kept the army winter-bound, also impeded Mormon operations, until after two weeks all

21 John Pulsipher, Diary, typed copy in BYU Library, pp. 117-118.
22 Musser, Vol. VIII, p. 28.
but ten guards were sent home. When it became evident that there would be no action before spring, the Mormons in Salt Lake City relaxed to enjoy themselves. Quoting an un-named writer, Tullidge said:

During the winter festivities were very prevalent, and entertainments of various kinds were enjoyed. Dramatic and literary associations were attended to overflowing; balls and parties were frequent and numerous filled, and every amusement suitable for an enlightened and refined people was a source of profit to the caterers and pleasure and benefit to the patronizers.23

It is evident that Amos Musser joined in these activities with zest, though his entries are brief. On Christmas Eve he attended the military ball which was very select, held in the Social Hall. On January 2, he wrote:

Theater opened in the evening of this day. I attended. "Lady of Lion" and "Diamond Cut Diamond" were played. The weather continues very fine. Parties, balls, theater & etc, form the evening amusements. . . .

This evening concludes the Theatrical pleasures of the season with us in this city. We've had a good time. Dancing for the season concludes this week. Graver and more important matters will engross our attention. The hostile movement against Deseret by "Black Sam" will be of our greatest interest now for a time.24

Then without preliminary, on the very next day he noted: "This day I have formed a matrimonial alliance with Miss Ann Leaver," leaving all the details of the courtship to the imagination of his reader. This is easier to understand when we know that Ann's sister, Elizabeth, just younger than she, had been married to

23Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, p. 199.
Elijah F. Sheets a year before and had already borne him the first of the ten children who would make up her family. Musser's sister Susanna was Sheets' other wife, and Amos had been a regular visitor in the home.

With the approach of spring, it became necessary for the Mormon leaders to either make a determined stand against the invaders or to change their policy. Repercussions from the massacre at the Mountain Meadows the fall before came now from every direction, and the prospect of further bloodshed, especially if it might mean their own families, quieted the brethren somewhat. Musser made no note of this massacre even though word of it came to Salt Lake City by John D. Lee himself on September 29, three days after the Musser train arrived. It was evidently not discussed publicly at all, but came to many people from California papers or emigrants from there, and was not generally known until early 1858.25

The efforts of the self-appointed peacemaker, Thomas L. Kane, and of the two Peace Commissioners sent out by President Buchanan, together with the more sober councils of the leaders combined to change the policy of the Church from "Stand up and Fight" to "Burn and Flee". Now all the people in the Salt Lake Valley were to move south, leaving their homes ready for the torch should the

soldiers make any attempt to take possession of them. Some talk of this began in February, but the general migration south did not take place until late April, May, and the first few days of June.

Before this time Amos Musser and his wife had an unexpected addition to their family. On April 17, 1858, he wrote:

Almerin Grow has given me his daughter (now twelve years old) to raise. He has appointed me as her guardian. Prest Young has given him a mission "to go south and never return." Though naturally smart, he has become immeasurably insane, striking tokens of which are seen in his acts of extracting all his teeth, wearing his wifes clothing, etc.26

As though to tie all the families more closely, Martha Ann Bitner, his half sister was married on February 26, 1858, to Benjamin Barr Neff, her cousin. It would seem that perhaps the Neffs, the Sheets, and the Mussers cooperated in the move, taking along with them the mother and her daughter, Anna Starr. This group did not leave Salt Lake City until June 8, and remained in Provo just a month. On the 21st of June Amos wrote that "I came to this place about ten days ago and I am now in the basement of the Seminary." On Saturday July 10, he was back in Salt Lake City where he "moved into a small house in the 16th ward."

Now married and settled, he was ready to launch into life with a renewed purpose.

CHAPTER FIVE

BUSINESS AND CHURCH LIFE

The years 1858 to 1871 were to be some of the busiest in the life of Amos Milton Musser, with work in both the Church and Utah Territory occupying most of his time. While there is no daily entry for the period from 1858 to 1864, Musser entered in his record book that "September 22, 1858, my wife and I moved into and took charge of the Wilkie House on Union Square, 17th Ward." The Union Square was just west of the Temple Block.

Although the location on the corner of South Temple and First West was convenient to his work, he evidently wanted to secure a place of his own, for he wrote that within six months "on April 28, 1859, we moved to our little house in the 13th ward, being on the north end of the Lot 1 Blk 74 Plat A. Salt Lake City Survey," which was Second East between South Temple and First South.

By this time Musser had been promoted from a clerk at the Tithing Office to Traveling Bishop for the Church.¹ There were then over three hundred wards in

¹The exact date of this appointment is not given in any of the sources that are available, nor have the attendants at the Church Historian's Office been able to find it. It would seem to be between July, 1858, and
Utah and adjacent territories over which he would have some direct supervision. It would seem that his first duty was to establish a more uniform set of records and to check with each Bishop individually as to his method of handling tithing receipts and disbursements. Since many people paid their tithes "in kind", the Bishops were often responsible for many perishable items such as fruits, vegetables, fresh meat, butter, eggs, and other farm produce. Some of these problems would be solved later, but soon after his appointment he wrote his own idea of his duties:

My Dear Bro. Calder, I am here straightening up the matters belonging to the tithing department and do not intend leaving Sanpete until all the accounts and receipts for 1860 are made out. . . . On my way down I stopped at every ward and gave full instructions respecting filling out the schedules and making out reports.²

Information on the remuneration that Musser received for this work has not been discovered. In Brigham Young's account book as Commissioner of Indian Affairs he lists clerks wages at from $50 to $70 per month, but there is no indication of whether or not this represents a full time position. Here the accounts were being paid by the government rather than the church,

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which may have made a difference. Brigham Young advocated $1 per day as laborers' wages during this period. It would seem that while he had probably been working for seventy dollars a month before, he would now receive an increase in wage because he was forced to be away from home a great deal. At one time later he said that he had made 1108 trips for the Church, exclusive of his missions.

As before stated, there are no diaries for these years, yet information of his travels is found in reports in the Deseret News, items from the "Journal History of the Church," and occasional mention in private diaries. One such trip was made in company with Brigham Young and others, leaving Salt Lake City on October 24, and returning November 7, 1860. They went as far south as Manti, and Musser spoke at three different places.

With the outbreak of the Civil War the General Authorities of the Church decided to establish a rather large colony in Southern Utah to raise cotton to supply the whole church. Three hundred families arrived on the site late in the fall of 1861. Among their other assignments, the leaders were counseled to:

... build, as speedily as possible a good, substantial commodious well finished meeting house, one large enough to comfortably seat at least 2000 persons, and that will be not only useful, but also an ornament to your city and credit to your energy and enterprise.

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3 Photostat, "Indian Department, Washington D.C. Ledger A in a/c with Brigham Young Ex-Officio Supt of Indian Affairs Commencing June 30, 1852". This illuminating ledger is unlisted at the Utah State Historical Society.
I hereby place at your disposal, expressly to aid in the building of aforesaid meeting-house, the labor, molasses, vegetable and grain tithing of Cedar City and of all places and persons south of that city.

I hope you will begin the building at the earliest practicable date; and be able, with the aid hereby given, to speedily prosecute the work to completion. . . .

On April 20, 1863, Brigham Young and a company of eighty-four visited the settlements as far south as St. George for the purpose of encouraging the people and directing their activities. A. M. Musser was along as Traveling Bishop to direct the tithing from the established settlements to those in the south. This year the people had planted a large crop of cotton, to the exclusion of food crops, so that, though it did well, they would have been left in a serious condition if they had not had the tithing to draw on. The cotton produced that year totaled 56,094 pounds. ⁵

The fall of the same year found Musser again in the southern part of the state checking with the cotton mission and taking down foodstuffs to alleviate the hunger of the people there.

This is the third or fourth year I have been down here to purchase cotton. I am here to secure cotton enough to load the two teams for home which I succeeded readily in doing. Some 800 pounds. In my exchange I have distributed among the good people of Dixie in the neighborhood of 15,000


⁵Ibid., p. 143.
pounds of flour. This will help somewhat.6

Since the people had been forced to ship their cotton packed loose in wagon beds, which made it difficult to transport and handle, Musser "engaged in the making of a cotton press, one that will make 100# bales and just the size to accommodate themselves to both narrow and wide track wagons. I have made arrangements to get several hundred bu. of wheat ground and the flour sent to Washington Co. to exchange for cotton."7

In addition to taking the tithing cotton to Salt Lake City, Musser also took part of the crop to the settlements in the northern half of the state and exchanged it for goods to be returned to the people in the Dixie Mission. He and the leaders in St. George agreed on a basic gold price or its equivalent for each of the following articles of produce: "Cotton raw, $1.25; molasses $4.; Tobacco $3.; Preserves $6.; Bro. Snow thinks the Dixie folks need flour more than mdze. and consequently advises me to sell some of the goods coming north for flour and exchange it here for cotton."8

This meeting was held on November 12, 1864, and just two days later, in Parowan, he began the exchange of goods with the wagon train that came from the north. At the end of the first week, about $1400. worth of goods had been exchanged, and by the end of the second

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8Ibid., p. 3-4.
week of bartering this figure had nearly doubled.

Sold pretty nearly out, about 2500$ of goods . . 
. . Had four men baleing cotton all day this day
in the press I had made while here . . . This is the
third on fourth year I have bought grain for the
mail cos. East and West and getting it freighted
for them, the cost and value of all amounting in
the aggregate to, no doubt, over 700,000.$9

Writing later of the activities of this fall, he
gave other information as to the types of business in
which he was engaged, and suggested that this trip was
a part of his extended honeymoon, having taken his
second wife, Mary Elizabeth White, of Beaver, Utah,
about this time.

1864 This year I took $35,000 into Sanpete Co., to
purchase oats for the Overland Mail Co., my wife
Mary W. Accompanying me. After my return from
Sanpete Co., I took $10,000 into Cache Co. to buy
wheat for the Military at camp Douglas.10

At this time his wife Ann Leaver had two
children, her third child had died on April 22, pre-
vious, and she herself was in poor health, as she had
been for some time. Perhaps that is the reason that he
spent the winter of 1864-65 near home, making trips to
Grantsville, Goshen, Provo, and Fairfield. At this last
place, the village which grew up near Camp Floyd, he
"collected and brought home over $400. in cash, which
I have been doing ever since my first trip out as agent

9Ibid., p. 6-7.
10Amos Milton Musser, Notebook Record, written by
Musser years later. Ms. now with Gertrude M. Richards,
Pleasant Grove, Utah. Hereafter cited as Musser, Note-
book.
for the General Tithing Office."\textsuperscript{11}

The winter weather sometimes made travel difficult, but that was all a part of carrying out his assignment, something to be expected and taken in stride. On returning from Centerville on January 22, 1865, he reported the following incident:

We reached City Creek on North Temple Street where ice had clogged up the water so as to render the crossing precarious. We plunged in however but on striking the opposite bank, without licence the sleigh bed divorced itself from the runners and backwards we went into the center of the stream struggling some minutes before we regained our pins and getting to boot a good and in most respects, complete scousing. Bro. Amasa (Lyman) footed it home from there and I fished out the fragments, emptied the water from my boots and started home too.\textsuperscript{12}

On the day following, Musser and John W. Young started for Utah County with directions from the First Presidency to combine several of the wards in that area. "The accumulating business of the General Tithing Office has partly suggested the propriety of these changes." He returned from this trip and left again for Heber City and vicinity. Shortly after his return from this trip he started for Logan and area.

In order to emphasize the amount of travel this man did and the amount of time he spent away from home, his activities of 1865 are detailed. In April, after numerous short trips to the outlying areas of Salt Lake

\textsuperscript{11}Musser, Vol. IX, p. 34.
\textsuperscript{12}Musser, Vol. IX, p. 40.
City, Musser started south to take foodstuffs to the people of Dixie, where according to the Church Chronology the people "suffered much". John D. Lee noted that "Again visited by Bishop Henry Lunt accompanied by Elder A. M. Musser, the latter sent from General Tithing Office to relieve the Brethren in the south who are at this time suffering for bread." Musser spent about a month in the southern part of the state, spoke at the Stake conference at St. George on May 7, and then returned to Salt Lake City.

On June 8 he attended as a spectator and companion of Brigham Young, a meeting between Colonel O. H. Irish, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and the principal Indian Chiefs of Utah County at the Spanish Fork Reservation. The chiefs represented forty lodges of Indian tribes, and the treaty had to do with the use of Indian land.13

During the week which followed, they held meetings in all settlements of Utah County, returning to Salt Lake City on June 14. The week following was spent visiting Weber County until June 21, and the next day he set out for Nephi to be present at the dedication of a new meeting house. He returned from Nephi to be present at the dedication of a new meeting house. He returned from Nephi on the 27th of June, remained in the city over the 4th of July celebration,

13Jenson, Church Chronology, June 8, 1865, p. 72.
and left town for Sanpete County on July 9th. He arrived back in Salt Lake City on the 19th and stayed in the city over the celebration of the 24th. Four days later he left "the city this morning for Bear Lake Valley, Richland County, via Cache County." He returned from this trip on the 11th of August. He had been in town less than a week when he started for Summit and Wasatch Counties. While there he purchased 100 tons of coal for the church. He returned to Salt Lake City via Provo, on August 25, and then on September 4, 1865, he started south for St. George, via Sanpete, Sevier, and Kane Counties. On his return on the 29th of September, he wrote: "The meetings were frequent and well attended and productive of much good. In taking the new route Bro. Franklin (Richards) and myself traveled over 800 miles.

By this time the winter weather was setting in but his trips became no shorter in distance or less frequent. During the month of October, trips to Ogden, Utah, and Tooele Counties were reported. The first week of November, with John W. Young, Musser "located four townsites on the north side of Weber River and attended to much other business in the counties of Weber, Davis, and Morgan." He returned to Salt Lake City and stayed until November 27, at which time he started for Bear Lake and intermediate Counties and wards, but was unable to reach Bear Lake owing to deep snow and stormy weather. December 15, found him on his way to Sanpete
and Sevier Counties. On December 29:

Arrived home this P.M. pretty tired and chilly. The day after leaving it commenced storming and continued without much cessation until now. The snow falling so deep rendering the roads almost and in many places for a time entirely impassable. In attempting to reach the American Fork Mills we got into 3 or 4 feet of ice, snow and water. With much help and difficulty got the carriage out, ourselves and horses getting out and repairing to dry quarters as speedily as possible, lest we should freeze. Henry Lincoln accompanied me.14

His work was varied. Not only did he collect tithing, but he also distributed goods from the office to needy members of the church, adobes for building, food for members who were crossing the plains, and taking care of other church business as he was instructed. He was trying to make the procedure of gathering the tithing more simple and effective, especially for himself. He wanted standard prices put on articles and he wanted to do away with the waste of perishable products. He encouraged the Bishops to take dried fruit instead of fresh, to accept molasses, wine, grain, corn, hay, cured meats, cotton, livestock—in short, items that would not deteriorate in transit, or that could be turned to cash.

In some cases it became his duty to make suggestions for the reorganization of the wards or replacing men who filled the positions of responsibility. Always he was looking for ways to improve the situation. This can be illustrated by a letter to Brigham Young, dated

October 2, 1865:

Prest. B. Young,
Dear Sir, Pardon me for submitting a few names to fill places of trust as bishops over wards and districts either poorly bishoped or not bishoped at all. It has seemed to me that the interests of the tithing office and the people would be promoted by making blendings and appointing presiding bishops over them. It would certainly lessen the labor of the General Tithing Office by having central places of deposit for the tithing produce instead of so many small ones, the losses would also, I think, be materially abridged.

Your brother, A. M. Musser. ¹⁵

In making these recommendations he tried to be very careful not to overstep his rights or to interfere in the rights of the local people. His legitimate duties had to do only with the tithing unless otherwise he was instructed by his superiors.

It would be very interesting to have more complete figures on the growth of the area population-wise and industrially, and to note whether or not the tithes had increased proportionally or not. This information is not available; in fact, complete information is not found for any year, but for 1867 Musser wrote of the collections that had been made from the southern part of the state. Writing from Manti in November, he said:

Prest. Brigham Young.

¹⁵Letter from Musser to Young, dated October 2, 1865. Original is now in the L.D.S. Historian's Office.
16. Nephi, wheat 1,000, Corn 50, hay 20, potatoes 300, and stock $1,000. Fountain Green, Wheat 110, potatoes 100; Moroni, Hay 20, Wheat 40, Potatoes 150, Oats 50. The reason for so much wheat at Nephi is that it had been collecting there from Sanpete County. Arrangements are being made to forward this material to the city.

Your brother in the Gospel, A. M. Musser.

Early in 1868, he made out a report of the total tithing and disbursements for the year 1867. The total receipts for the year amounted to $589,841.95. Most of this was paid in goods which made the job of transporting it more difficult. Evidently Musser would travel in a light buckboard and instead of bringing the goods back himself, he would make arrangements to have it hauled to the city.

A part of his work was to make accurate records in other fields. The following census was made by Musser for the year 1868. He listed 13,608 families in the territory averaging 8 to each family, making 108,864 people; 243 schools, 154 Sunday schools, 78 cooperative stores, 102 relief societies, 117,473 head of sheep, 89 grist mills, 99 saw mills, 59 tanneries, 7 woolen and cotton factories, 29 carding machines, and 14 machine shops. With regard to the industries in the territory, this report is very illuminating.

Before this time however, Amos M. Musser's

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16Letter from Musser to Young, dated November 26, 1867. Original is now in the L.D.S. Historian's Office.


life had been complicated by another factor, the Deseret Telegraph Company.

As the transcontinental telegraph line was constructed in 1861, President Young considered the question of a regional line which would connect the isolated Mormon settlements with the outside world. In fact, on the very day communication was opened between Salt Lake City and the East, Brigham Young called in advisors to plan the construction of a north-south territorial line connecting all Mormon settlements. Telegraphic instruments were sent for; a telegraphy school was established in Salt Lake City; and a short line was established to run from Brigham Young's office to the Council House. However, the Civil War was begun and it prevented the Mormons from getting the necessary wire, batteries, insulators, sending and receiving sets, and other equipment until 1866.19

The toy line from the home office to the Council House only whetted the interest of President Young. At the close of the general conference, on April 10, 1865, a special conference was called at which the problem was placed before the local authorities who were present. A resolution to build a local telegraph line from St. George in Washington County to St. Charles in Bear Lake County, then the extreme settlements of the church south and north, was presented and passed by the congregation.

19 Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 228.
In November following Brigham Young sent a circular letter to all bishops and presiding elders to ask for active support of this project. They were instructed to proceed to get out and get the poles up. These were to be twenty-two feet long, eight inches in diameter at the butt and five inches at the top, and were to be set seventy yards apart and four feet in the ground.\(^{20}\)

This would be a major assignment, especially for bishops of small wards in remote locations, but as in all public projects, they made it a part of their tithing labor or a voluntary contribution to a public cause in much the same way that they cooperated to build roads or meetinghouses. Though the circular was sent out late in 1865, many of the bishops did not get at the actual business until almost a year later. Word that fifty-five tons of wire and insulators in sixty-five loaded wagons drawn by ox teams had arrived in Salt Lake City on October 15, 1866, set every hamlet to work. By December 1, 1866, the Deseret Telegraph Line was opened between Salt Lake City and Ogden. On the 8th it was opened to Logan and on the 28th to Manti.\(^{21}\)

John D. Lee's account of the work at Harmony is typical of what went on in every settlement along the line:

Harmony Nov 30 1866 . . . I started up Shirtes Kanyon with 3 teams, my son J. Williard, J. David,

\(^{21}\)Jenson, Church Chronology, p. 76.
and my step-son Jas. Thompson for timbers for my family hall and also Telegraph Poles for the Deseret Telegraph line . . . December 3, 1866 This morning while eating Brakefast Bro. Thorley, Adams, & came up with about 40 logs from 20 to 27 feet long & we all came down about 2 mis. where we met Prest. Imlay, P. P. Pace, F. Prince, J. H. Lee, A. Bell, Omer Heywood, G. Hicks and R. Moncur who had come for Telegraph Poles, where we all encamped for the night.²²

This list includes about half the male members of the village, all of whom had evidently postponed filling their assignment to get their poles until winter had set in.

During the days immediately following, Lee was busy setting the poles, and re-setting some that his boys had not put in the required four-foot depth. The next Sunday he attended church at Kanarra. The business of the telegraph line was discussed and the Bishop reported that "Prest. E. Snow had requested him & Elder Roundy to see that the balance of the Poles were all put up by the 20th inst., as the co. putting up the wires were at Fillmore & crowding the work . . . David P. Kimble arrived with the telegraph wire for the line to St. George.²³

The line was quickly completed and put into use, for James G. Bleak reported that "Tuesday 10th of January was a joyous day in St. George because of the establishment of the telegraphic communication between us and the North as far as Logan in Cache Valley more

²³Ibid.
particularly because we were in immediate telegraphic touch with President Brigham Young." 24

It may seem strange that the through line from Salt Lake City to Logan on the north and St. George on the south was finished before a company was incorporated. With all the poles secured and set, and the initial line up, much had been accomplished by the donated labor of the people, but there remained branch lines to extend to the settlements enroute.

On January 18, 1867, the Legislature of the Territory of Utah passed an act creating the Deseret Telegraph Company. The original incorporators are listed as Brigham Young, Edward Hunter, A. M. Musser, E. D. Woolley, A. H. Raleigh, John Sharp, William Miller, John Hess, A. J. Moffatt and Robert Gardner. At a Board of Directors meeting during the next month the following important document was executed:

Notice: It is hereby given by the undersigned incorporators of the Deseret Telegraph Company that a meeting is to be held on Thursday 14th of March next, at 11 a.m. at the Historian's Office, Great Salt Lake City, for the purpose of opening books and receiving subscriptions of stock for the Deseret Telegraph Company, pursuant to the Act of Incorporation approved January 18, 1867. 25

This meeting was held and stock was sold, the majority going to the above named incorporators. The exact amount of money that was subscribed for the Company on that day was not reported. March 21, 1867,

the stockholders met and organized, naming Brigham Young, President; William Clayton, Secretary; and George Q. Cannon, Treasurer; A. M. Musser, General Superintendent for the Company.

Amos Milton Musser's work of traveling continued without interruption, his longest trip, both in time and distance being in the spring of 1870 when he visited the settlements in southern Nevada and was "gone 25 days and travelled about 1200 miles and held over 60 meetings."\(^{26}\)

By this time branch lines were extended to most of the small settlements along the way. Pleasant Grove reported:

Thanks to the superintendent of our line, A. M. Musser, an office is opened here, by which we can hold communication with the rest of the telegraphic world and sustain ourselves in the way of information in this age of progress and improvement. An office of the line has also been opened at Dry Creek, or Neffs Station, in this county, to which, as well as to the office at Pleasant Grove, messages are transmitted for 25¢ each. The superintendent deserves great credit for the progress made by the line under his supervision and direction. We congratulate him on the success of his efforts.

Ben W. Driggs.\(^{27}\)

The growth of the company was unusual in several respects. They received no federal money, but reinvested all their profits for expansion. They also had

\(^{26}\)Musser, Vol. XIV, p. 7.

\(^{27}\)Deseret News, November 11, 1870, p. 1. Quoting a letter from Ben Driggs, the local operator of the telegraph in Pleasant Grove.
broader service than many states where telegraphs had been in operation for a longer period of time. The Deseret News of June 27, 1871, carried this report from Musser:

It is not generally known that Utah is the only Territory of the United States that has built and owns a great many miles of Telegraph lines. In this matter we are also ahead of some of the States. Our lines are now some 600 miles in extent. The Deseret Telegraph Company have already ordered the wire and other material for additional lines . . . . These new extensions when completed and added to those already built, will total about 1000 miles of telegraph wire belonging to the company. We hope to have these lines all completed within three months. . . .

Although Musser's work remained unchanged in many respects, it seems appropriate to close this chapter in 1871 because on April 18, of that year his first wife, Ann Leaver, died at the age thirty-five after several years of poor health, leaving two children; a daughter Anna Elizabeth, age 12 and Amos Milton Jr., age 11.28

Thus the pattern of his home life was changed.

By this time his public work with the telegraphic work had grown to such proportions that President Young and Bishop Hunter decided to relieve him of a part of his burden as Traveling Bishop. April 28, 1871, they appointed his brother-in-law, Elijah F. Sheets, to act in Utah, Juab, Millard, Sevier, Sanpete, and Tooele Counties.

28For genealogical data on the entire Amos Milton Musser family, see Appendix I. Aspects of his family life are discussed in Chapter VIII.
CHAPTER SIX

1871-1880

Although Musser was relieved of some of his work as Traveling Bishop, his task was complicated by other developments. Since 1863 the tithing from Cedar City and all points south had been collected in St. George to be used for those who worked on the Tabernacle. In 1871, with that building almost finished, President Young called together the local leaders and proposed that they build a temple there. Now the tithing produce and tithing labor from all the settlements south of Provo would be called into demand, for this was an undertaking which would tax them all heavily.

Now the Traveling Bishop must organize some wagon trains to bring in equipment and others to haul food to Dixie. A telegram from Nephi to Salt Lake City, n.d., gives an idea of the magnitude of this assignment:

Train of 32 yokes of good oxen, 2 horses and 7 wagons in charge of ex bishop A. H. Bennett will leave here for St. George this p.m. loaded with 95 sacks flour, 3 tons wheat, 3½ tons barley and oats and 80 bushel corn (in the ear to feed oxen). They have good outfit covers, water barrels, axes, spades, picks, ropes, extra chains, yokes and bows, ox shoes and nails, shoeing tools, whips, axle grease, monkey wrench, cooking utensils and
general outfit for teamsters.\textsuperscript{1}

As the work progressed other trains were sent out from the south. Orson Huntsman tells of one such which left in mid-April 1872 and traveled north to Sanpete soliciting donations and tithing. There were six wagons, three with 4-horse teams and three with 2-horse teams, all loaded with flour, pork, and other foodstuffs, every item of which was receipted for and carefully recorded on a long list, that all who contributed should receive proper credit.\textsuperscript{2}

For fifteen months now he had been a monogamist, and his position in the church as well as his own belief in the principle demanded that Musser secure another wife. This he did September 4, 1872, when he had Belinda Pratt, a widow with three children, sealed to him in Salt Lake City.

During all these years he continued as traveling bishop, gathering up produce and cash and forwarding it to the proper place. After a trip to Southern Utah he reported that "I also brought home some $2,000 cash collected on tithing, P.E.F. debts, etc."\textsuperscript{3} From Cache Valley the month following he "collected over

\textsuperscript{1}This telegram was copied in Musser, Vol. XIII, p. 53.

\textsuperscript{2}Orson W. Huntsman, Diary, Typed copy, now in BYU Library, listed under the date, April 11, 1872.

\textsuperscript{3}Musser, Vol. XIII, p. 22. P.E.F. was the Perpetual Emigrating Fund.
$4,000 in cash on tithing and P.E.F. accounts.\(^4\) In Sanpete County alone for the year 1872, a total of $56,245.25 was paid in tithing, but only $2,459.90 was cash.\(^5\)

In early 1873 the Church suffered a loss that impaired the work of Musser. In Nephi was a grist mill that ground the wheat to flour for shipment to other communities. A telegram told him that "our grist mill was running till one o'clock last night. Completely burned down by three o'clock this morning. Full of wheat. Nothing saved. . ."\(^6\)

This would slow the work down, but the grinding would just be transferred to another place. The cause of the fire is not known but it was probably accidental.

Musser's basic work as Superintendent of the telegraph line continued and his responsibilities increased as the lines were extended to the outlying villages and the mining towns in the neighboring states. The total telegraph receipts for the year 1873 were $75,620.62, of which $33,378.83 came from the Pioche office alone.\(^7\) Pioche, Nevada, at this time was

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\(^4\)Ibid., p. 74.
\(^6\)Musser Notebook, p. 73.
at its peak of silver mining activity.

Brigham Young set out for Southern Utah on November 28, 1873, and remained all winter. The work on the temple was progressing slowly, for the people had been forced to put many tons of rock into a swampy area of the excavation before they could proceed with the foundation. President Young's constant encouragement and the efforts of local bishops and the traveling bishop to organize the food distribution helped materially. Beef, butter and cheese and constant replenishment of the items at the Tithing Office made it possible for the work to proceed and to set the pattern for the next four years.

During this winter, Musser met Anna Seegmiller, a widow with three children, in St. George and when he returned to Salt Lake City the two were married.

About the same time the idea of re-establishing the United Order in the Church was discussed again and again, particularly in St. George. One needs only to examine the record of James G. Bleak to note the number of meetings and the various facets of the problem. The next year would see the plan introduced in general conference and taken to all parts of the church. This duty was added to the other official duties of the traveling bishop. After a trip to the southern part of the state in 1874, Musser reported that they "held nearly 60 meetings, our teachings were mostly on the principles of the United Order which are
now being discussed by the leaders and people for the express purpose of unifying the saints in their temporal relations.\(^8\)

A part of the plan was to consecrate all property to the Church. This had been introduced and pushed in many of the towns of Washington County and elsewhere as part of the Reformation Movement of 1856. Abandoned in connection with the Utah War, the practice was now revived as part of the United Order campaign. Feeling that he should comply with this idea, Musser made out the required deed, assigning all that he owned to the Church, the total value of which he placed at about $10,000.\(^9\) This part of the plan died quietly. In fact, the whole United Order attempt was a failure except in a few isolated cases, notably Orderville and Brigham City. Elsewhere they substituted a series of cooperative undertakings\(^10\) through which the people tried to increase their production and improve the quality of their products.

One of the more important of these efforts was the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society. While such an organization had been effected earlier, the Utah War and Civil War and other conditions had prevented its growth. Now it was to take on new life

\(^8\)Musser, Vol. XX, p. 9.
\(^9\)Musser, Vol. XX, p. 12.
and in September 1873, it was re-established, its purpose being the securing of different types of grains, plants, shrubs, and trees for use in Utah. At the first meeting the following business was transacted:

To all whom it may concern: This is to certify that Amos M. Musser, Esq. has been appointed general agent for the society, with power to organize branches and to appoint agents throughout the territory. He is also authorized to issue life and annual membership certificates, collect the means for the same; receive donations, and attend to any other business that may arise in behalf of the society. By order of the Board.

Wilford Woodruff, President.
Robert L. Campbell, Secretary.11

This meant another traveling job for the already busy man. His first assignment came immediately. He was to go to San Francisco with George A. Smith, Wilford Woodruff, and George Q. Cannon, to the California State Fair, as representatives of the society. They left Salt Lake City on September 9, 1873. Their duties were to gather for the benefit of Utah, all the available information concerning stock, wool, agricultural machinery, horticultural and manufacturing interests generally.

They had been back in Salt Lake City only a short time when Musser received another communication from the Board of Directors sending him on a trip to Denver to attend the Irrigation Convention, October 15, 1873. Here he delivered a speech on the use and development of irrigation in Utah. He also gave statistics on

11 Original Copy of the appointment, dated September 2, 1873, now in the possession of Burton Musser.
the growth of manufacturing, and some of the agricultural improvement that had taken place.

As a part of his work he sent abroad for cuttings and plants and encouraged farmers in various parts of the territory to try them out. These included some mangoe, banana and other small trees which he sent to the semi-tropical climate of St. George. An important item in every part of the state was sugar, so Musser sent for sugar cane cuttings and maple sugar seed for trial in various areas. In an attempt to stimulate its production, Musser petitioned, and was granted by the Legislature, $2,000 as an award for any successful manufacture of sugar in the territory. He had in mind the sugar and syrup makers of Gunnison, Sanpete County. None were able to meet the requirements that first year, but the action did serve as a stimulus to the infant industry. Sugar manufacturing has subsequently become an important industry in the state.

He also secured alfalfa seed from Switzerland, which he gave to farmers in the Lehi area, introducing a new and valuable hay crop. This became known locally as lucerne, from its origin near Lucerne, Switzerland.12

12 There is no written basis for the family claim that Amos introduced this crop, although during a discussion with Burton Musser he made the statement to this effect. Karl Larson, "Pioneer Agriculture", Utah's Dixie (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1961), pp. 88-90, says the crop came from Australia and was brought in by returning missionaries.
He received a sample of barley from the East and distributed it among the farmers for trial with instructions to record all the facts concerning its planting, cultivating and harvesting. All this type of work was very beneficial to the farmers. They would have a chance to experiment with several different varieties of imported products, fruit trees, and other plants. Naturally some failed, but many succeeded, and from them have come a wide variety of Utah's farm produce and fruit.

Other entries show the variety of Musser's tasks and the confidence which his leaders placed in him:

1876 July 7 & 8 Went to Coalville, Summit Co. to examine titles to and negotiate for the purchase of two coal mines for the church. . . . July 29. Again at Coalville, Contracted for mining the coal and hauling it to the city. At 3 p.m. witnessed an almost total eclipse of the sun. It became quite dark and chilly. A star was readily seen. 13

Perhaps no entry in all the diaries of Amos Milton Musser has stirred so much conjecture as has the following:

City Mon Jan 17/76 Returned this p.m. from Holden whence I have been to receive and bring home 4000 gold coin the liberal donations as offerings for temple building purposes made by Father Wm Stevens now in 76 yr of age For a long time he has been anxious to make this disposition of this means & felt much relieved after placing it in my possession to convey it to this city. 14

13 Musser Notebook, p. 16.
Since the party that had been massacred at the Mountain Meadows in 1857 were supposed to have been carrying four thousand dollars of gold coin which was never found, and since gold in any form was rare in the pioneer Mormon settlements, there has been some conjecture as to whether or not this might have been the missing money. The phrase that "for a long time" he had wanted to dispose of this coin and that "he felt much relieved" to put into Musser's hands added to the fact that those of his descendants who told a legend of his writing to Brother Brigham about this and "that Brother Brigham did not come himself, but sent a man in a buggy who picked it up and took it" and Stevens insistence that it was NOT tithing increases the ground for supposition. As yet it is only conjecture.15

Soon after this incident, Musser was called on his second mission for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, this one to his native state of Pennsylvania, where he would preach the gospel to relatives and family friends. His call came during the October General Church Conference, 1876, and with this call came his release from his many positions of

15 For a complete discussion of this, see Juanita Brooks, John Doyle Lee, Zealot, Pioneer Builder, Scapegoat (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1961), p. 371, 375, 376. This transaction took place in January, 1876, and Lee had been tried once but no decision was reached, so he was in jail. He was tried again in September, 1876, this time to be convicted and executed.
responsibility: Traveling Bishop, Superintendent of the Telegraph, and Agent for the Manufacturing Society. He left Salt Lake City, with his companion, Orson F. Whitney, on November 6, traveling by rail to Pennsylvania.

When they first arrived in Pennsylvania they did not receive much encouragement in their work, the general atmosphere being unfriendly. They scheduled several public debates on religious subjects with a Reverend Dr. Martin, that were quite well attended and helped them become better known in the area. They wrote many letters in defense of the church and had several small tracts printed and distributed. These were usually without a title, the outside reading something like this, "Read this and pass it on to a friend". These were used to introduce the Church and Missionaries to the people of that area, and give the missionaries a basis on which to start. In one of his letters to the First Presidency of the Church, Musser suggested the publication of many more of these 'tract' to be used by the missionaries, which has been done. 16

16 These pamphlets, now in the back of the Musser Notebook, were published in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, financed by the missionaries. They were usually without title but would say something like, "Please read this free circular on Mormonism then pass it on to a friend" or "Religious Articles and on Polygamy". Copies of these may also be found in the BYU Library.
Their work showed an improvement in a very short time as can be seen from the Deseret News: "We learn that he has been holding a great many public and private meetings, and, at date of writing, had several engagements ahead, with a prospect of baptizing some believers." They continued their work until June, 1877, when Musser began his return trip home, having been gone eight months. Whitney remained for another year.

The number of conversions made during this period is not available, but the influence of Musser and Whitney in behalf of the Church undoubtedly helped eliminate some of the anti-Mormon prejudices in the eastern United States. The Deseret News noted:

Elder A. M. Musser returned last evening from his mission to the states, where he has labored with much zeal and marked ability to present the truth in plainness, and correct popular errors in relation to Mormonism. He called to see us today, and we were pleased to see him looking so well. We welcome Elder Musser to home and friends, and congratulate him on his success in the missionary field.

With the death of Brigham Young in August, 1877, the close tie between Musser and the L.D.S. First Presidency was ended and Musser, now released from all his

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17Deseret News, December 13, 1876. This article paraphrases a letter written by Musser to the paper, received December 12.


19Deseret News, July 4, 1877.
church positions, entered into the activities of private life. His work in the field of agriculture had branched in several directions. He had not only introduced new varieties of fruit and grain, but had also been interested in ornamental shrubs as well. He had fostered bee culture and the production of honey on a commercial scale. More especially he was so enthusiastic about the possibility of planting fish in the lakes and streams that he was assigned to make a study and report to the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society. This he did with such scope and completeness that it led to his appointment as Territorial Fish and Game Commissioner in 1877, soon after his return from his second mission. 20

He began by writing to all parts of the world to secure information and samples of different types of fish. He imported fish eggs which were planted in some of the streams, but he wanted the product more carefully controlled. He finally recommended and had established fish hatcheries for game fish for all parts of the Territory.

He experimented with shad, cod, white fish, mackerel, blue crab, also crappie, stripped and black bass, salmon, trout and carp. He imported a strain of

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20 The exact date of this appointment is not available but it seems to have been early in 1877 because of the date of some of the correspondence he carried on in this capacity.
large bull frogs with the idea of producing frog-legs as a table delicacy. From the Hawaiian Islands he secured gold fish and other ornamental strains for planting in pools and fountains on public parks and grounds. He even tried oysters in the salt springs near Tooele.

For almost twenty years his position as Fish Commissioner for the Territory provided his chief source of income.

In August of 1879 Musser had an unusual experience. He was attacked by Harry Bane, son of the Receiver of the Land Office, General M. M. Bane. The provocation for the assault was a series of articles published in the Salt Lake Herald, reflecting upon the moral status and antecedents of one or more members of the Anti-Polygamy Society in which Mrs. M. M. Bane was a prominent figure.21

On August 2, 1879, soon after returning from the funeral of Joseph Standing, Musser was visited at his home by two men, Harry Bane and George Eliot. A. Milton and his wife, Mary White, were at home with their fourteen year old son, when the knock came. The son answered the door and invited the men in, saying

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21 For a pro-Musser account see Deseret News, August 3, 1879, and for an anti-Musser account see Salt Lake Tribune, August 5, 1879, in which Bane said he checked with the editor of the Herald and found that Musser was the author of the libelous article.
he would call his father. The men waited at the door, however, and when Musser came, Bane gave him an envelope and said 'compliments of Mrs. Bane'. The envelope was empty. As Musser took it, Bane seized him by the lapel of the vest with his left hand and bringing forth his right hand, commenced an attack upon the head of the defenseless man, the weapon being a rawhide whip about two and one half feet long and nearly an inch thick at the butt. The first blow made a heavy cut across his temple and partially stunned him. His son tried to stop the fight but Eliot pushed him out of the way. Mrs. Musser heard the scuffle, coming into the room, she took the whip away from the men, who fled in a waiting carriage. They were caught and returned for trial on the following week. The blows dealt were twelve or fifteen in number, and though they caused an ugly appearance, they were not dangerous.

On the day the two men were to appear in court and file the bonds, Musser was there and availed himself of the opportunity to retaliate. After they had filed their bonds, the two boys started from the room. They had just entered the hall, when the door through which they came was closed and locked on the outside. The other doors leading into the hall were simultaneously fastened, the keys being stolen or concealed. This cut off any escape or hope of rescue, and a general fight ensued in which Musser used vigorously upon young Bane the same whip with which he himself had been
beaten. The police finally broke in the front door, quelled the disturbance, and arrested as participants A. M. Musser, Harry Bane, and A. M. McRay who gave bonds for their appearance when wanted. The Deseret News commented: "While we cannot say that the attack on Bane was undeserved, we regret that such a step should have been considered necessary. At any rate, the clique to which Bane belongs cannot reasonably complain after opening the ball, that one of them is compelled to dance to his own kind of music."22

Musser and McRay, the man who helped set up the affair, were bound over on $500 bonds, the same as Bane had been, but Bane was charging Musser with assault with intent to kill while Musser had charged Bane with assault with intent to do bodily harm. When the trial came, the Grand Jury could see no difference in the two cases, but considered both offenses about equal in criminality, and dismissed the affair entirely.

It seems appropriate to close this chapter with 1880, when Amos Milton Musser was fifty years old, for when a man has reached the half-century mark, he is normally at about the peak of his productive life. At this time Musser had finished his service as Traveling Bishop and Superintendent of the telegraph. He had gone

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22Deseret News, August 6, 1879. Since the Musser diaries stopped at 1876, they offer no information on this episode.
on his last mission for the church; he had married his last wife; he now had thirteen children of his own, plus his stepchildren.
CHAPTER SEVEN

1880-1896

During the second half of the Nineteenth Century, one of the most important practices of the Mormon religion was plural marriage. As Musser said:

Plural marriage is a vital and unextinguishable tenet of our faith and cannot be disregarded. It is in no sense a holiday affair, to be adopted or laid aside at pleasure. As well might modern zealots attempt to vitiate our belief in Deity as to unplant this principle of our religion.¹

This same practice was also one which the opponents of the Mormon religion attacked most vigorously, and laws were passed to curb its practice. As the pressure increased against those who were living in polygamy, the church leaders decided that they should provide a case to test the constitutionality of the statute. Musser volunteered to give himself up and provide evidence upon which to be convicted, that he might plead the right to a free practice of religion. He felt that he and his wives and children would demonstrate the high quality of family produced under this system. He would be an appropriate candidate, too,

¹Deseret News, July 8, 1878. This was written in answer to an attack made on the Mormon Church by Vice President of the United States, Schuyler Colfax, then visiting in Salt Lake City.
because all his plural wives had been converted to the principle before he met them.

Belinda Pratt's mother had written a long, eloquent letter addressed to her sister in New Hampshire defending the principle of plurality from many angles. This was first published in the Millennial Star, and later reprinted in a pamphlet, In Defense of Polygamy, put out by Quincy Kimball about 1887. Her father, Apostle Parley P. Pratt, had literally given his life for his belief in this practice, for he was stabbed to death by a Mr. McLean, former husband of one of Pratt's wives.  

Anna Seegmiller had accepted the practice when she was converted to the church, and Mary White was raised in the church, accepting this practice, with all its implications.

But Musser's offer was not accepted. The authorities selected Brigham Young's secretary, George Reynolds instead. After the law was declared constitutional in 1879, Musser tried to avoid arrest although he continued to live in the marriage relation with all three wives and had some children born after the law was passed in the Supreme Court.

All men who had plural families were counseled

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to deed the homes and lots to the wives occupying them as a means of protection before the law, so Musser:

...deeded Lots 1 and 2 Blk 17, Plat B Sale Lake City to my three wives viz., Mary White Musser, Belinda Pratt Musser, and Anna Seegmiller Musser. To Mary 10 x 13 rods off S. end Lot 1. To Belinda 7 x 20 rods off the N. end of Lots 1 and 2. To Annie 10 x 13 rods off the S. end of Lot 2.

The surprising thing is not that Musser was brought into court, but that he was not convicted earlier, judging from the description his son Frederick wrote of the family arrangements.

The land was in the form of a perfect square. In the south east corner was a long two-story adobe house fronting on 7th St., and built back from the south line about 10 ft. from the sidewalk. It had a full length narrow porch on the south side, and a full length very wide porch on the north side. This building was divided into 4 apartments, one for each of father's families. (Aunt Ann had died and her two children were living with Aunt Mary), and one for father's mother whom we called Grandma Starr. Close by, a little to the north, running east and west was a long rock building used by all for laundry purposes and storage. To the north and west of this wash house, as we called it, was a very spacious barn, built of lumber, and providing a hay loft, stalls, pens, etc. for different kinds of animals. In front of the barn, which faced south, was a good sized duck-pond surrounded by trees. Near the south west corner of the big lot was a two roomed adobe house which later, having been added to, became the home of Aunt Anna, my mother.

The place was provided with big swings and little swings, tetter-totters, trapeze bars, and all sorts of facilities for games and activities which youngsters delight to engage in. Our big barn and extensive lot became a rendezvous for all the kids in our neighborhood: what wonderful times we used to have playing kick-the-can, old sow, hide and go seek, rounders etc. etc.

4Musser Notebook, p. 19.
The estate, which really it proved to be, on a small scale, was stocked with horses, cows, sheep at times, pigs, chickens, peacocks, guinea fowls, ducks, dogs and cats: also we had troughs filled with running water and containing gold fish and carp etc. At one time there were five flowing wells on the property, each gushing forth as streams of clear cool water poured out. Covering the full length of the west side of our lot, was a fine apple orchard; in those days, no worms. The fruit was delicious and beautiful, and in the fall we would make cider and vinegar on quite a large scale.5

Frederick does not say specifically, but an examination of the family records will show that by the time of Amos Milton's conviction in 1885, his two children by Ann Leaver were grown and gone, Annie married and Amos Milton Jr. attending dental college in Philadelphia. Mary's oldest son, Samuel, was on a mission in Germany, yet there were at home fifteen Musser children ranging in age from one to fifteen years, not to mention three teen-agers from previous marriages of his last two wives. Pressure for room as well as from the law would make a division imperative.

In 1883 Musser was first subpoenaed as a witness before a grand jury to answer questions concerning his marital status. His wives, his married daughter, and a number of persons whom he had employed, hired girls especially, were all questioned, but they did not give

sufficient evidence to warrant a trial. He now moved Anna to the small remodeled house around the corner on the same block, and bought a small home out near the mouth of Mill Creek Canyon (18th East and 26th South) to which he moved his wife Belinda and his mother. Mary remained at the Musser estate while he remained underground as much as possible. In spite of all this, in 1884 he was again brought in for questioning. Again he was released. His luck was not to continue, however, for on April 1, 1885, he was arrested, this time to be convicted. The Deseret News told of his arrest:

This morning at about ten minutes after ten o'clock, as Elder A. Milton Musser was walking along East Temple Street, he was met near the Deseret Bank by Deputy Marshall Sprague, who arrested him on a warrant issued on the complaint of unlawful cohabitation. Mr. Musser was taken to the office of Commissioner McKay, where a preliminary examination was waived, and he was released on $1,000 bond, to await the action of the Grand Jury.

The trial began on May 2, 1885, with a jury of twelve men. Musser entered a plea of not guilty to the charge. The trial dragged along with both sides arguing over the petty technicalities of the law. After all the testimony was finished, Judge Charles Zane, charged the jury that if they believed, beyond reasonable doubt, that the defendant had lived in the

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When a man went underground, he would go into hiding to avoid arrest for his practice of polygamy.

Deseret News, April 2, 1885.
habit and repute of marriage with the women named, or with any two of them, to bring in a verdict of guilty. The jury retired and in twenty minutes returned with a verdict of "Guilty as Charged." 8

Musser was not the first to be arrested as can be noted by the fact that sixty-one had been convicted before Musser, and there would ultimately be 1,300 imprisoned for the violation of the law. A total of $48,208. was collected in fines for the same violation. 9 These totals include the Mormon communities in nearby areas as well as Utah.

The sentence was to be pronounced on Musser on May 9, 1885. On this day he returned to the court room with Angus M. Cannon and James C. Watson. Each man stood in turn and was sentenced to six months in the Penitentiary and fined $500. At the conclusion the attorney, Arthur Brown, for Musser asked to present the following letter from the defendant. Permission was granted.

Salt Lake City, May 9, 1885. To his Honor, Chief Justice Charles S. Zane, Third Judicial Court, Utah Territory. Dear Sir: In view of my having done in the past, according to my best understanding all that I thought was required of me as a law abiding citizen by conveying to my wives and their heirs and assigns, respectively, their separate homes and homesteads, and now finding that my conduct in this and other respects has not had the warrant of your honor's endorsement, I feel that I am justified in asking the court for the personal peace and safety of myself and my

8 Deseret News, May 3, 1885.
dear family, to definitely and specifically define what line of conduct it will be the correct one for me to follow when I am released from the penitentiary, where I cheerfully go for the inestimable privilege I have heretofore enjoyed in 'holding out' my several wives before the public, without the least attempt to conceal the holy relations. I would also call your honor's attention to the noonday fact that my wives and children, individually and collectively, are as dear to me as your honor's wife and children can possibly be to you, and that they have equal claims upon me, under the holy covenant as I have made, to love, cherish, honor and tenderly care for them; all of which I have done to the best of my ability, and, as far as I know, to their entire satisfaction, also that my obligations to each and all of them are of the most sacred, binding and, as they and I firmly believe, eternal. I now desire to have it clearly defined what course will be the safe and proper one for me to pursue to keep my contracts honorable with them, and yet live within the law as interpreted by your honor during my trial, which rulings seem to me to be very oppressive and cruel, not to say subversive to good morals and law.

Having used my very best judgment all through life respecting these vital matters, and it now being deemed unsound by your honor, as witnessed by my position before the court today as a criminal, I most anxiously desire to obtain an expression from the Chief Justice of Utah, at this juncture of the court's proceedings in my case respecting my definite and specific duties, as to what I am to do as a husband, father and good citizen, after I emerge from the Bastille, where I suppose the court will send me for having openly and affectionately 'held out' and cared for my wives and children, who in all the mental and physical graces and endowments, natural and acquired, are the peers of their sisters elsewhere; for I cannot persuade myself to believe that this mighty and magnanimous republic, which your honor represents in such a dignified, distinguished and obviously impartial manner, would wittingly punish its citizens who in every other respect are law-abiding and upright. Very respectfully submitted by your humble servant,

A. Milton Musser

A somewhat protracted colloquy followed this

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10 Letter from Musser to Zane, May 9, 1885. Original with Burton Musser.
communication between Judge Zane and Musser, as a result of which the Judge told his prisoner how he must conduct himself if he wished to avoid future trouble.

It is necessary for you to live with but one wife. The law does not forbid you to support your other wives, but the law won't allow you to live with them ostensibly as your wives. The law permits you to bring up your children the best you can, but it will not permit you to live with but one of these women as your wife, and to live with more than one as a wife in a crime, no matter what your religious belief may be about it. You may live with either one; it would not be a violation of the law if you were to live with one even though she might not be your lawful wife.

Musser closed his side of the conference with these words:

Well you can see, Judge Zane, from my communication, that I cannot make such concessions. My family is too dear to me to accept any terms of the character your suggestions impose. With all due respect to your honor's judgement, it will be impossible for me to comply with such demands. It would be utterly impossible. If a gentleman should meet me on the street and ask me to make the concessions you ask, I would consider it as a personal insult. If he should propose that I abandon my wives—divorce them by implication or by direct act, legal or otherwise—I would be grossly insulted, and should tell him that he might as well ask me how much money I would take for my mother, or at what price I would sell one of my wives. I cannot consent to anything of the kind, and I am willing to meet any consequence the court feels to impose.11

The arrest and conviction of Musser was met with a difference of opinions. The night before he was sentenced, a group of his friends surprised him at his

home and honored him for his firm stand, passing a
resolution to "commend him in the highest terms of his
conduct, his true courage, his fidelity to home and
family, his love for principles of liberty and free-
dom of conscience."

An editorial in the Ogden paper said:

When it was known that he had been convicted on
unlawful cohabitation no one who knew him had a
single doubt but that he would exhibit perfect
loyalty and courage in facing the ensuing pen-
alties without wavering in his fealty to Heaven
or compromising his high ideal of genuine manhood,
and now that he has been true to himself and taken
the sentence of the court with peaceful resigna-
tion in preference to a cowardly surrender of
eternal principles, which might have purchased
leniency from despotic vanity of a bigoted
judge, all his brethren with one voice decree to
him the new laurels of most exalted moral hero-
ism.12

The Salt Lake Tribune, on the other hand, was
of a different tone: "Elder Musser's arrest pleased
many an old saint, for the name of the party who has
scores to settle with him is 'legion'. He was the
particular instrument in the hands of the Church, some
years ago, used to rob widows and orphans of their
homes. There will be no tears shed for Milton."13

In accordance with his sentence, he went to
prison on May 13, 1885, since his appeal for a retrial
was refused. He then appealed the decision to the
Supreme Court, Utah Territory, but it reaffirmed the

12Ogden Daily Herald, Ogden, Utah, May 11, 1885.
13Salt Lake Tribune, April 2, 1885.
decision of the lower court.

Life in the penitentiary was not difficult for any of the men except for the boredom of confinement. A letter from Charles Robson tells of prison life.

Our victuals are good and wholesome, I think we have as good bread as can be produced anywhere. While the rules and regulations are carried out strictly, it is done with kindness, and the man who yields obedience to the regulations fares as well as could be asked for under the circumstance.14

Prison rules forbade the writing of more than two letters a week but did not limit other writing that could be done. George Reynolds sent an assignment for Musser to complete while he was serving his time. "I send you Book of Mormon Sheets to mark the words beginning with E. and F. Do not mark proper names for such have already been tabulated. Also omit the word 'for' or any other preposition or conjunctions beginning with those letters."15 This not only helped prepare a Concordance for the Book of Mormon, but it also gave Musser something to keep his mind occupied.

On June 10, 1885, some judges from the U. S. Supreme Court visited the penitentiary where Musser was staying, going within the walls, inspecting the bunk-houses, dining rooms, and in general giving the place a thorough going over. One of the Judges was asked his opinion of the place to which he replied:

14 Deseret News, July 9, 1885, quoting a letter from Robson.
15 Letter from Reynolds to Musser, May 20, 1885. Original with Burton Musser.
"I think that the Utah Penitentiary is simply a disgrace to civilization. It is an outrage to keep men herded up in that yard with the sun beating down on them, why sir, men in the East would not keep their cattle in such a place. The Government of the United States ought to be ashamed."\textsuperscript{16} The prisoners didn't complain about their treatment.

For good behavior, Musser was given an early release. After having served four months, October 12, 1885:

Messrs. A. Milton Musser and James Watson emerged from the Penitentiary yesterday morning and not long afterwards were receiving congratulations of their friends on the streets. Angus M. Cannon still remains. . . . Messrs. Musser and Watson each paid the $300 fine required of them, and were liberated early this morning. . . . A reporter of the Herald saw both gentlemen on the street, both looking bronzed and hearty, and both expressing themselves to the effect that they had never been better in their lives.\textsuperscript{17}

It would seem that immediately upon his release, Musser went to the home of Belinda, since it was nearer the penitentiary and his mother lived there. That he did visit the homes on Seventh South, although perhaps in secret, is shown by the fact that in less than ten months after his release Mary White and Anna Seegmiller each bore him a son, Mary's on July 9 and Anna's on July 18. Mary's was born at home, but Anna went out to Mill Creek, evidently to the home of Belinda.

\textsuperscript{16}Salt Lake Tribune, June 12, 1885.

\textsuperscript{17}Journal History, October 13, 1885, quoting the Deseret News of the same date.
although Frederick called it the "home of a lady doctor, Mrs. Pratt," for her confinement. According to his account, when she brought the child home, her husband came to talk over plans for the future. What could they do with two infants on the same block? "I have promised the Lord that if He will keep the deputies away from the house for nine months, I shall wean my baby, and then if I must I will declare that he is a foundling I have adopted." So it was done. The child was kept in a far off bedroom, and even the neighbors did not know he was there. True to her word, she weaned him in the tenth month, and when in July, 1887, she was called into court, no one accused her of having a young child.18

Musser was subpoenaed two more times, in March, 1886, and June, 1887, and questioned for breaking the law, but both times he was released. The last time the questioning went on for some time, but finally on July 5, 1887, the judge said: "We are restricted exclusively to the evidence of these witnesses now before us. I might feel that he is guilty, but the facts before us do not warrant me in holding the defendant. You are, therefore, discharged, Mr. Musser."19

Although he was never arrested for this same charge, the homes of A. M. Musser were watched in an

19The Deseret News, July 6, 1887.
attempt to catch him. As late as January, 1890, he received this note from his wife Mary. "Bro. Malin says he has reliable information that our house is to be watched would begin last night and a reward offered for your arrest he thinks you should be very careful."  

Musser was involved in one other court case but it was tried by an L.D.S. bishop's court. Musser had contracted William Calton and Samuel Allen to build four small homes for him facing the north side of the street. This was in 1884. After the contract was drawn but before construction began, Musser changed his mind and wanted six larger cottages to face the west, adding only an additional 50% to the original contract. This amount wouldn't cover the difference in the size of the homes, and the fact that they face west instead of north changed the foundations because of the slope in the street. After the homes were built, Musser paid the amount of the contract plus 50%. The contractors wanted an additional $1867. Also Calton had invested $940 in a brick yard owned by Musser without the knowledge of certain debts and mortgages against the yard. Musser had allowed the railroad to lay a track through it thereby ruining it

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20 Letter from Mary Musser to A. M. Musser, January, 1890. Original with Burton Musser.

21 The information is not available from the Church Historian's Office, and what is given here is given from memory, as the writer was permitted to read the account but not make notes on it.
for commercial purposes. Calton wanted his payment of $940. refunded also.

The case occupied ninety-five sessions of the Bishop's Court and their decision, which was accepted by both parties, was for Musser to pay the $1867 but not the $940. This he was willing to do, feeling that the judgement had been handled in a more equitable way than the civil court would have done.

During this time Musser turned more to writing as a serious pursuit. Since he was on his mission in India, he had written in defense of his church, answered attacks from many quarters. But there he was working under the direction of his senior companion, Elder N. V. Jones. In connection with his work in the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Association, he started a little paper called The Utah Farmer, designed to pass on word of the various experiments that were being carried on, giving instructions, and opening an avenue for exchanges between the subscribers.

In 1878, in Salt Lake City, Musser published a pamphlet called The Fruits of Mormonism, "designed to impress the stranger and unbeliever." It was

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22J. Cecil Alter, Early Utah Journalism, (Salt Lake City: The Utah State Historical Society, 1938) p. 388, under the title of "Newspapers with Brief Accessible History, Mostly Long Discontinued and Without Files," lists The Utah Farmer, monthly 1880-1881 by A. M. Musser; J. E. Callister; H. Van Dam. From this it seems that Musser is evidently a co-author or the other men put up the finance.
really little more than a compilation of extracts from letters, articles, and addresses by important non-Mormons, all favorable to the Mormons. Nowhere was a word of criticism or doubt expressed, so that his purpose was clear. He was trying to convert people to the church, or at least create in their minds a favorable attitude toward the Mormons.

A second, almost companion piece, was another pamphlet, Malicious Slanders Refuted. A Few Facts Plainly Spoken in Regard to the Pretended Crisis in Utah. This is a vigorous protest against the type of officials who had been sent to Utah. It also presents statistics on crime and prisons to show that conditions in Utah are better than they are in other states.23

Probably his most famous publication was a sixteen page monthly pamphlet entitled "The Palantic". It was issued monthly for one year, beginning October 1, 1887.24 The word Palantic is an abridgement of Pacific and Atlantic, and in Musser's words, it was "devoted to the exposition of truth and error." After receiving his first copies, Apostle Joseph F. Smith wrote him: "I have received two numbers of The Palantic

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23 This pamphlet was privately published in Salt Lake City, and has no by-line. Copies may be found in the L.D.S. Historian's Office in Salt Lake City.

24 The Palantic was issued in Salt Lake City, Utah, by the Star Printing Office. A. M. Musser, Editor and Proprietor. It was issued monthly, and sold for $1.50 per year or 15¢ a month.
and find them Multum in Parvo. The kernel without
the husk or very much shell."

As with his other writings, this was designed
to support and build up the Church, to teach and edify
and moralize. A letter from Lorenzo Snow indicates
the tone of the paper. "I like the forceable way you
show up the enemy. I wish you success." For Musser
always life was a battle between the good and the
evil, the Church and its enemies, and he meant to be
in it and actively "wielding his sword in defense of
Zion." Because of this, he had the sincere admira-
tion of his fellows in the ranks. Writing during the
time of his running battle with the officers, Joseph
F. Smith said: "Brother Musser has my most sincere
regards and my most earnest good wishes. I admire his
bravery, his coolness and his persistence. God bless
him, I hope he will keep out of their infernal clutches
and live to scorch them with their own sulphur."25
Apostle Francis M. Lyman was even more warm in his
praise: "God Bless you and yours, my beloved brother,
with long life and generous prosperity. I have always
admired your vigorous style and undaunted courage and
your correct and humble spirit."26

By the end of the first year The Palantic died
quietly. It has not been a success financially, and

25Letter from Joseph F. Smith to George Reynolds,
March 21, 1886. A copy was given to Musser, now in Bur-
ton Musser's collection.

26Letter from Francis M. Lyman to Musser,
January 16, 1909, now part of Burton's collection in
Salt Lake City.
Musser had written himself out.

During all these years, Musser remained Fish Commissioner, his salary being his chief source of income. With the preliminaries of a change of administration under statehood, he proceeded to make the people more conscious of the value of his work.

In the fall of 1895, with a shortage of food plaguing the residents of Utah County, Musser suggested taking fish from Utah Lake and giving them to the people to eat. According to the Deseret News:

The well concocted and very generous scheme of Fish Commissioner Musser's in supplying the poor of this city and county with members of the finny tribe, was carried on from the bishop's store house, yesterday and today. As a necessary preliminary to the distribution, the fishermen of Utah County made a raid on the scaly citizens of Utah Lake, and by means of seines or nets, a capture of three tons of 'brain food' was the result. This supply was distributed yesterday and today to all the poor and needy in the county, regardless of their religious belief. 27

This same type project was carried on in the Sevier Lake for the citizens in that area and also in the lakelets near Deseret, Millard County, for the needy there. To give an example of the scope of the work done by Musser in regard to the fish industry in this area the following letter is quoted, giving accurate statistics and costs:

To the Honorable Legislature of Utah. The total number of choice fishes I have secured and planted in the public waters of Utah, without cost to the

27Deseret News, November 16, 1895. Article was written and submitted from Provo, Utah.
State, is 10,579,220; total number of eyed ova 125,000; grand total 10,704,220, so that now we have had put into our lakes and streams, shad from the Potomac and Delaware Rivers; white fish from Lake Erie; black bass, perch, crappie and sunfish from the Illinois River; rock bass, and crappie from the Missouri River; brook trout and rainbow trout from several eastern and western points; scale, leather and mirror carp from the Potomac; eels from the Potomac; catfish from the Mississippi River; lake trout from Lake Michigan, and gold and silver fish from the Sandwich Islands and the Potomac, and the expense to Utah has been practically nothing.\(^{28}\)

During the first Legislature after Utah became a state in 1896, Musser was relieved from his position. Governor Heber W. Wells appointed a new man, and Musser's term ended officially on June 1, 1896.\(^{29}\) He was naturally very much disappointed that he could not retain the position, as were many people who knew of what he had accomplished. A letter from Edward Partridge expressed the opinion of his friends:

Dear Sir: I have always considered you as the prime promoter of the fish industry of this state, and do certainly think that some substantial recognition is due you for the eminent service you have rendered the people of the state in this direction, and all with whom I have spoken to upon the subject are of like opinion.\(^{30}\)

Several petitions were circulated in the area asking the new legislature not to sustain the Governor's appointment. These with a personal letter by Musser

\(^{28}\)Letter from Musser to the State Legislature, dated January 14, 1896, Original with Burton Musser.

\(^{29}\)Jenson, Church Chronology, p. 212.

\(^{30}\)Letter from Edward Partridge to Musser, dated July 12, 1896, original now with Burton Musser.
were sent to each senator of the state. The letter said:

At the time of his appointment, a number of my friends asked the Governor for his reasons for not reappointing me in compliance with the numerous petitions from our leading citizens and the press of every political and religious complexion, and from all the principal cities of Utah, but he gave none. This overriding the public will so clearly expressed, has been characterized by scores of citizens as a 'flagrant outrage' against the state as well as myself. ... I hold that appointments to this office should be non-partisan, and solely based on practical experience and fitness, supplemented with a strong taste for the work it imposes. Anything that you feel to do to undo the wrong will be greatly appreciated by me, and I believe, by the general public. Respectfully,

A. M. Musser. 31

Although the petition and letters were disregarded by the Legislature, Musser received many letters expressing regret and thanking him for the service he had rendered in promoting the fish industry. To soothe his feelings the Legislature finally did pass a joint resolution in appreciation of the work he had done.

Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring that the hearty thanks of the Legislature of the state of Utah, in behalf of the people of the state, are hereby respectfully tendered to the State Fish and Game Commissioner, Mr. A. M. Musser for the years of indefatigable labors voluntarily and successfully employed in promoting the fish industry of Utah

Signed

George M. Cannon
President of the Senate
Presley Denny
Speaker of the House. 32


32 The original resolution given to Musser, n.d. now with Burton Musser.
In addition to the organizations in which Musser actively engaged, he invested some capital in other projects that he considered worthy. Though never in large amounts, he did help several railroads get the necessary capital to begin operation, and also: "I have taken a $100 share in the Utah Produce Co. Three shares at $150 in the Weber Canyon Road also two shares at $50 in the 13th ward assembly rooms."

Now in 1896, with a large family to support, he would have been in serious financial straits had not the church come to his aid. He was appointed Assistant Church Historian, which position he held the remainder of his life.

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33 Musser, Vol. XII, p. 52.

34 From 1896 to 1902 Musser was only a clerk in the Historian's Office. In 1902 he became assistant. F. D. Richards was the Historian until 1900 when Anthon H. Lund became historian and was still in office when Musser died in 1909.
CHAPTER EIGHT

LATE YEARS AND FAMILY LIFE

With Amos Milton Musser established in the L.D.S. Church Historian's Office engaged at congenial work which would occupy his remaining years, it seems appropriate to give some consideration to important family events which preceded.

Two of his four wives had by now deceased, and of his twenty-six children, ten were gone.

Amos had married his first wife, Ann, in 1858 when she was twenty-two years old, the eldest daughter of Samuel and Mary Hartlett Leaver, who had joined the Mormon Church in 1842 in New York City. They came to Utah in 1852. Ann was refined and genteel, with a gift for music and she had a fine singing voice. She played both the violin and the organ. Later both she and her husband had accordions, which they played together to accompany their singing, providing in this way entertainment for their children and friends. Ann mastered the art of telegraphy and taught it to others in the school set up for that purpose in Salt Lake City in 1867.1

1Richards Scrapbook. This information is taken from a section written on Ann Leaver, used for genealogical purposes.
After several years of poor health, Ann passed away at the age thirty-five, leaving two children; a daughter Anna Elizabeth, age twelve and Amos Milton Jr., age eleven.

Mary, the second of Musser's wives, was born in Garden Grove, Iowa, on November 7, 1846. She was the third child in the family. They came to Utah in 1850 and moved to Lehi, where they stayed only a short time, finally moving to Beaver, Utah.

In his duties as traveling bishop, Musser often stayed in Beaver, and was sometime entertained at the home of Samuel White and Mary Hannah Burton White. After one trip in 1864, he brought Mary Elizabeth White back to Salt Lake City with him. They were married in the Endowment House on October 1, 1864.

When she came into the Musser family, she was only eighteen years old. The first wife Ann, had two small children and was in rather poor health. It became Mary's responsibility to take care of the house work and the children. Mary became the mother of ten Musser children. All of Mary's children were quite large in stature with vigorous personalities, adventure-some--joining the service, filling missions, and always taking a definite stand on any issue. Some of these children left the Church because of the strong feelings they had toward certain issues.

Mary seemed to be the favorite of Amos, because he took her more places and in the end when he had to
choose one, he did choose her. She spent her life in the Musser estate on 7th South and 8th East.

Mary Elizabeth White Musser survived her husband by almost a quarter century, dying in Salt Lake City, of causes incident to old age, on February 24, 1932, at the age of 86.

Belinda, the third of Musser's wives, was born May 8, 1848, in the old Fort at Pioneer Square, one of the first white children born in the Salt Lake Valley. After the death of her father, Parley Parker Pratt, in 1857, she lived with her mother, three brothers and a younger sister in the family home on South Temple just across from the south gates of the Temple Square. On the 28th of November, 1863, when she was just past fifteen, she was married in the Endowment House to T. B. H. Stenhouse, a brilliant man of thirty-three, at that time prominent in the Church.

Born in 1825 in Dalkeith, Scotland, Stenhouse and his wife Fanny joined the church there in 1846. Because of their enthusiasm for the gospel and her knowledge of the French language, they were sent to open the mission in Switzerland. They worked in Europe as missionaries for several years, and en route to Utah they stopped in New York City where he edited The Mormon. Soon after his arrival in Utah he decided to accept the doctrine of plurality, and was much attracted by the beautiful fourteen-year-old girl who lived just two blocks from his residence and through the block from
his place of business, and in spite of the protests of his wife, he married her on November 28, 1863.\(^2\) Three daughters were born to them, one of whom died soon after birth.

In 1869 Stenhouse and his first wife decided to leave the Mormon Church, having become identified with the so-called Godbeite movement and engaged in bitter disputation with Brigham Young. This action of Stenhouse meant that he renounced his wife Belinda Pratt and his two daughters.

Belinda was married to Henry J. Smith the next year. Of this man little is known, except that the Directory for 1869 lists only one Henry Smith, a stone mason who lived in the 1st Ward on Eighth East between 7th and 8th South. Belinda lived with him only a year, her son Walter being born on October 16, 1871. One family tradition says that this husband also left the church, another that he died, but as yet there is no proof available. He was not living at this address in 1874.

When Belinda married Amos on September 4, 1872, she was a strikingly beautiful young woman of 24. In fact people who remember her today say that she was

always beautiful, and always well groomed. She bore six Musser children, five of whom survived her. Her death, attributed to apoplexy, came on December 10, 1893.

Anna Seegmiller, the last married and the least completely assimilated into the Musser household, was born at Goodrich, Huron County, Ontario, Canada, on January 31, 1841. Her parents were German immigrants to Canada and they had a total of eleven children.

Anna had a quick temper and was of an independent nature. They used to call her "red head", and when she became angry, they rubbed their hands through her hair. (Later in life her hair was dark.)

She was married to John McCullock in 1860, and they became the parents of five children, the first two of whom died in Canada. Her husband began drinking and gambling, and going out with other women, so Anna left him. One of her brothers joined the Mormon Church and was able to convince others of the family to come to Utah, among them Anna.

When they arrived in Utah in 1872, they were called to St. George to work on the temple. It was here that Amos met her while he was on one of the many trips he made to that part of the state. In 1874, she returned

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to Salt Lake City with him and they were married in the Endowment House by Daniel H. Wells on January 30, 1874. She moved into his home in the 13th Ward with Mary and Belinda, Ann having died earlier. In this new environment she felt somewhat cramped, and when she found out that Amos had a farm out in Tooele County, she decided to take her three children out there to live. In writing of the venture Frederick said:

Father had a farm out in Tooele County, west of Salt Lake City, which was proving more of an expense than an asset. When mother heard about it, she became quietly excited and began to make new plans. 'That's the place for me to go,' she said. 'Hardships, say nothing of them.' Out to the farm she went, she and her son, Pete, and the two little girls. . . . The farm was located at the mouth of Pine Canyon, and overlooked the Great Salt Lake. Father gave the place the name of Lake View.4

The family remained here four years, making a decided financial success of the venture. Anna raised garden vegetables, butter, eggs, meat, and fruit, which she took to the nearby mining town of Stockton and sold for cash, which generally was very scarce at that time.

When Musser returned from his second mission and purchased the big home on 7th South and 8th East, Anna moved into one of the apartments. Each wife and his mother had a separate apartment. They lived here for six years, sometimes in comparative peace and at other times in lack of harmony.

4Ibid., p. 5.
Frederick, writing of this time had this to say:

Father was a good provider, but he found it very difficult to be at all times, a wise, just, and prudent judge. Finally, it was decided that a change should be made and accordingly, Aunt Belinda and grandma moved to new locations out in the First Ward. Aunt Mary remained on the Musser corner and Mother was given a deed to a rebuilt adobe house on 7th South. . . . in this location she lived during the remainder of her life. 5

This move was prompted by a fight between one of Mary's children and one of Anna's. Amos seemed to side with Mary so Anna:

. . . made a dive at father and grabbed him by the beard. Millie stood by with a poker in hand. Then came a barrage of words. He was told in no uncertain terms where he could get off. It ended up something like this, 'If you don't get me a place of my own where I can raise my family in peace without interference, the jig is up between you and me! By the gleam of her eye and the tone of her voice, dad knew that she meant every word of it. 6

After the manifesto of 1890 Anna was left to look after her own family which she did in her small home until her death, which came very quietly on September 18, 1931.

After he became affiliated with the Church Historian's Office, Musser was given specific writing assignments. His first was to gather copies of all Congressional and other Legislative Acts, wherein special, inimical, or unjust legislation had been brought against the Mormons, as well as action of the courts, wherein vindictive, unjust judicial proceed-

5Frederick Musser, "My Life", p. 3.
6Ibid.
ings have been instituted. He was to gather the names of the libellers and defamers of the Latter-day Saints and all who had taken an active part in the mobbings, prosecutions, proscriptions, persecutions, as well as their aiders and abettors.\(^7\)

In order to fill this assignment he advertized in the newspapers asking for copies of all anti-Mormon material, anywhere it could be found, to be sent to him. From this he compiled a list of fifty-nine books and pamphlets and thirty-one newspapers and magazines. He asked that people who had seen or knew of any of these actions against the Mormons to write the account and mail it to him. He received many of the requested articles and many letters telling of persecutions experienced by his people.\(^8\)

Musser was assigned to gather newspaper clippings and other material to be filed in scrapbook form for use by the Church as a daily history. This is now used as part of the Journal History of the Church.

In addition to this responsibility, Musser prepared a long list of calamities that have occurred since the Mormon Church has been in existence. This was done to show that the last days are near and the prophecies of old are being fulfilled. The list includes 122 earthquakes, cyclones, tidal waves, and the

\(^7\)Journal History, March 8, 1897.

\(^8\)This list is on file at the L.D.S. Historian's Office in Salt Lake City, but not open for public inspection.
like between the dates of 1830 and 1896.

In addition to his work on public records, Musser kept a loose-leaf notebook of his own into which he jotted significant dates and items of family interest. The book contains records of baptisms and sealings for both living and dead, accounts of distant relatives, business transactions, excerpts of letters from his children, newspaper clippings and other items.\(^9\) It is a goldmine of information, but it is not arranged in any order either of time or subject, so it is rather difficult to utilize. The collection does indicate something of the interests of its author. Near the beginning is an obituary of one Dr. Benjamin Musser of Strasburg, Pennsylvania, who "was one of the third generation of physicians of the same name . . . and was a descendant of one of the five families of Mussers who settled in Pennsylvania some 200 years ago, and one among the great number of distinguished physicians of the same name. . . ." This may explain in part his interest in having his sons attend medical or dental school.

Other items are prominent because of their omission. For example, he never makes mention of any of the children by the previous marriages of his wives Belinda Pratt and Anna Seegmiller, each of whom brought

\(^9\)This Notebook had been used in this paper and cited as Musser Notebook.
into the home one son and two daughters.

An entry in December, 1900, says: 'I have four missionaries in the Vineyard, viz: Parley P. Musser and wife, Jennie Patton; Barr W. Musser, Arthur P. Musser.' All of these were serving in Hawaii. To make his missionary record complete, we should add that Samuel went to Germany and Don Carlos filled a mission to Germany and Turkey, Joseph to the Southern States, and William to Germany. He counted his own years, and wrote the following:

Let me whisper an open secret: My sons and I have put in over thirty-five years of missionary work. We have preached the Gospel in Asia, Africa, Europe and in twenty states of the Union and on six Islands of the Pacific Ocean; and we are consumating arrangements to keep the equivalent of at least one of my descendants in the vineyard and another working in the Temple, till the Second Advent of our Savior. Each of my children is putting into a family fund a monthly sum for the consumption of these purposes.

The summer of 1904, in company with his wife Mary, with whom he spent his years after the Woodruff Manifesto abandoning plural marriage, Amos M. Musser was in Wyoming enjoying the climate and spending a vacation.

In 1905 the San Pedro, Los Angeles, Salt Lake Railroad, decided to honor the men still living who had traveled over the route the railroad now followed. Since Musser had covered this route on his way to the Mission field, he was invited to participate. He took

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10 Musser Notebook, p. 21.

11 Ibid., p. 9.
his wife Mary with him and with thirty-one other people enjoyed the hospitality of the railroad company for a trip lasting nearly three weeks.

Musser's last years were lightened by the activities of his large and active family, ten sons and six daughters, most of them married and in the business of establishing homes and families and businesses of their own. During the years letters from Europe from sons on missions or sons in the Phillipines in the Spanish American war or children attending universities or medical or dental schools kept him in touch with their activities. Sometimes he was troubled by their attitudes toward the Church so dear to him; sometimes he was warmed by their testimonies. He knew grief also, for ten of his children had died, some as infants, some by disease. Four sons had gone in the bloom of life: Amos Milton Jr. and Walter Smith after both were practicing dentists, Samuel at the close of his mission to Germany, Orson killed by a runaway horse. In spite of this he found life interesting and challenging.

Early in 1909 he began to have pains in the abdomen, and as the time passed he went in for medical care. The doctor decided that a prostate operation was necessary. The operation was considered successful, but after it was over, Musser began to hemmorage, which caused his death on September 24, 1909, in Salt Lake City, at the age of seventy-nine.

His funeral was conducted in Salt Lake City in
the Second Ward under the direction of Bishop Heber Iverson and his remains were buried in the Salt Lake City Cemetary.

Amos Milton Musser was a devoted man to many causes. He spent his life in the service of the Church to which he belonged. He did what he could to promote the growth of the Territory, and industries of the people. He was sometimes dogmatic in his approach, tending to emphasize one side of an issue to the exclusion of another. His writing shows that he was a man who saved what he wanted saved and eliminated things which were against his point of view. His work has materially aided in the growth of many interests in the Territory of Utah. His work covered a wide variety of industries and areas and helped Utah get a good foundation in many areas.
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# APPENDIX I

## FAMILIES OF AMOS MILTON MUSSER

### ANN LEAVER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Born</th>
<th>Died</th>
<th>Married</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amos M. Musser</td>
<td>May 20, 1830</td>
<td>September 24, 1909</td>
<td>January 29, 1858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann Leaver</td>
<td>January 6, 1836</td>
<td>April 18, 1871</td>
<td>January 29, 1858</td>
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**CHILDREN**

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<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
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<td>September 6, 1859</td>
<td>January 8, 1938</td>
<td>Moroni Musser Sheets</td>
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<td>Amos Milton Musser, Jr.</td>
<td>December 21, 1860</td>
<td>July 23, 1897</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mary Louisa Musser</td>
<td>May 1, 1863</td>
<td>April 22, 1864</td>
<td>infant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlotte Leaver Musser</td>
<td>February 17, 1865</td>
<td>February 21, 1865</td>
<td>infant</td>
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## MARY ELIZABETH WHITE

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<th>Name</th>
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<th>Died</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amos M. Musser</td>
<td>May 20, 1830</td>
<td>September 24, 1909</td>
<td>October 1, 1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary E. White</td>
<td>November 7, 1846</td>
<td>February 24, 1932</td>
<td>October 1, 1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHILDREN</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel White Musser</td>
<td>February 4, 1866</td>
<td>June 26, 1887</td>
<td>unmarried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin White Musser</td>
<td>November 13, 1867</td>
<td>June 27, 1871</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Carlos White Musser</td>
<td>August 28, 1869</td>
<td>August 21, 1952</td>
<td>Laura Farrell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph White Musser</td>
<td>March 8, 1872</td>
<td>March 29, 1954</td>
<td>Mary Lovenia Farrell</td>
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<tr>
<td>Willard White Musser</td>
<td>August 7, 1873</td>
<td>July 2, 1874</td>
<td>Rose Borgquist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary White Musser</td>
<td>April 17, 1875</td>
<td>October 14, 1883</td>
<td>Mary Hill</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gertrude White Musser</td>
<td>June 21, 1877</td>
<td>April 9, 1919</td>
<td>Ellis Ship</td>
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<td>Barr White Musser</td>
<td>August 10, 1879</td>
<td>Living 1961</td>
<td>Lucy Kmetzsch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanche White Musser</td>
<td>August 8, 1883</td>
<td>July 31, 1941</td>
<td>unmarried</td>
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<tr>
<td>Burton White Musser</td>
<td>July 10, 1886</td>
<td>Living 1961</td>
<td>John C. Howard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Margaret McCune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Raymond S. Lewis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Elise Furer</td>
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</table>

## BELINDA MARDEN PRATT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Born</th>
<th>Died</th>
<th>Married</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T. B. H. Stenhouse</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>March 10, 1882</td>
<td>November 28, 1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belinda M. Pratt</td>
<td>May 8, 1848</td>
<td>December 10, 1893</td>
<td>November 28, 1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHILDREN</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisa Stenhouse</td>
<td>January 17, 1865</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>Fred Barton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florence Stenhouse</td>
<td>July 16, 1867</td>
<td>August 5, 1867</td>
<td>Augustus Arnold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flora</td>
<td>May 23, 1869</td>
<td>unknown</td>
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### BELINDA MARDEN PRATT (con't)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Born</th>
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<th>Married</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Henry Smith</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belinda M. P. Stenhouse</td>
<td>May 8, 1848</td>
<td>December 10, 1893</td>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
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<td>CHILD</td>
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<tr>
<td>Walter Smith</td>
<td>October 16, 1871</td>
<td>December 9, 1894</td>
<td>Mamie (unknown)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amos Milton Musser</td>
<td>May 20, 1830</td>
<td>September 24, 1909</td>
<td>September 4, 1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belinda M. P. S. Smith</td>
<td>May 8, 1848</td>
<td>December 10, 1893</td>
<td>September 4, 1872</td>
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<td>CHILDREN</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parley Pratt Musser</td>
<td>July 29, 1873</td>
<td>July 20, 1943</td>
<td>Martha Jane Fatten</td>
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<tr>
<td>Heber Pratt Musser</td>
<td>January 4, 1875</td>
<td>August 31, 1875</td>
<td>infant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Winnie Pratt Musser</td>
<td>October 4, 1879</td>
<td>July, 1960</td>
<td>unmarried</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arthur Pratt Musser</td>
<td>May 23, 1882</td>
<td>November 13, 1951</td>
<td>Julia C. Fenison</td>
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<td>Leo Pratt Musser</td>
<td>April 8, 1889</td>
<td>Living 1961</td>
<td>Cleo Wigginton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Imi C. Sargent</td>
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### ANNA SEEGMILLER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Born</th>
<th>Died</th>
<th>Married</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John McCullough</td>
<td>ca. 1841</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>April 18, 1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna Seegmiller</td>
<td>January 31, 1841</td>
<td>September 18, 1931</td>
<td>April 18, 1860</td>
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### CHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Born</th>
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<th>Married</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Ann McCullough</td>
<td>July 27, 1861</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>Clarence Lee</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peter Paterson McCullough</td>
<td>December 16, 1862</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>unmarried</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amelia Martha McCullough</td>
<td>August 10, 1868</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>Fred Long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Roberts McCullough</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>infant in Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnie Caroline McCullough</td>
<td>unknown</td>
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<td>infant in Canada</td>
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ANNA SEEKMILLER (con't)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Born</th>
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<th>Married</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amos M. Musser</td>
<td>May 20, 1830</td>
<td>September 24, 1909</td>
<td>January 30, 1874</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anna S. McCullough</td>
<td>January 31, 1841</td>
<td>September 18, 1931</td>
<td>January 30, 1874</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHILDREN</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anna Eva</td>
<td>August 17, 1875</td>
<td>May 5, 1934</td>
<td>Elias Morris</td>
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<td>Frederick</td>
<td>October 1, 1878</td>
<td>Living 1961</td>
<td>Martha Maria Peterson</td>
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<td>Moroni</td>
<td>December 20, 1880</td>
<td>April 11, 1932</td>
<td>Lydia S. Stahman</td>
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<td>William</td>
<td>February 2, 1882</td>
<td>Living 1961</td>
<td>unmarried</td>
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<td>Roscoe</td>
<td>January 2, 1884</td>
<td>Living 1961</td>
<td>Christine Arnold</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orson</td>
<td>July 19, 1886</td>
<td>July 10, 1905</td>
<td>Carol Leiber</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Louie Judd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>unmarried</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE LIFE OF AMOS MILTON MUSSEY

The Abstract of a Thesis
Presented to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

by
Karl Brooks
June, 1962
ABSTRACT

THE LIFE OF AMOS MILTON MUSSER

For more than half a century Amos Milton Musser was a conspicuous figure in the social, religious, and business life of Utah.

Amos Milton Musser, the second son and fourth child of Samuel and Anna Barr Musser, was born in Donegal Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, May 20, 1830. When he was four years old, his father died. After three years of widowhood, his mother remarried, but her husband, Abraham Bitner, soon died, leaving her with two additional children.

During her second widowhood, times were so hard that Mrs. Bitner had to ask for help in supporting her children. John Neff, the husband of her sister Mary, accepted the responsibility of guardianship for them. It was through him that the family became affiliated with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and moved to Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1846. The families went on to Utah, but Amos Milton chose to remain behind and work. During the summer of 1851 he joined his mother in Salt Lake City, having been baptized into the Church at Kanesville before starting across the plains.

Because of his training as a clerk and his ability to write a neat, legible hand, he was employed in the Tithing Office. He held this position for a year, when he was called to fill a mission to India. He left in the fall of 1852, and reached his destination in five months. After four years in India he returned by way of England,
where he stopped for about eight months. He reached Salt Lake City in the fall of 1857, having circumnavigated the earth.

He went back to work in the Tithing Office for another year when he was appointed as traveling bishop of the Church, which position he held for eighteen years. He was to visit all the outlying wards of the Church, then numbering over three hundred, check the records, collect the tithing and return it to Salt Lake City.

This entailed so much traveling that he was away from home much of the time. His trips extended through all parts of Utah, Southern Idaho, and Nevada. Along with this, he was made Superintendent of the Deseret Telegraph, an assignment which could be carried out at the same time. Under his supervision the Telegraph service was greatly extended.

In addition to these two positions, he was head of the Fish and Game Commission, a member of the Board of Directors of the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society, and one of the incorporators of ZCMI, as well as Assistant Church Historian.

Amos Milton Musser was married to four wives, who bore him twenty-seven children. Two of his wives had children by previous marriages, adding nine more to the total. For this belief in and practice of plural marriage, Musser served six months in the Penitentiary.

In 1909 he had an operation for prostrate gland trouble. The operation was considered a success, but following it he began to hemorrhage, which caused his death on September 24, 1909, in Salt Lake City, at the age of seventy-nine.

Amos Milton Musser was a devoted man to many causes. He spent his life in the service of his Church. He did what he could to promote the growth of the Territory and industries of the people.
Approved ............................................................
Chairman, Advisory Committee

Approved ............................................................
Member, Advisory Committee

Approved ............................................................
Chairman, Major Department